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HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEDUCTION

OF THE

ORIGIN OF COMMERCE

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

AN
HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEDUCTION
OF THE
ORIGIN OF COMMERCE,
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS.
CONTAINING
A N H I S T O R Y
OF THE
GREAT COMMERCIAL INTERESTS
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A N I N T R O D U C T I O N,
EXHIBITING
A VIEW OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN STATE OF EUROPE;
OF THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR COLONIES; AND OF THE COMMERCE, SHIPPING,
MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, &c.
OF
G R E A T - B R I T A I N A N D I R E L A N D;
AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE LANDED INTEREST.
WITH AN
A P P E N D I X,
CONTAINING
THE MODERN POLITICO-COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SEVERAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE.
CAREFULLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L . I I .

L O N D O N :

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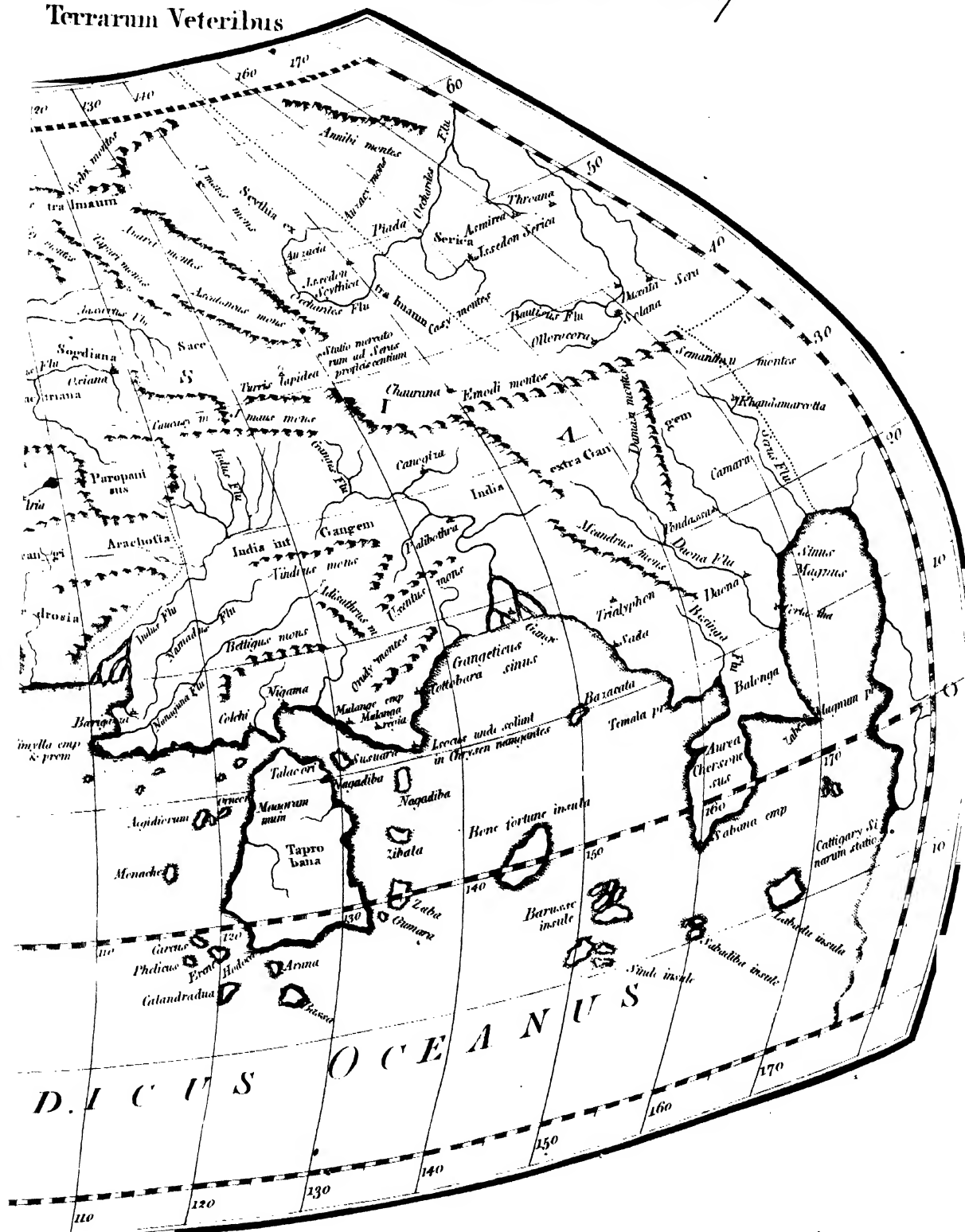
Claudij Ptolemæi Tabulæ



is known or discovered down to the middle of the second Century of the Christian
 A.D. at Francker & Utrecht anno Domini 1695, under the Title of
Vice, Orbis Terrarum Veteribus



or discovered down to the middle of the second Century of the Christian Era
 meker & Utrecht anno Domini 1695, under the Title of
 Terrarum Veteribus



AN
HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEDUCTION
OF THE
ORIGIN OF COMMERCE,
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS, &c.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Succession of PRINCES in this Century.

<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i>	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>	<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>	<i>Kings of Poland.</i>
MAXIMILIAN I. to 1519	HENRY VII. to 1509	EMANUEL the Great, to 1521	JOHN II. to 1504	JOHN ALBERT, (Son of Casimir IV.) to 1501
CHARLES V. Grandson to Maximilian, and Son of Philip I. K. of Spain, to 1558	VIII. to 1546	JOHN III. to 1557	Steno Sture and Swanio Sture, Regents, to 1520	ALEXANDER, to 1506
FERDINAND I. Brother to Charles V. to 1564	EDWARD VI. to 1553	SEBASTIAN, to 1578	CHRISTIAN II. the Tyrant, to 1523	SIGISMUND I. to 1548
MAXIMILIAN II. Son of Ferdinand, to 1576	MARY I. to 1558	HENRY (the Cardinal) to 1580	GUSTAVUS ERICKSON, or VASA, (who entirely separated the kingdom of Sweden from the Union made by Margaret & Haquin) to 1560	SIGISMUND II. his Son, (surnamed Augustus) in whom ended the Line of Jagellon, to 1572
RODOLPH, his Son, to 1600 and beyond.	ELIZABETH, to 1600 and beyond.	PHILIP II. K. of Spain, to 1598	ERIC XIV. to 1568	HENRY of France, who was elected, and died in 1574
		PHILIP III. of Spain, to 1600 and beyond.	JOHN III. to 1594	STEPHEN BATORI, to 1586
	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	<i>Kings of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.</i>	SIGISMUND, to 1600 and beyond.	SIGISMUND, (King of Sweden) to 1600 and beyond.
	JAMES IV. to 1513	JOHN, to 1513		
	V. to 1542	CHRISTIAN II. (called the tyrant in the Swedish list, and was the last that ruled over both Denmark & Sweden, to 1523		
	MARY, to 1567			
	JAMES VI. to 1600 and beyond.	<i>Denmark and Norway.</i>		
	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>	FREDERICK I. to 1534		
	FERDINAND and ISABELLA, of Castile, Leon, and Arragon, to 1504	CHRISTIAN III. to 1559		
<i>Kings of France.</i>	PHILIP I. to 1516	FREDERICK II. to 1588		
LOUIS XII. to 1515	CHARLES I. (and V.) to 1555	CHRISTIAN IV. to 1600 and beyond.		
FRANCIS I. to 1547	PHILIP II. his Son, to 1598			
HENRY II. to 1559	PHILIP III. his Son, to 1600 and beyond.			
FRANCIS II. to 1560				
CHARLES IX. to 1574				
HENRY III. to 1589				
IV. to 1600 and beyond.				

THE CHARACTER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1501 THIS Century abounds with interesting revolutions and material alterations almost over all Christendom. The accession of the vast dominions of Spain to the House of Austria by a marriage, was such a conjunction as seemed greatly to endanger the equilibrium of Europe for the greatest part of this century, and had a considerable influence on commerce.

Whilst Portugal pursued her commerce and rapid conquests in East India, so that the city of Lisbon soon became (what the now declining city of Venice had been for many centuries past).

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1501 past) the great magazine of all the rich productions of the East,—Spain, with an equal and unrivalled rapidity, first made herself mistress of the isles, and next the best part of the continent of America, excepting Brazil, discovered and possessed by Portugal; in consequence of which, the cities of Seville and Cadiz became the storehouses for the riches of the newly discovered western world. England at length made only some faint and fruitless attempts for the colonizing of North America, towards the latter part of this century, as France had likewise done in Canada, with little better success.

In the mean time, the happy situation of Antwerp soon renders her the great central staple of Europe, for the merchandize of both the Indies, as well as for the naval stores, and other bulky commodities of the northern parts of Europe, thereby drawing incredible wealth to that city, and to the adjacent country. Which state of commercial matters began gradually to prejudice the Hans-towns, more especially those on the Baltic shores, which, for the two preceding centuries, had been the great managers of trade for almost all the European nations without the Mediterranean Sea.

A great part of Christendom shakes off the Papal yoke; a circumstance which produced also considerable alterations in Europe. England begins early to establish a permanent navy-royal—and, after much dispute, gets entirely rid of the German Hanseatic merchants of the Steelyard at London—commences a great fishery on the banks of Newfoundland—and also a whale fishery at Spitzbergen or Greenland—and her trade to Russia; and, by means of her important discovery of a passage by sea to that country round the north cape of Lapland, opens an extensive field for other new discoveries, and new branches of commerce.—She also commences her Turkey and Guinea traffic—defeats the grand attempt of the renowned Spanish armada—and, in the very last year of this century, incorporates an East India Company. Holland too, nearly about the same time, commenced her trade to the East Indies, and erected a great company for that commerce. France begins and afterwards much improves her broad silk manufacture. Spain's cruel bigotry, first, by expelling the remaining Moors of Granada, and next the Protestants of the Netherlands, and by the siege, &c. of Antwerp, dispeoples her country, and thereby supplies England, Holland, and the Hans-towns with great numbers of wealthy and industrious manufacturers and artificers, as well as with an accession of excellent and most beneficial new manufactures.—An inundation of silver flows into Europe from America; which is soon again, for the most part, exported to the East Indies by the Portuguese, who grow marvelously rich by their importations in that commerce, and also by their importation from Brazil, of gold, &c.

A new and potent maritime and commercial power suddenly starts up, by the revolt of Seven of the Netherland provinces from the dominions of Spain; which crown, on the other hand, seizes on and adds to their monarchy, the kingdom of Portugal.

So bold and adventurous are the navigators of this age become, (who, in little more than one century preceding this, durst scarce venture out of sight of land) that the terraqueous globe is four times sailed round by men of three different nations! Many very hazardous, though unsuccessful attempts, are made also, by several different nations,

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1501 tions, to explore a passage by sea to China and India, as well by the north west as the north east.

The Turkish empire continues to triumph throughout all this century, not only by its conquests from the state of Venice, and particularly of the famous island of Cyprus,—as also of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; but, likewise, by several very important encroachments on the side of Hungary and Poland,—by reducing the Crimea (or Crim Tartary) to its subjection—and by the absolute conquest of all Syria and Egypt; so vast an increase of territory and dominion within the compass of one century, made all Christendom to tremble.

The Dukes of Russia, till this century obscure, and till now often tributary to the Tartars, make likewise such efforts, by their conquests from Poland;—by their discovery and conquest of the large provinces of Siberia and Samoiëda, till then absolutely Pagan, and before unknown even to Russia itself;—and, lastly, by their conquest of the two Tartar kingdoms of Cazan and Astracan,—that they at length conjoined all those very extensive provinces to their dominion, which constitute the very potent modern Russian empire.

Many extremely useful discoveries and improvements are made in this century for the advancement of commerce, navigation, &c. as in Astronomy by the famous Nicholas Copernicus of Thorn in Prussia, and by Tycho Brahe of Denmark; also in the practical part of mercantile business, by the invention of merchants-accounts by double entry, commonly called Italian Book-keeping; by Decimal Arithmetic also, about the close of this century; when likewise Pocket Watches are first brought into England from Germany:—Knit Stockings come first from Spain, and the more beneficial improvement of the modern Stocking Frame is invented at Cambridge.

“ In Italy,” says Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, “ the polite arts flourished, not only at Rome and Florence, but at Venice, Naples, Genoa, &c. and King Francis I. transplanted them into France, in whose time there were only two coaches in Paris, one for the Queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. In commercial matters, Marseilles carried on a great foreign trade; Lyons also and the Netherlands abounded in the finest manufactures. The correspondence which the cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg in Germany had with Venice, still enabled them to be the first dispensers of the rich commodities of Asia.—Industry, however, had not as yet changed those huts of wood and plaister, of which the city of Paris was composed, into sumptuous palaces. London was still worse built, and its inhabitants lived much harder; even the first peers of the realm carried their wives behind them on horseback when they went into the country. Thus it was, that all the princesses travelled, their heads covered with a kind of waxen linen in rainy weather, and went in no other habit to the King’s palace; and this usage continued till the middle of the seventeenth century:” (Here Voltaire is certainly widely mistaken) “ The magnificence of Charles V. Francis I. Henry VIII. and Leo X. was confined to days of shew. —As early as the reign of Louis the Twelfth, they had began to introduce filken and gold stuffs, manufactured in Italy, instead of the costly furs. There were no manufactures as yet in Lyons; goldsmiths ware was very bad; and Louis XII. having indif-

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1501⁷⁰⁰ creetly prohibited its manufacture, the French had their plate from Venice. There were as yet no plantations of mulberry trees but in Italy and Spain : yet the French fashions began already to be copied in Germany, England, and Lombardy.—And the Italian historians complain, that since the expedition of Charles VIII. their countrymen affected the French drefs.”

Emanuel, King of Portugal, (not improperly furnamed the Great, by the historians of that nation) flushed with the success of two discoveries, viz. that of East India, and of the south continent of America, now sent out three ships to East India. In their way they discovered the isle of Ascension, in eight degrees south of the line, and other isles on the south coast of Africa : on their return from India they discovered the then uninhabited isle of St. Helena, (in south latitude sixteen) which has since been long and most usefully in the possession of the English East India Company, as a refreshing place for their ships returning homeward. It is situated near the mid-way between Africa and America, at the distance of about six hundred leagues north west of the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese stored it with hogs, goats, and poultry ; and, for many years after this they were wont to stop at it in their homeward-bound East India voyages, to supply themselves with those provisions and fresh water ; but it is very difficult to find or come at exactly in their outward-bound voyages, because of the trade winds. The next year Vasco de Gama was sent thither with ten ships, being the first who crossed over directly from Mozambique to India,—and Soderias with fifteen ships. The following year they built a fort at Cochin, subdued the King of Mombaza and others in East Africa, and sent ships to cruize against the Moors at the entrance of the Red Sea, and their greatest enemies in India. In short, they pushed on so numerous and great conquests in commerce to India, that a Viceroy was soon established there ; and afterwards, under the conduct of their great General, Albuquerque, they became masters of Ormus in the Persian Gulph ; also of Goa, and many other ports on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and also the coasts of the isle of Ceylon, where the best, and almost the only true cinnamon is produced : they also possessed themselves of the Malacca promontory ; and, to compleat the whole, subdued the famous Moluccas, or Spice islands : so that the princes of India began to court their favour. Thus was Portugal, from a very moderate condition, in a very few years greatly exalted and enriched, by the sole enjoyment of the commerce to India ; in which that nation then probably flattered themselves they were never to have a rival.

Here let us stop for a moment, to consider how the East India merchandize was anciently conveyed into the west of Europe, before we knew that a passage thither was practicable by sea.

It is now many hundreds of years since the famous city and republic of Venice first adopted the traffic of supplying the western and northern parts of Europe with Indian merchandize. The spices, drugs, precious stones, and other merchandize peculiar to those eastern parts of the world were very anciently brought from India, by sea, to the confines of Egypt on the Red Sea, and thence over land to the river Nile, when they were conveyed to its mouth at Alexandria, that famous port of commerce, and from thence to Europe ; possibly long before the Romans had conquered that country, in the time of Augustus, who found that trade already practised by the Egyptians upon his conquest of them. Yet this was but one of the routes or ways,

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1501 ways, by which the precious merchandize of the east was conveyed into the west, though possibly the most ancient of any of them. Another route was from the city of Lahor in Indostan, situated in the thirty-second degree of north latitude, on a branch of the river Indus, about nine hundred miles north of Surat; and whilst that method of conveyance continued, Lahor was esteemed the greatest and most considerable city of India for that commerce, which the Indians and Armenians carried on from thence through Persia to the city of Aleppo in Syria; and so on either to the ports of Tripoli or Scanderoon in the Levant sea; and lastly, by sea to Greece and Italy, and possibly to some other more western and northern parts—Another way of conveying the Indian merchandize into the west, which is in use even at this day, was by sea from India up the Gulph of Persia to Balfora, near the disemboguing of the Tigris into that Gulph, and thence up that famous river to Bir, and over land to Aleppo; or else further up the Euphrates, and then over land to Trapezium, (*i. e.* Trebisond) on the south side of the Euxine Sea, and across that sea to the ancient port of Theodosia, (now Caffa, in the Taurica Chersonesus, or Crim-Tartary); also from Trapezium, along the south shore of the Euxine Sea to Constantinople. There was yet another ancient way of conveying the Indian merchandize to the west; viz. from Lahor to the river Oxus, which runs into the Caspian Sea, the voyage is then continued along the south shores of that sea to the west end of it, thence up the river Cyrus, and by land a little way to the river Phasis, which falls into the Euxine Sea at Colchis, and so as before to Constantinople or Theodosia: or else across the Caspian Sea to its north side at Astracan, and up the Volga, (anciently named the Rha) according to the opinion of Monsr. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, in his Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients; which last named route is not very probable, considering the barbarous state of the countries of Scythia, on the north side of the Caspian Sea in ancient times. After the Vandals, Goths, Lombards, and Moors had torn in pieces the western empire, and the latter, by the name of Saracens, had greatly weakened the eastern empire, all commerce in the west seemed, in a great degree, to cease between nations. The trade to East India was, however, revived, its merchandize being carried partly by land and partly by water to Caffa, (in what is now called Crim-Tartary) then belonging to Genoa. Trebisond was also a mart for Indian goods, and next Samarcand, in Zagatai, where the Indian, Turkish, and Persian merchants met for bartering their wares; the Turks conveying theirs to Damascus, Baratti, and Aleppo, and from thence to Venice, till the year 1300, when the Soldans of Egypt revived the ancient route to and from India by the Red Sea. Several other routes are occasionally mentioned by both the ancients and moderns to have been practised between Europe and India; but as those already mentioned were the most known, we shall not dwell any longer on that particular point. What is more certain is, that, after the overthrow of the western empire, and long before the fall of the eastern or Greek empire, the city of Venice (as we have already seen) by means of her commerce to the principal Levantine ports of Aleppo and Alexandria, was, for many centuries, the chief staple or principal mart for the spices, drugs, precious stones, and other rich merchandize of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and India, and from Venice they were dispersed over Europe; and in Germany particularly, the cities of Nuremburg and Augsburg were supplied from Venice with great store of those Asiatic commodities, so that they acquired great riches in supplying that and other countries with them.—Thus the city and republic of Venice became extremely rich, as well as famous all over Christendom, until the beginning of this sixteenth century, when the trade for Indian merchandize was gradually transferred to

Lisbon,

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1501 Lisbon, where it flourished exceedingly for about one century, until the Hollanders found the way to India.

Some have expressed their astonishment, that so prudent a state as Venice has made no attempts to form colonies and make new discoveries without the Straits of Gibraltar, in order to retrieve the loss of their trade in the East Indian merchandize from Alexandria, &c. Yet much may be said in their justification:—For, first, that republic was, in those times, obliged to be continually on its guard against the growing power of the Turks, who had already robbed it of most of its Levantine isles, and whose insolence and perfidy, even in time of peace, kept them in perpetual alarm.

Secondly, Their situation so far down the Mediterranean, and up the Adriatic, rendered such projects inconvenient for them, more especially, as in their passage they must have been perpetually exposed to the corsairs of Barbary.

Lastly, They might possibly entertain some hopes, that sooner or later, the trade for East Indian merchandize might return into its ancient channel.

1502 Whilst such great acquisitions were making by Portugal in the east, Columbus and Bastidas were making many useful discoveries in the West Indies for the future benefit of Spain.

We should observe also, under this year 1502, that Cabral, the Portuguese admiral, in his return from the East Indies, settled factories at Melinda, Quiloa, Mombaza, and Quirimba, on the Zanguebar coast. Some modern authors relate, that in the city of Melinda, which is, it seems, neatly built with free-stone, and finely adorned, the Portuguese have eighteen churches. On the coast of Ajan also, the Portuguese reduced most of their Princes to be their tributaries; so that they soon became masters of the whole south-eastern coast of Africa, even up to the entrance into the Red Sea. Before the Portuguese came thither, the Arabians carried on a great commerce on this coast, upon which they made many settlements, but how long they had been there does not appear. They also had traded from thence to Persia and India; but the Portuguese ruined that commerce, and got it all into their own hands.

About this time also, the great King Emanuel of Portugal turned his arms against the Moors of Barbary, on which coast he took and garrisoned several ports, such as Magazan, Agadir, called also Santa Cruz by the Europeans, Azamor, &c. most of which places, and those they had before on that shore, they have long since lost or abandoned. Neither did Portugal ever reap much benefit from those port-towns, in point of commerce, any further than they helped to curb the Moorish pirates; which salutary object, however, neither they nor Spain have ever been able effectually to accomplish. King Alphonso V. had, so far back as the year 1448, taken the port of Alcazar on that coast, as he did Tangier and Arzilla, in the year 1471.

In this same year 1502, was finally concluded the most auspicious marriage of Margaret, eldest daughter of King Henry VII. of England, to King James IV. of Scotland. The lands assigned by James for her dowry of two thousand pounds per annum, in earldoms, lordships, manors, forests, with the palaces and castles of Linlithgow and Stirling, are, at this time, probably more than ten times their value at that period. Her portion we have mentioned under the year 1500.

The

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1502

The first record that we meet with to our purpose in the thirteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, is in the year 1502, p. 6: It is a treaty of friendship and intercourse of commerce between King Henry VII. of England and Maximilian King of the Romans, &c. wherein it is in general terms stipulated, "That the merchants on both sides may freely resort and trade to each others dominions."

In another treaty, in this same year 1502, in the same volume, p. 9, between those two Princes, there is one much more to Maximilian's purpose. It is a grant of ten thousand pounds sterling from King Henry VII. to him, for enabling him to make head against the Turks on the side of Hungary, where, at this time, they were pushing on their conquests; on which account the Popes laboured to excite all Christian Princes to contribute: and it must be owned, that considering the character of King Henry VII. this was a large contribution for those times.

In p. 37 of this thirteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VII. grants his charter of licence to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, John Gunfalus and Francis Farnandus, natives of Portugal:—"First, To sail with such ships and mariners as they shall judge proper, into all the parts and countries of the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas, in order to discover, recover, and investigate any islands, coasts, and countries of heathen and infidel parts of the world, and to erect King Henry's banners and ensigns at whatever town, castle, island, or continent they shall so discover, and to hold the same," says the King, "for our use, as our lieutenants there: Provided they do not concern themselves with, nor offer to molest such heathen and infidel countries as are already discovered, and reduced to the obedience of the King of Portugal, or of any other Prince our friend or confederate."

"Secondly, Whenever any discovery shall be made, it is our will, that men and women from England be freely permitted to settle therein, and to improve the same, under the protection of these grantees, whom we hereby empower to make laws, &c. there."

The seven remaining clauses relate to the settling, sailing, and trading to such supposed and to be discovered country,—the customs to be paid, and the confining the trade thither to his own subjects, &c. And he concludes the ninth and last clause thus, viz.

"And whereas we have, by others letters patent of the sixteenth year of our reign," that is, two years before, but which are not to be found in the *Fœdera*, "granted to Richard Ward, John Thomas, and John Farnandus, together with the four grantees herein-named, a licence to go and discover new countries and islands; yet we will not have the three first-named persons to attempt or meddle with any such new discoveries, without a licence from the four grantees of this present charter."

We may here again observe, First, that King Henry pays no regard to the imaginary line of division made between Spain and Portugal by the Pope's authority. And, secondly, that Henry, according to his genius and former practice, does not pretend to give one penny towards the said discovery; which, therefore, succeeded no better than Cabot's voyage, in the year 1496; for private adventurers rarely have abilities and patience sufficient to perfect such undertakings, unless supported by the public.

At this time, there were differences between John King of Denmark and the Hans-towns; the latter, like true merchants, striving to have commerce wherever they could obtain it; whilst the former being driven out of Sweden by Steen-Sture the Regent, insisted, that the Hans-towns should forbear trading to Sweden; in which, says the Hanseatic historian, An-

gelius

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1502 gelius à Werdenhagen, vol. I. pars iii. cap. 17. King John was seconded by the ambassador of his uncle, King James IV. of Scotland, at a general assembly of the deputies of the Hanseatic League at Lubeck: yet this general assembly at length convinced the Danish King of the unreasonableness of that demand; as it would be very hard on them, who had great concerns in Sweden, to be obstructed in their accustomed commerce by the quarrels of Denmark and Sweden.—We also learn, from the *Historia Danica* of Meursius, that the King of Scotland assisted his nephew, at this time, with two stout ships of war.

King Henry VII. of England now caused the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and a tavern adjoining, at the east end of the abbey church of Westminster, to be taken down; on the site whereof he erected the present most beautiful and magnificent chapel which is called by his name, at the expence of fourteen thousand pounds; at this time it would, in all probability, cost at least five times that sum.

1503 In Scotland, an act of the sixth Parliament of King James IV. confirmed that of 1406, and directed, “That none shall beg but lame, sick, and impotent people, under a penalty on the magistrates suffering any others to beg.”

By another Scottish law of that same year, “All lords and lairds were enjoined to have parks with deer, also stanks or fish-ponds, conningares or rabbit-warrens, dove-cotes, orchards, and hedges, and should plant at least one acre of woodlands, where there are already no great woods or forests.” The wars with England had occasioned the woods to be destroyed, so that there was a great want of timber and fire wood; inclosures and parks had also been much neglected. Some of these points were pretty well prosecuted; but others, and indeed the most important of them, were very much neglected, though enforced by many subsequent laws.

The same year, we first find mention, in a Scotch act of Parliament, of the office of conservator of that nation’s mercantile privileges in the Netherlands, though that office was apparently of an earlier date than this time; when it was now enacted, “That for the well-being of merchants, and because of the great exorbitant expences made by them upon pleas, (*pleys*) in parts beyond the seas, the conservator of this realm shall have jurisdiction to do justice between the said merchants, being the King’s lieges, in the parts beyond the seas.—But the said conservator shall have six, or at least four Scottish merchants to sit and determine all matters jointly with him; and that no Scottish merchant beyond-sea shall sue another Scottish merchant there, before any other judge but only this conservator.” By another act of this same year, “the said conservator is directed to come home yearly to Scotland, or else to send his responsible procurator to answer for him, touching his conduct in his office beyond-sea.” This office of conservator nearly resembles that of English consuls in foreign ports; and although, in neither of the above-quoted acts the place of his residence be mentioned, yet it is well known that he always resided in the Netherlands, where the principal foreign commerce of Scotland had always centered. And in a Scottish act of Parliament, in the year 1535, which confirms certain former laws, prohibiting little pettifogging merchants from going beyond-sea to France, Flanders, &c. with less than half a last of merchandize, he is called the conservator of the nation in Flanders; who is thereby directed to send home the names of all merchants going thither in every ship, contrary to the tenour of this act.

Under this year we may transiently remark, that the accession of Spain to the House of Austria, by a marriage at this time, prepared the way for great alterations in the commercial as well as in the political affairs of Europe; which conjunction would have been an over-match

for

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1503 for all the rest of Christendom, had not England and France been vigilant on the opposite side.

Morifotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, lib. II. cap. xiii. p. 410. acquaints us, that the Canary isles beginning to be frequented, there arrived two Zealand ships at Campveer, laden with Canary sugars. As yet no sugar-canes were produced in America, but they were transplanted soon after this time from the Canary isles to Brasil. We have already seen that the first sugar-canes west of the Mediterranean sea, were planted at the isle of Madeira, from Sicily; from whence, or perhaps from the more southern coasts of Africa, they might be brought to the Canaries. “The boiling and baking of sugar,” says Dr. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, “as it is now used, is not above two hundred years old; and the refining of it more new than that first found out by a Venetian in the days of our forefathers, who got one hundred thousand crowns by the invention. Before which art of boiling and refining it, our ancestors made use of it rough as it came from the canes; but they most commonly used honey instead of it.”—The same author, in the first edition of his work, which was printed in the year 1624, also informs us, that when he wrote, the Portuguese island of St. Thomé, under the equator, had seventy sugar-ingenios, each having upwards of two hundred slaves.

1504 It was not till the year 1504, that any French ship arrived on the coasts of North America, even according to their own accounts; which was eight years later than the English discovery of that country by Cabot, &c. but it was not till two years later, that one Dennis discovered the entrance into the river of Canada, or St. Lawrence. So that the priority of discovery is undoubtedly on the side of England for all North America; and consequently England, beyond all other nations of Europe, had the best claim to the whole, until she gave up part of it, by her succeeding treaties with other European nations.

The renowned city of Antwerp was at this time, arrived very near to the summit of that wealth and glory which it had acquired from the two following considerations, viz.

I. By the grants of free-fairs for commerce, made formerly by the sovereigns of the Netherlands; two of which fairs lasted each six weeks, whither merchants resorted from all parts of Christendom with their merchandize, custom-free: at which fairs vast concerns were managed, not only in merchandize, but in bills of exchange with all parts of Europe.

II. But what more immediately and suddenly brought about the wealth, grandeur, and renown of Antwerp, was when Portugal brought home, in immense quantities, the spices, drugs, and other rich products of East India, first to Lisbon, and thence to Antwerp, as to an entre-port or mid-way station between the northern and southern parts of Europe. This drew the German and other merchants to settle at Antwerp, which brought great riches to it; and the merchants of Bruges also removed thither, after the Archduke Maximilian had, about the year 1499, reduced the last named city into subjection.

Louis Guicciardini, in his judicious Description of the Netherlands, printed in French at Antwerp, in the year 1582, in folio, was of opinion, that the spices alone brought from Lisbon to Antwerp, one year with another, amounted to above a million of crowns: for, in those days, the people of Europe were much sonder of spices in their cookery, &c. than they have been in later times.

An English act of Parliament, cap. 21. passed in the nineteenth year of King Henry VII. for the advancement of the smaller silk manufactures in England, prohibiting the importation of any manner of silk wrought either by itself, or with any other stuff, in ribbands, laces, girdles, corsets, and corsets of tissues or points, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Also, on the

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1504 other hand, it shall be lawful for all persons, as well foreigners as English, to import all manner of other silks, as well wrought as raw and unwrought, the above excepted. The reader here may plainly see, that at this time there was no broad manufacture of silk made in England, as my Lord Bacon also observes, in his History of King Henry VII. under this statute.

Another statute passed, cap. 23. for confirming "To the merchants of the Hans in Almain, having the house in the city of London commonly called *Guildhalda Teutonicorum*," that is, the German merchants of the Steel-yard, "all their ancient liberties, privileges, free usages, and customs, granted either by the Kings of England, or by the authority of Parliament; and that all acts, statutes, and ordinances, made in derogation of their said liberties, &c. be hereby annulled and made void." The English merchants increasing in their foreign commerce, had probably occasioned the Hanseatics to procure this confirmation of their ancient privileges, for which, possibly, they might gratify the avarice of the monarch.

In another statute made in this same year, cap. 17. for regulating the company of shearmen of the city of Norwich, it is, among other things, remarked, "That Norwich is an ancient city, wherein, time out of mind, has been used a certain craft called shearmen, for shearing as well worsteds, statins, and fustians, as also all other woollen cloth, &c." This statute shews us a general list of their woollen manufactures, which were even then so considerable, especially the thinner sorts, that we find more statutes hitherto for regulating the said manufactures in Norwich, and its neighbourhood of Norfolk and Suffolk, than of any other part of England.

The bye-laws made by corporations, or fellowships of crafts, guilds, and fraternities, were, at this time, found to be many ways against the King's prerogative, the common law of England, and the liberty of the subject; being, says Lord Bacon, fraternities in evil. Wherefore an act of Parliament, in this nineteenth year of King Henry VII. cap. 7. "Restrains the masters or wardens of such fellowships from making any new bye-laws or ordinances concerning the prices of wares, and other things, for their own singular profit, until first examined and approved of by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or King's Justices, on pain of forfeiting forty pounds for every such offence.

An English act of Parliament passed this same year, cap. 5. for restraining of gold and silver coins from being carried into Ireland, and Irish money from being brought into England; and for calling all clipped and diminished money into the mint:—There was then a mint in Ireland, though there is none at present. We have also the following extraordinary remark of Lord Bacon, in his History of King Henry VII. "Neither was it a small matter, that the mint," i. e. the King, "gained by thus recoinage of groats and half-groats;" those coins being, it seems, as large as our modern shillings and sixpences, which surely they could not be, if they were not of baser alloy than the old sterling fineness. His lordship also recounts many other ways which that King had of getting vast sums into his coffers, even in time of profound peace; such as the extorting five thousand marks from the city of London for confirming their privileges; his subsidies, benevolences, and casualties; the marriage-portion from Spain, &c. but these are foreign to our subject.

The following prices of provisions are from the *Chronicon Preciosum*, viz. wheat, five shillings and eightpence per quarter; ale and beer, almost threepence per gallon; red wine, per gallon, sevenpence and one-third. Now, as we have more than once observed, that the price of wheat is, of any one article, the best rule to judge of the rate of living, and as the other things herein-named seem nearly to correspond with it,—and, lastly, as money was then, near or
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about twice the weight of our modern coins, we may conclude that the rate of living, at this time, was nearly about thrice as cheap as in our days.

1505 We have remarked, under the year 1497, that the statute which reduced the exorbitant freedom-fines of the company of merchant-adventurers, did, at the same time, by a strong implication, legally establish the said company, although the legal title or name of it was not then precisely so called; yet, in fact, they were, and had long before been, what this King makes them by his new charter. But King Henry VII. in the year 1505, being the twentieth of his reign, confirmed by charter, “to the merchants trading in woollen cloth of all kinds to the Netherlands their former privileges.” And in this new charter of confirmation they were now first properly styled, “The fellowship of merchant-adventurers of England.” They had also hereby authority given them, “to hold courts and marts at Calais; provided, however, that they exacted no more” as per act of Parliament, in the year 1497, “than ten marks of any merchant whatever, for his freedom in this fellowship, for trading to Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, and the countries adjacent, under the Archduke’s government;” hereby enjoining all merchant-adventurers to come into the freedom of this fellowship.—Wheeler, secretary of this fellowship, in his vindication of it, under the title of *A Treatise of Commerce*, in quarto, printed in 1661, acknowledges, that at the period we have now under consideration, as well as in the reign of King Henry IV. the like complaints, as in his own time, were made by the clothiers, wool-growers, dyers, &c. against this fellowship, viz. that they obstructed the free course of commerce by restraints. “Yet,” he adds, “after due examination of the said complaint, the issue procured great favour to the company, and occasioned the enlarging of their former charters, with an express restraint of all stragglers and intermeddlers,” that is separate traders. “And whereas the Easterlings,” that is, the German merchants of the Steel-yard, “at this time, had entered into the same trade; King Henry VII. not only strictly prohibited them from the same, but likewise obliged the aldermen of the Steel-yard in London to enter into a recognizance of two thousand marks, that the said Steel-yard merchants should not carry any English cloth to the place of residence of the merchant-adventurers in the Low Countries.” Nevertheless, the complaints against the merchant-adventurers monopoly became afterwards much louder, as the manufacturers increased, and the general trade of the nation became more enlarged.

Although, as we have already observed, the way of reckoning by pounds, marks, and shillings, as well as by pence and farthings, or farthings, had been in constant use even from the Saxon times, long before the Norman conquest, yet it is undoubtedly true, that there never was such a coin in England as either a pound or a mark, nor any shilling, till this year 1505; those three coins being merely ideal money, or denominations or ways of reckoning for convenience. But in this twentieth year of King Henry VII. a few silver shillings or twelve-pences were coined, being about the bigness of one and a half of the modern shillings, or forty out of a pound weight of silver, fair and broad pieces; but they have long since been solely confined to the cabinets of a few curious collectors of such things.

The Portuguese now first land on the isle of Ceylon: here they were strenuously opposed by the Moors, who had long before been settled there, and who had so long supplied all Europe with cinnamon, by the way of Alexandria: yet, in the end, the Portuguese got the better; and having fortified the principal ports of that island, they, in their turn, totally engrossed the cinnamon trade till the year 1639, when they were supplanted by the Hollanders.—This spice was well known to the ancients, ever since the commerce from Egypt to India was

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practised; the island of Taprobana, which was probably Ceylon, being constantly frequented from the Red Sea, not only from Augustus Cæsar's time, but probably long before; whereas the spices from the Moluccas, and more especially the places producing them, were not generally known at such an early period.

1506 King Henry VII. in the decline of his life, taking it into his head to think of marrying Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, sister of Philip I. King of Spain, the marriage-portion stipulated to be given with her to Henry, was no less than three hundred thousand French crowns, of four shillings sterling each, or sixty thousand pounds sterling; but this match never took place, because of Henry's sudden ill state of health.—*Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 129.

The said King Philip of Spain, who was sovereign of the Netherlands, and his Queen, on their voyage to Spain, being by stress of weather driven into Weymouth, were by King Henry VII. decoyed to Windfor and London, where they were entertained with much feasting and splendour, when this marriage-contract was concluded. King Henry VII. at the same time, concluded a new commercial treaty with King Philip for the Netherlands, which treaty the Flemings termed *intercurfus malus*, “for that that there be some things in it,” says Lord Bacon, “more to the advantage of the English than of them; especially, for that the free fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of the year “1496,” termed by the Flemings *intercurfus magnus*, “was not by this treaty confirmed.”

This new treaty is, in substance, as follows:—“That whereas the English, residing in and trading to the Netherlands, had made grievous complaints of new and unprecedented tolls and duties laid on their merchandize there, contrary to treaties subsisting; and that there were also prohibitions of selling English cloth in many places there; also that there were seizures made of ships and merchandize, and the imprisonment of their persons, &c.”—See the *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 132.

For redress therefore of all grievances on both sides, it was now stipulated,

“I. That former treaties be confirmed, particularly those of 1495 and 1499,” (here that of 1496 was artfully omitted to be named) “except so far as altered by this treaty, and all new tolls and exactions utterly abolished.

“II. The English merchants may freely resort to Bruges in Flanders, as also to all the other provinces of the Netherlands, with their ships, cloth, and other merchandize, freely to buy and sell. But, in the province of Flanders, and there only, they shall not sell their cloth by retail, or in a smaller quantity than an entire piece; neither shall they be permitted either to dress or to dye their cloth in the said province of Flanders.

“III. For prevention of all impositions for the future, a table of all the duties, subsidies, tolls, and other payments, which may be legally demanded in either country, shall be affixed on the doors of the custom-houses of London, Bruges, Antwerp, Berg, Mons, and Middleburgh.”

In vol. xiii. p. 159, of the *Fœdera*, we see that King Henry VII. most unjustly, and probably for his own private profit, granted “a licence to Augustini Chigi, a merchant of Sienna in Tuscany, to import from Flanders, or elsewhere, thirteen hundred quintals of alum, and none else to import any, until he shall have sold off all his said quantity; provided, however, that neither he nor his factors shall sell the said alum at an higher price than one pound six shillings and eightpence per quintal, or hundred-weight.”

In this year the ever-famous Christopher Columbus left the world. About which time sugar-canes were brought from Brasil and the Canaries, and planted in the island of Hispaniola, where,

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1506 where, says Herrera, many sugar-mills were gradually erected. Leave also was granted to all native Spaniards to send merchandize to the West Indies; and it was allowed that even foreigners might trade in partnership with native Spaniards, in Spanish bottoms only. The Contratacion House lately erected at Seville, for the management of all the American commerce, was now enlarged, and its constitution settled. The Spaniards also, at this time, improved their pearl fishery at the island of that name, and other parts of the West Indies. Before the Brasil sugar (which, as some conjecture, was originally and spontaneously produced there, though others say the first sugar-canes were first carried thither from the Canary isles) was brought into Europe, that commodity was very dear, being only used in feasts and physical necessities; honey being, till then, the general ingredient for sweetening of meats and drinks.

1507 In the thirteenth volume, p. 161, of the *Fœdera*, there is a record, with the title of *De Pardonatione pro Mercatoribus Venetiarum*; whereby “ King Henry VII. pardons, remits, and “ leases to six Venetian merchants, therein named, and to all other subjects of that republic, “ all forfeitures, transgressions, and offences committed by them before the first day of March “ in this year 1507, against any acts of Parliament or orders of Council, &c. also all manner “ of usuries, corrupt bargains, buying, selling, and bartering of wool, tin, lead, cloth, &c. “ also all illegal entries at the Custom-houses; all payments of gold against law, &c. all de- “ ceptions in the making of woollen cloth, and in stretching the same; all exportations and “ importations of the before-named and other commodities against law; all changes, “ exchanges, and rechanges,” (*cambia, excambia, et recambia*) “ between the said Venetians “ and others;—as also misprisions, confederacies, riots, &c.—all condemnations, pains of “ death, and all other pecuniary and corporal pains which they may have incurred, &c.— “ And we do hereby grant them our secure peace, as also all goods and chattels they may have “ formerly forfeited, and which are in the custody of our officers, &c. to be restored to them, “ without their rendering any account.” Great and illegal grants having been made to those Venetian merchants, to the injury of our own traders, for King Henry’s private and immediate emolument, of which our people had made loud complaints, this grant or charter of indemnification was therefore judged necessary for screening them from prosecutions.

“ Proviso, That the said Venetians be not forgiven any debt due to us, for which there are “ written securities.

“ The King also grants licence to the Venetians to buy and sell, at London and elsewhere, “ in England, Ireland, and Calais, woollen cloth, lead, tin, leather, &c. with the English, “ Genoese, Venetians, Florentines, Luccans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Flemings, Hollanders, “ Brabanters, Burgundians, German Hanseatics, Lombards, and Easterlings, and all other “ foreigners, as well as natives, for ten years to come.

“ Moreover, the King grants the same privileges, pardons, &c. to all other strangers in “ England dealing with the Venetians there. And if all this be not judged sufficient by the “ Venetians, they shall have other more ample letters patent for that effect.

“ II. Proviso, That the said Venetians, &c. under colour of this grant, do not, within “ the said term, import into England any goods from the dominions of the Archduke of “ Austria.” This proviso was introduced to favour the privileges of the merchant-ad-
• venturers.

By the whole tenor of this patent, we see how many different nations then traded to or resided in England, the French and Scots excepted.

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1508 negroes for that end into Hispaniola from the Portuguese settlements on the Guinea Coasts, and also afterwards for their sugar works, as we have already related.

The Portuguese in India, still under their great commander Albuquerque, take the town and port of Goa on the coast of Malabar; and although its Prince Hidalcán soon recovered it; yet, in the year 1510, Albuquerque retook it, with the slaughter of seven thousand of Hidalcán's men. The commodiousness of its situation, and goodness of the country, induced Albuquerque to fortify it very much, and to make it the capital of the Portuguese dominions in India, as it still is, its walls being said to have been twelve miles in compass, and many of its structures magnificent; but it is long since much decayed, both with respect to wealth and number of inhabitants, which some say are reduced to twenty thousand, of all nations and religions. This able General Albuquerque, in order to breed up soldiers, very wisely got the Indian maids made Christians, and married them to Portuguese, that they might not always stand in need of fresh supplies of men from Portugal.

It is not our province minutely to particularize all the Portuguese conquests in India, whereby they gained immense riches and great glory to that crown and nation. It is sufficient for our purpose in general to observe, that they went on, from year to year, in discovering more countries, even as far eastward as China and Japan; and southward to the great Archipelago of islands in the Indian ocean. They subdued the kingdoms of Decan, Cambaya, and Guzaratte, with the forts of Diu, Surat, and Cambaya, and many other places and islands for two hundred miles along the Malabar Coast, and on that of Coromandel, and in the kingdoms of Bengal, Macassar, and Malacca, and also the isles of Timor and Solor, with the famous Molucca and Spice-islands, beside the great isle of Ceylon already mentioned. Their conquests and settlements, already related, on the north east shores of Africa, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, were also very profitable to them, where they traded with negro nations for much gold, brought from the far in-land countries to the Portuguese settlements on the coast. In Arabia Felix they once got possession of Mascate; also of several isles in the Persian Gulph, and the important town and port of Balfora at the upper end of that Gulph. They, in brief, were become very formidable to all the Princes of India, many of whom they made tributary; and as their fleets were very powerful and numerous, so was their dominion on the Indian seas extremely arbitrary, insomuch, that no ship whatever could sail thereon without their permission; and if any did presume so to do, they seized on ships and goods, and imprisoned their sailors: at the same time, they almost every where committed great cruelties and massacres on the conquered people, and thought to expiate all their crimes and enormities by building a great number of churches and monasteries wherever they became masters. This great prosperity they held throughout all this sixteenth century, and were constantly increasing in power, fame, and riches: yet, whoever well considers the present state of the small kingdom of Portugal, will be disposed to wonder how they got to such a pitch of grandeur and power both by sea and land, and by what means they contrived to hold it for near a century and a half, in spite of the emulation of their European neighbours: on which point, though we do not here undertake to enlarge, we may however, cursorily observe.

I. That Portugal was then much more populous than at this day, and that its present feeble state, for want of manufactures, is owing to the former draining the kingdom of its people, for the purpose of colonizing in Africa, India, and Brasil.

II. That the Portuguese conquests were made partly over effeminate Asiatics, in warring with whom they had great advantages, and no European rivals; and partly over the miserable savages

1508 savages of Brasil and Africa, utterly unacquainted with fire-artillery, iron, warlike weapons, and the other European arts in making war. But when the Hollanders once got to India, we shall see how poorly those mighty Portuguese conquerors defended their numerous conquests there and in Africa.

1509 The country and monarchy of Russia was now further aggrandized and strengthened by the conquest of the city and territory of Pleskow, till then an independent lordship, by the great Duke, or Czar, Basilus IV. who also conquered from the Poles the strong frontier town of Smolensko. As Russia had, long before this time, fallen under the subjection of the Crim-Tartars, and had been divided into many petty principalities, whose Princes were tributaries to the Tartars, this Czar, Basilus IV. by reducing and uniting many of those principalities under his subjection, and by his other successful wars against the Tartars, has occasioned chronologers to commence the succession of future Czars of Russia or Muscovy from this great Prince, who succeeded to John Basilides, in the year 1505, and died in 1533.

This year is also remarkable for the death of Henry VII. King of England. How differently soever his conduct or character may be animadverted on by various authors, it is enough for our present purpose to consider its consequences in a politico-commercial view. We may therefore, with Mr. Echard and others before him, justly remark, that several laws made in his reign, and by his influence, were very conducive to the advancement of agriculture and commerce, as particularly,

I. By an act for the encouragement of husbandry, *4to regni*, cap. xix. See the year 1489.

II. "By gradually," says Echard, "putting stops to the power of the nobility, who had lately raised such storms in the nation;" that is, particularly against himself, leave was granted, as we have seen, to all freeholders, who went with the King in his wars, to alienate their freeholds at pleasure, without fines for alienation. Which was a good means to make land estates change proprietors the more easily and frequently, as the commerce and wealth of the nation gradually increased. See the year 1492. He wisely enough considered the old maxim, *dominium sequitur terram*, and that King John's Barons were often too hard for him, because most of the lands were possessed by them, or by their vassals; and that as he himself had been raised by the nobility, he might possibly be cast down by them. Which act was renewed or confirmed by one of the third year of King Henry VIII. cap. iv. 1512.

III. By an act of his nineteenth year, cap. xiv. directing a penalty for all givers or takers of any livery, or for any persons retaining or being retained with another, during that King's life, the nobility were deprived of their great retainers. This law was, indeed, but a more extensive confirmation of the laws against retainers, more properly to be called retained than retainers, of great men, made in the reigns of King Richard II. Henry IV. and Edward IV. of which we deferred taking any notice till now; for, by the great numbers of men, as well knights and esquires as yeomen or common men, who wore the liveries and hats of the nobility, and were at their devotion in those idle and less opulent times, they were, doubtless, become formidable to the crown, and thereby was formed the best of the English cavalry in their wars; more especially in those between the houses of York and Lancaster: so jealous a Prince therefore, as Henry VII. was, would naturally employ such means to break the strength of the nobles; and this law answered the end very well, since we hear very little of retainers and liveries from this time. In this only sense therefore may he be said to have altered the balance of the nation, as some authors phrase it, viz. in depressing the nobility, and enabling the commons freely to purchase their lands. But it is an almost universal mistake of our histo-

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1509 rians, in ascribing to him a kind of total revival of our woollen manufacture, as if, according to them, it had been gradually sunk and neglected ever since King Edward Third's time; the contrary whereof is apparent, from so many acts of Parliament, and so many treaties with foreign Princes in the intermediate reigns, in favour of that manufacture, which not only prospered at home, but was constantly exported beyond sea in all those reigns before his time.

IV. Foreseeing the bad consequences of the noble and great provinces of Bretagne's being annexed to France, in a great measure owing to his avarice and pusillanimity, he had love enough left for his country, and for his own credit in succeeding times, to induce him now and then, in his parliamentary speeches, earnestly to recommend matters of commerce to his people. "This good Prince," says Hall's Chronicle, "by his high policy, marvelously enriched his realm and himself, and left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity,—as is apparent by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into the realm, in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing, to whom the King, of his own goods, lent money largely, without any gain or profit, to the intent that merchandize, being of all crafts the chief art, and to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifully used, haunted, and employed in his realms and dominions." These last lines are but a bare translation of what Polydore Virgil says of that King in Latin.

My Lord Herbert and all other historians agree, that this King left a treasure of one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in specie, in secret places of his palace at Richmond, he himself alone keeping the keys; and as an ounce of silver was, at that time, coined into no more than forty-pence, *20mo regni*, that sum was equivalent to two millions seven hundred thousand pounds of our money in the real quantity of silver. "This," says that noble Lord, "was, doubtless, a greater sum than any King of this realm before had in his coffers, and such as might be thought effectively quadruple to so much in this age;" that is, in the time of King Charles II. Which computation of his lordship is extremely moderate, when we have seen and considered the rate of living at that time, when the usual price of wheat was but five shillings and eight-pence, or eight shillings and six-pence of our money, per quarter, and ale not quite three-pence per gallon.

Lastly, it is said by various authors, that there were very few brick buildings, and fewer of stone, in England, till this King's reign, excepting the palaces of the prime nobility, cathedral, and parish churches, and most of the greater monasteries; the rest were either the mud walls of the cottagers, lesser farmers, and villagers, or else the timber and lath buildings in cities and towns: to which may be added, the manner of building at that time, even many capital seats in the country, of which some very few lately did, and may possibly here and there still remain, with strong oaken posts, interlaced with bricks and mortar, which were of such substantial duration, that, fire excepted, they generally lasted several hundred years.

In this first year of King Henry Eighth's reign, we have, in the thirteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 258, a still plainer account of the now improved royal *cambium regis*, or office of exchange, between England and foreign parts, in this King's grant of that office to Sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of the unfortunate Queen Anne Boleyn, in the terms following, viz. "we grant to him the custody of our exchange at Calais, and also the custody of our exchange in England towards foreign parts; he to take and receive of every person going to Rome, or other foreign parts, either for devotion or for business, or who sends his agents or attornies thither, or who may send monies for payments to be made, all such sums of money as they are minded to send; and to deliver to them sufficient letters, or bills of exchange

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1509 “ change to the said parts, as is customary, making such agreements for the said bills as con-
 “ science, and the various circumstances of distance, and other hazards, require, and to receive
 “ such sums out of the said exchangings as are due to us, he paying annually to us thirty
 “ pounds six shillings and eight-pence, and no more.”

We find frequent orders made by the crown against making exchanges any where but at the said royal office; yet the frequency of repeating these orders sufficiently shew that they had been continually evaded.

Admiral James Columbus, son of the great Christopher, now settled and planted the island of Jamaica. In the course of the next year, the adventurers fixed at Nombre de Dios in Darien, which was the first town where they got permanent footing on the continent. In 1511 they settled on the great island of Cuba; and in 1512 they landed on Florida. In 1513, they crossed the Isthmus of Darien, near where Panama was afterwards built, and now first discovered the great South Sea. In 1515, John Dias de Solis landed at Brasil, and laded his two ships with Brasil wood for Spain. In 1516, the Spaniards settled at Panama; and, with incredible labour, carried thither over land, from the Bay of Darien, the timber, iron work, and rigging of two brigantines, which produced the subsequent discovery of Peru, &c. In 1517 and 1518, the Spaniards discovered, on the coasts of Yucatan and Mexico, many structures built with lime and stone; and it is said that Montezuma, or rather Motezuma, King of Mexico, had ordered his officers to treat the Spaniards kindly, who already began to trade with them for gold, &c. All these matters, for the space of about ten years, we have cursorily thrown together, as not being very material to be enlarged on; for as, in the various attempts of the Spaniards to make new settlements, they met with frequent losses from the native Indians, whom they often treated cruelly, as also from storms, and the change of climates, so, upon the whole, it may be truly said, that, until the year 1519, when they conquered the empire or kingdom of Mexico, and thereby gained an immense fund of treasure, all their expeditions and settlements, were rather honourable and promising in future, than immediately profitable to Spain.

It is well worthy of remark, how much England has improved in gardening, fruits, roots, and pot herbs within the two last centuries. In the former part of King Henry Eighth's reign, it seems there were no sorts of what we usually call salads to be found in England, nor any carrots, cabbages, turnips, or other such esculent roots; that part of our food being then sent us from Holland and Flanders: this circumstance we find asserted in several authors, how much soever some moderns may be surprised at it. And, according to the author of a labour-ed scheme, printed at London in 1723, in 8vo. for relief of the poor, and for paying old debts without new taxes, “ even Queen Catherine herself could not, at this time, have a salad for
 “ dinner, until the King sent over to the Netherlands for a gardener, to cultivate those herbs
 “ and roots here, where we are now better supplied therewith than perhaps any other part of
 “ Europe.”

1510 In this year we find, by Meursius's *Historia Danica*, lib. 2. pars iii. that the Baltic Sea was much frequented by ships from France, England, and Scotland; for King John of Denmark's dominions being, at this time, invaded by a squadron of ships from Lubeck, who burned several towns on his coasts, he, in his urgent necessity, in order to get ready the best fleet he could, pressed all the ships of these three nations into his service. But the Swedes joining the Lubeckers, and King John thereby finding himself still inferior at sea to the Hanseatics, purchased ships of England, France and Scotland, his allies, at a great expence. So that, in the

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1510 year following, his fleet became superior to those of the Lubeckers and Swedes; and now it ranges over the Baltic, takes all the Hanseatic ships it could meet with, burns the suburbs of Travemund, the port of Lubeck, and would have destroyed all the ships there, had not the Lubeckers, in good time, drawn them further up into the town. The Danish fleet next invaded the haven of Wismar, burned its suburbs, and carried off fourteen of their ships: after this it destroys Warnemund, and burns many villages belonging to Rostock and Straelsund, &c. So great was the change for the worse in the space of one year, with the Hans-towns, by this great diligence of the Danish King. The Hollanders also are, by other accounts, said to have sent ships to the assistance of the King of Denmark against the Lubeckers, who had taken eight of their ships; and, in this war, the province of Holland lost fifty of their ships, according to Pensionary De Witt's Interest of Holland.

So great a plenty or cheapness of provisions was there in this year 1510, in the province or isles of Zealand, according to Meteranus, in his *Historia Belgica*, lib. i. p. 8, published in the year 1597, "That the eighth part of a measure of wheat, a fat goose, a pound of butter, and a pot of Poictou wine, were altogether sold for six stivers." An instance of plenty of provisions, or, if the reader should prefer the idea, of the scarcity of money, hardly to be paralleled in history at so late a period.

My Lord Herbert, in his life of King Henry VIII. relates, that the famous Scottish Captain, Andrew Barton, appeared in the English seas; who, in revenge of his father's death, who had traded to Portugal, and other injuries done to him by the Portuguese, had obtained letters of reprisal from his sovereign, King James IV. upon condition, says this noble author, that he should not commit any piracy. Nevertheless, Barton seized on several English barks, on pretence of carrying Portuguese merchandize; Scotland, says Bishop Goodwin in his *Annals*, being then at war with Portugal. Whereupon King Henry VIII. sent out the Lord Admiral Howard against Barton in two large ships, who attacked him in his two smaller ones: yet Barton maintained a most cruel and obstinate engagement with the Admiral, and was so dangerously wounded that he died on the spot, encouraging his men with his whistle to continue the fight, till he dropped down dead. King James IV. was very much displeased at this capture, alleging that Barton was no pirate, but his own Admiral; though for the present he thought proper to smother his resentment.

We have, in the thirteenth volume, p. 270, of the *Fœdera*, a new treaty of peace and friendship concluded between King Henry VIII. and Louis XII. of France. All that relates to commerce therein is,

"I. That all imposts or tolls laid on merchants or others, in either country, within the last forty-seven years, should be utterly abolished.

"II. That all merchants, even Venetians, Florentines, and Genoese, may freely navigate the seas, armed or unarmed, either with their own ships, carracks, and galleys, or with those of other nations; and that the Venetians may freely and safely resort to England, and depart thence at pleasure, during the term of this treaty, which was for both Kings' joint lives, and one year after him who shall first decease: also the Florentines and Genoese might hereby freely resort either to France or England. Provided the said Venetians do no injury to the subjects of either King, in their going or returning.

"III. That no letters of marque or reprisal be issued from either country, but solely against the principals themselves and their effects, and this not till justice has been manifestly denied."

Ibid.

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1510

Ibid. p. 290, we have the form of King Henry Eighth's naturalization or denization of the famous Polydore Virgil, a foreigner; which, being exactly the same with one already exhibited under the year 1437, does not demand a particular repetition.

About this time flourished the famous and eminent philosopher and astronomer, Nicholas Copernicus, of Thorn in Polish Prussia, who travelled as far as Rome and other parts of Europe, for the sake of conversing with the most famous men of the age, in relation to the true knowledge of the appearances, positions, and motions of the planets, fixed stars, &c. so useful to navigators and cosmographers; and, in consequence of such enquiries, he introduced such a new and excellent system of astronomy, as, with the various improvements since made in it, remains universally adopted by all civilized nations to this day. He was born in the year 1473.

1511

Whilst the Lubeck fleet, says Meursius's *Historia Danica*, is flying from the superiority of the Danish one, in this year 1511, a fleet of Holland ships, homeward bound from Livonia, consisting of no less than two hundred and fifty merchantmen, and four ships of war, appeared in sight of the Lubeckers; who, it seems, thought this a fair opportunity to be revenged of the Hollanders for invading the commerce of the eastern sea, which the Vandalic towns still vainly imagined they ought entirely to engross to themselves, as they had, indeed, done for some centuries past; for the old controversies between them and the Hollanders, concerning the rights of commerce in those seas, still subsisted. So vast a prize, therefore, allured those monopolizers of commerce to fall on the Dutch fleet, many of which they took, and others they burned; the rest fled to Bornholm, where the victorious Danish fleet then lay; and the Hollanders imploring their assistance for revenging the injury just committed by the Lubeckers, the Danes readily complied, and pursued the Lubeckers, who, to avoid falling into their hands, were forced to let go some of the ships they had taken from the Hollanders, and were glad to escape into their own port of Travemund, with a few of the Dutch prizes; the rest, which the Danes had recovered from the Lubeckers, they restored to the Hollanders, who, notwithstanding, lost a considerable part of this large fleet. This event evidently proves at how early a period the Hollanders had acquired a considerable share in the commerce of the Baltic Sea, and, at the same time, how insolent it was in those Vandalic Hans-towns, who were also under the protection of the German empire, to attack the subjects of the Emperor Maximilian in such an outrageous manner; we cannot, therefore be surprised that their downfall was now approaching, for the Danes, at this time, rode triumphant through the Baltic, seizing on the Vandalic ships in every part of it.

King Henry VIII. having it much in his thoughts to revive the claims of the preceding Kings of England, on the kingdom of France, it will, we apprehend, be of no little utility for an English reader, to learn how early some clear-sighted persons at Court saw the ill tendency of the pernicious schemes of our making conquests on the continent. The following observations are the substance of Lord Herbert's opinions on the subject, viz.—“ If, when all “ Guienne, Anjou, Touraine, and, (for a long time) Normandy was ours, and when the “ Duke of Bretagne was our friend, and the House of Burgundy an assured ally and confederate, we yet could not advance our designs in France, what hope is there now to attain “ them?—Let it be ever granted, that as many battles as we have fought against the French “ were almost so many victories, what was this kingdom the better for them?—Had we ever “ a more glorious time than that of King Edward III. and was yet the country then ever “ more poor or weary of the wars?—You will, in our records and histories, find, that the kingdom

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1511 kingdom was then much exhausted of its treasure," he might have added also of its men, "and shall we trust now to better days?—What though, with our twelve thousand or fifteen thousand men, we have often defeated their armies of fifty thousand or sixty thousand, stands it with reason of war to expect the like success still? especially since the use of arms is changed, and for the bow, proper for men of our strength, the caliver, or hand gun, begins to be generally received; which, besides that it is a more costly weapon, requireth a long practice, and may be managed by the weaker sort. Let us, therefore, in God's name, leave off our attempts against the Terra Firma, as the natural situation of islands seem not to suit with conquests of that kind. Or, when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which, it seems, the eternal Providence has destined us, which is by sea. The Indies are discovered, and vast treasure brought from thence every day; let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards, and if the Spaniards or Portuguese suffer us not to join with them, there will be yet region enough for all to enjoy," &c.

The great and fine island of Cuba, in the West Indies, was not entirely subdued by the Spaniards till this year, when, it is said, they had, by various cruelties and tortures, totally destroyed the numerous natives. And as it never could be re-peopled in any reasonable degree by Spain, being six hundred and sixty miles in length, it still remains, in a great degree, a desert to this day, unless it be in and near the few towns they have in it, which likewise are but poorly inhabited, excepting the famous town and port of Havanna, which may possibly contain near five thousand Spaniards, exclusive of negroes, being about half the white inhabitants of this great island; so that it would probably be totally deserted by Spain, were it not for its situation, and more especially for its very important haven of the Havanna, at the north west corner of it, that commands the entrance into the gulph of Florida, through which their treasure fleets must necessarily sail home to Spain. And as the Havanna has always been, and must ever be, the general rendezvous of their fleets homeward bound, both from New Spain and Terra Firma, that is from Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and Porto Bello, it is justly called the key of the Spanish West Indies. This noble island produces tobacco that is much esteemed, excellent sugar, (though in no great quantity, for want of hands) ginger, long pepper, and many useful drugs, copper mines, excellent fruits and vines, timber of various kinds, vast multitudes of black cattle, brought originally from Spain; but there not being people sufficient to eat them, the Spaniards employ their negroes to kill them, as they also do in Paraguay, &c. purely for their hides, which they send over to Spain in great quantities!

We find, by the most laborious and judicious Hakluyt, in his second volume, that there was some commerce from England, and in English ships, down the Mediterranean Sea, as far as Chios, in the Levant, even as early as this year, but chiefly from London, Bristol, and Southampton.

In the thirteenth volume, p. 311, &c. of the *Fœdera*, we read, in the league entered into between King Henry VIII. of England and King Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, against France, &c. that those two Kings stipulate to have a maritime force sufficient for protecting the maritime commerce of both nations, viz. each King three thousand men, armed and equipped for naval war:—King Ferdinand was to send his quota of forty ships, some of which were to be of three hundred tons burthen, and the rest of smaller dimensions down to one hundred tons, to rendezvous at Southampton, where Henry's forces were to embark, though his quota be not therein specified. Ferdinand's pretence for drawing young King Henry, his son in law, into a war for support of the Pope's dominions against Charles XII. of France, (who,

A.
1511 (who, being possessed of Milan, had also taken Bologna, &c.) was the conquering of Guienne for Henry, which had been the ancient inheritance of the crown of England; but all Ferdinand's views were solely for himself, viz. the conquest of the neighbouring kingdom of Navarre by the help of the English troops.

1512 The next year, (*ibid.* p. 326) we have an indenture, in English, between King Henry VIII. and his Admiral, Sir Edward Howard, much more particular, and which affords us great light into the manner of fitting out fleets for war in those times, viz.

" I. Beside the three thousand men," as in the preceding year above related, " armed for sea war, there were to be seven hundred soldiers, mariners, and gunners, in King Henry's ship, named the Regent. The above three thousand men consisted of the eighteen captains of the English ships, one thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers, and one thousand two hundred and thirty-two mariners and gunners.

" II. The Admiral to have, for the maintenance of himself in diet, and for wages and reward, ten shillings daily pay during the voyage; and each captain one shilling and six pence per day," or two shillings and seven pence of our modern money.

" III. The soldiers, mariners, and gunners to have, per month of twenty-eight days, five shillings wages, and five shillings more for victuals.

" IV. The Admiral undertakes to manage this armament for the before-named and following allowances, he receiving three months expence always before hand. Item, for the coat of every captain and soldier, four shillings; and of every mariner and gunner, one shilling and eight pence.

" V. For the dead shares of the said eighteen English ships, the Admiral was to have as follows, viz.

" For the Regent, being of 1000 tons burden, four pilots, &c. 50 dead shares.

" For the Mary Rose 500 34½

" For the Peter Pomegranate 400 28

" For John Hopton's ship 400

" For the Nicholas Reede 400 } Dead Shares needfuls to be named.

" For the Mary-George 300 }

" The rest of the eighteen ships were, one of two hundred and forty tons, one of two hundred tons, three of one hundred and sixty tons each, one of one hundred and eighty tons, two of one hundred and forty tons each, three of one hundred and twenty tons each, one of one hundred tons, and one of seventy tons. Moreover, for re-victualling and wadding the said eighteen ships, (they are here nineteen) the Admiral was allowed two crayers, viz. one of sixty-five tons, and the other of fifty-five; in the former twelve mariners and a boy, in the latter, ten and a boy, beside their commanders: each of the masters and mariners to have ten shillings per month (as before) for wages and victuals.

" VI. All the soldiers and sailors to have six pence per day for conduct-money, allowing a day's journey to be twelve miles only.

" And forasmuch as our Sovereign Lord, at his cost and charges, victualleth the said army and navy, the said Admiral shall therefore reserve for the King the one half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, shall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water: and also all prisoners, being chieftains, and one ship royal of two hundred tons or upwards, with the ordinance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them."

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☞ This English fleet was, by agreement, to guard the seas from the Channel to the Streights Mouth of Gibraltar; and King Ferdinand's fleet was to perform the same duty in the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ships first began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly; gunners being now, for the first time, mentioned in the *Fœdera*.

In this same year, King James IV. of Scotland, equipped a fleet, (says Rapin de Thoyras) "which he intended to send into France, under colour of presenting it to Queen Anne, wife of Louis XII. But this fleet, in which was the largest ship that had yet been seen on the sea, was lost or disabled by a storm, and the Admiral's ill conduct." King James's real intent was to aid the French King against his brother-in-law, King Henry VIII. of England.

Whoever will attentively consider the gradual increase of the trade, manufactures, and people of England, must, at the same time, acknowledge, that in some of our acts of Parliament of old, the true condition and increase thereof was far from being fairly or justly stated; being often egregiously misrepresented either in the preamble, or in the main bodies of such statutes; sometimes probably to answer the temporary and sinister purposes of men in power, and perhaps sometimes only from mere inadvertency and ignorance of the true state of the then present moment compared with former times; proceeding also from a humour, always more or less prevalent, of unreasonably depreciating the present, and exalting former periods. Of this we have surely a pregnant instance in a statute of the third year of King Henry VIII. cap. viii. intitled, *Of the Affizing of the Price of Victuals when a Victualler is Chief Officer*,—that is, in a corporation.

Whereas, by a statute, cap. vi. of the twelfth year of King Edward II. in the year 1319, entitled, *No Officer of a City or Borough shall sell Wine or Victuals during his Office*, it was enacted, "That no officer, who, by virtue of his office, was bound to keep the assizes of wines and victuals, shall, during his office, sell wines or victuals, either by wholesale or retail."

"Now," says the first named act, "sithen the making of which statute, many, and the most part, of all the cities, burghs, and towns corporate, within this realm of England, be fallen in ruin and decay, and not inhabited with merchants and men of such substance as were at the time of the making of the foresaid statute;—for, at this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and burghs be mostly bakers, brewers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers; and few or no other persons of substance be within many of the said cities and burghs at this day, able to bear office within the same, and to content, answer, and pay unto the King's grace his fee-farm, wherewith they, (*i. e.* the cities and burghs) be charged."—How absurd are these words; for, if the bulk of a city should consist of such trades, it is strange indeed, to represent the rest as persons unable to support them!—"It was now enacted, for the ease, comfort, and relief of the foresaid poor cities, burghs, and towns corporate,—that whensoever, and as often as any victualler is chosen to bear any office, which should have the affizing and correction for the selling of victuals, that then two discreet and honest persons of the same city or burgh, not being victuallers, shall be chosen by the commonalty of the same city or burgh, which two persons, jointly, with the said officer, shall be sworn to set the assizes or prices of victuals during the said victualler's office."

—And then it shall be lawful for the said victualler in office to sell wines and victuals by wholesale and retail."

“ — Pro-

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“ ——— Provided that this act shall not extend to discharge any minister, (aforesaid) of the cities of London, York, and Coventry, for any wine or victuals to be sold by retail within the said cities.”

Now, will any one seriously believe, that, two hundred years further backward, and prior to the reign of King Edward III. who first gave the great and most advantageous turn to the English commerce and manufactures, the cities and towns of England were richer, or indeed near so rich, as at this time, when the exports of the native product and manufactures of England were greatly increased, an infallible mark of increasing riches, and that the most part of the cities and towns of England were fallen into ruin and decay, since the twelfth year of King Edward II? Certainly quite otherwise. It is rather to be supposed, that some other latent reason produced this law; but whether it was intended for the ease of the other more wealthy inhabitants of the said cities and burghs, to bring back the magistracy to the victualers, and perhaps also for some other political purpose, or for what other reason, we shall not absolutely determine, any more than why York and Coventry, and not Bristol, Norwich, &c. though superior to them, are, with London, the only places excepted out of this act.

And we have sufficient demonstration of the truth of what we have advanced by another statute, cap. vii. For restraining the Exportation of Woollen Cloths before they be fully manufactured,—wherein we find that the cloths called vesses, rayes, sailing cloths, &c. which, in King Edward the Fourth's time, sold for forty shillings, were now sold for four marks, and two years after were sold at five marks, and that the prices of wool and workmanship were considerably advanced in about fifty years; which circumstance was solely occasioned by the increase of commerce and people.

In this same year, according to my Lord Herbert, King Henry VIII. built the largest ship ever known in England before. It was built at Woolwich, which place is said to have had the first or oldest royal dock of any place in England. This is the ship called the Regent, of one thousand tons, already mentioned to be this year fitting out against France. The Scottish writers, nevertheless, affirm, that their King James the Fourth's great ship, already mentioned in this same year, and which had been built six years before, was so large and well constructed, that both the English and French copied after it.

An expired statute of the third of King Henry VIII. cap. i. merits a due remark. Its title is, Every Person that shall carry over the Sea any Money, Plate, Jewels, &c. shall forfeit the double Value. Plate and jewels are, in our age, deemed as much a commodity as any other merchandize, and so is foreign coin and bullion. And, in fact, the only solid reason for prohibiting the exportation of our own coin, is when (like our crown pieces at present) it happens to be too weighty; for it would be impracticable to be continually altering our coins, in order to keep pace with the current prices of gold and silver on the continent. Moreover, notwithstanding this prohibition, we know that our crown pieces are melted down and carried beyond sea, so that very few are to be seen current; which shews that it is the intrinsic value alone of our coins which is at all times regarded, and not their nominal value.

From this year we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an English navy-royal, that is, a number of stout ships for war, actually belonging to, and permanently established by the English crown for national defence; King Henry VIII. being the first English King who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end first formed a royal navy office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. He must, indeed, be allowed, amidst all his

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1512 wild dissipations, to have employed great sums of money on his marine affairs, as well for the construction of ships of war, as of docks, yards, wharfs, storehouses, &c. Before his time, there was no permanent navy-royal; but, on ordinary occasions, the Cinque Ports, as we have already fully explained, supplied the crown with a determined number of such sorry ships as they had in those old times: and on great emergencies we have also seen, that all the maritime towns of the kingdom were bound, on reasonable notice, to send their quota of ships and mariners for a determined time, commanded either by the King or his Admiral;—such as was the fleet of King Edward III. at the siege of Calais, in the year 1347, and other capital expeditions.

Moreover, Bishop Gibson, in his Additions to Camden's Britannia, observes, that King Henry VIII. in this fourth year of his reign, for the advancement and benefit of navigation and commerce, erected a corporation for the business of examining, licensing, and regulating pilots, for the ordering and directing of beacons, lighthouses, buoys, &c. which is styled, The Corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond, and has proved of great benefit for accomplishing the valuable ends of its founder. Another society, for the same good purposes, he afterwards erected at Hull, by the name of the Trinity House at Hull; and also another at Newcastle upon Tyne, in the year 1537,—“Which three establishments,” says Hakluyt, “were in imitation of that which the Emperor Charles V. had erected at Seville in Spain;” who, observing the many shipwrecks in the voyages to and from the West Indies, occasioned by the ignorance of seamen, established, at the Contractation House, lectures on navigation, and a pilot-major for the examination of other pilots and mariners:—he also directed books to be published on that subject for the use of his mariners.” The King, by this charter, confirmed to the Deptford Trinity House Society, all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the shipmen and mariners of England, and their several possessions at Deptford; though the time of its particular commencement is not discoverable at present. This corporation, whose powers, &c. have been since confirmed and augmented by succeeding kings, have also the power of appointing pilots for the King's ships, and for examining and fixing their wages, and for certifying their qualifications, and those of the masters of ships of war; also for clearing and deepening the Thames by ballast hoys, with which ballast they supply the shipping. They have also the examination of the forty mathematical boys of Christ's Hospital;—they have likewise power to hear and determine complaints of officers and sailors in the merchant service: so that this corporation, more especially, is evidently of very great utility to the nation.

That finery, or gaiety of apparel, was much increased with the increase of commerce in England, appears from an act of Parliament of the fourth year of King Henry VIII. cap. vi. reciting part of an act of the twelfth of King Edward IV. (not printed) whereby the Custom-house officers are prohibited to take any thing whatever for stamping of imported cloth of gold, and cloth of silver, vaudekin, velvêt, damask, sattin, sarcenet, tariton, camlet, and other cloths of silk, and of silk and gold and silver. It is in this new act said, “that many times the merchants do import, in one ship only, three or four thousand pieces of those merchandize, which” says this act, “amounts to thirty or forty pounds to those officers, thus against law still extorting two pence for the sealing of each piece.”

John de Solis, sailing from Spain along the coast of Brasil southward, first discovers the great river which they named De la Plata, in thirty-five degrees south of the equator, in the country of Paraguay.

King

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King Henry VIII. bent on war against France, (says Lord Herbert, p. 30, in his *Life of that Prince*) thought fit, in the first place, to clear the sea of the French navy. He therefore sent out his fleet toward Brest, consisting of forty-two sail, beside lesser barks, without specifying, as in the preceding year, (unless, indeed, they were the identical fleet of that year) their tonnage, guns, or rates; neither, indeed, with respect to the last can we conceive that the rate of ships had been as yet, nor even long after this time, brought into use any where in Europe: and his lordship, probably, would have given posterity the tonnage, and number of guns on the French side also, had they been left upon record; but either so incurious, or else so negligent, we know not which to call it, were the historians of those times, that they have too often neglected such matters, which, in our day, would be reckoned unpardonable; whilst they often, with the greatest exactness, entertain us with a tedious detail of a public entry, or other trifling shew or cavalcade. Mr. Burchet, however, in his *Naval History*, acquaints us, that the largest of King Henry's ships, named the *Regent*, which, from last year's account, we know was of one thousand tons burden, grappled (before Brest) with the largest of the French ships, named the *Cordeliere*, which being accidentally set on fire, occasioned both those ships to be consumed, with all their crews; the sight of which so terrified the rest of the French fleet, which had just come out of Brest Harbour, to the number of thirty-nine ships, that they all retired again into that port, and so put an end to this marine campaign; though others give a very different account of this matter, and represent the French to have been superior to the English fleet, which, after losing their Admiral Howard, was forced to retire home.

About this time, says Mezerai, began the reign of the Cherifs in Africa, by one Mahomet Ben Hemet, who pretended to be descended from his great prophet; and having sanctified himself in the opinion of the people by a tedious and long solitude, he animated them, with a furious zeal, to make war on the Christians, and on those Moors who had made alliances with them; and, through the assistance of his two sons, he conquered the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, and Tremisen.

Under the year 1511, we have observed, from Hakluyt, that the English began to have some commerce in the Levant Sea. Of this we have now an authentic confirmation from the thirteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 353, where we find King Henry VIII. appointing one Justiniano to be Master, Governor, Protector, or Consul, of all the merchants, or other English subjects in the port and island of Scio, or Chios, in the Archipelago, still possessed by the Genoese, with powers, &c. for his governing them, and receiving the profits of his said office. This isle lies near the coast of Lesser Asia, not far from Smyrna, and is celebrated for the drug called Mastic.

The same year, King Henry VIII. further confirmed the privileges of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England, with respect to their exportation of English woollen cloths, &c.

On the very next page of this thirteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we find King Henry VIII. entering into a league with the Emperor Maximilian, King Ferdinand of Spain, and Pope Leo X. against King Louis XII. of France, under the specious shew of defending the Pope and the Church, and agreeing to allow one hundred thousand gold crowns for supporting this pretended holy war. And, p. 381, in the same year, he stipulates to pay two hundred thousand crowns to Maximilian, for his keeping up four thousand horse, and six thousand foot, in the Netherlands, for the same purpose: as also for enabling Henry's garrison at Tournay to defend that place from the French.

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A magazine and storehouse for the royal navy is now first erected by King Henry VIII. at Deptford, near London, where he had the year before erected the Trinity House Corporation; which place is since become a large town, more populous than many of our English corporation towns, occasioned by the noble royal docks, storehouses, dock yards, wharfs, &c. since erected there.

King Henry VIII. considering how far the river Thames was exposed to insults from foreign enemies, now erected a platform of cannon at Gravesend, and another opposite to it on the Essex shore, where Tilbury Fort was afterwards built. He likewise, to repair the loss of his fine ship, named the Regent, already mentioned, caused another to be built, (says Hall's Chronicle) which was such an one as had never before been seen in England, and named it the Henry Grace Dieu!

1514 Guicciardini, in his Description of the Netherlands, acquaints us, that the city of Antwerp being, by its vast commerce, greatly enlarged with new buildings, was now surrounded also with a new and more extensive wall, being the second that had been built round that city.

Notwithstanding the preparations made in the preceding year for a confederate and pretended religious war against King Louis XII. of France; yet this thirteenth volume, p. 412, of the *Fœdera*, gives us a treaty of peace between King Henry VIII. and him, for both their lives, comprehending also an intercourse of commerce; whereby it was stipulated,

“ I. That all duties or burdens on commerce, in both countries, imposed within the last fifty-two years, should be absolutely repealed.

“ II. And that all foreign merchants, and particularly the Venetians and Florentines, should be at full liberty to sail to either kingdom, armed or unarmed, with their ships and merchandize.

“ III. No letters of marque or reprisal, to be issued by either of the contracting parties against any but the principal delinquents and their effects and abettors, and not even against those, until justice shall have been denied, after being formally demanded.

IV. In another article of this treaty, for the two Kings mutually to assist each other with both land and sea forces; the assistance by sea, on either side, was to be five thousand armed men, “ with ships fit for war, cannon, gunpowder, stones, (*lapidibus*)”—for they had not as yet discovered the fabrication of iron bullets—“ darts, provisions, arms, and other necessaries for war, suitable to the number of men above specified, at the expence of the party demanding such assistance.” But here is no specification of the precise number, or of the burden of the ships.

“ V. Louis obliges himself to confirm to the English trading at Bourdeaux, all the privileges and immunities granted either by himself or his predecessors, Kings of France.”

Ibid. p. 433, we learn, that the four hundred thousand gold crowns, stipulated for the marriage portion of Mary, second daughter of the late King Henry VII. to be married to King Louis XII. of France, should, as to the one half of it, go towards the lady's equipage, gold and silver plate, jewels, cloaths, &c. and the other half of that portion was to be deducted out of a million of crowns, which Louis, by another treaty with Henry, of this same year, (*ibid.* p. 428) stipulates to pay him in several payments, for his deserting the confederacy, already mentioned to have been formed in the preceding year against Louis; although the plausible pretence for this stipulation was expressed to be, for several old claims of the crown of England on that of France.

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1514. In vol. xiii. p. 470, of the *Fœdera*, we may observe, that a small sum still went a great way, For King Henry VIII. in this same year 1514, makes not a little parade of his granting an annuity of twenty pounds for the life of Dame Jane Guldeford, widow of Sir Richard, “ in “ consideration of her great and faithful services to his father and mother, King Henry VII. “ and Queen Elizabeth, to his two sisters, the Queens of France and Scotland, and to him- “ self.” This twenty pounds was equal in quantity to thirty pounds of modern money; and if wheat was no cheaper than in the year 1521, viz. twenty shillings per quarter, or thirty shillings of our money, then the rate of living at this time was about, or rather more than, twice as cheap as in our days.

In the year also, and in the volume and page above quoted, we see the form of a manumission, or of freedom, granted by King Henry VIII. to two persons, viz.

“ Whereas, originally God created all men free; but afterward the laws and customs of “ nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude;—we think it pious and meritorious “ with God, to make certain persons absolutely free from servitude, who are at present under “ villenage to us. Wherefore, we do now accordingly manumit and free from the yoke of “ servitude, Henry Knight, a taylor, and John Erle, a husbandmen, our natives, (*i. e.* our “ slaves) as being born in our manor of Stoke-Clymmylande, in our county of Cornwall, “ together with all their issue born, or hereafter to be born, and all their goods, chattels and “ lands already acquired, or hereafter to be acquired by them; so as the said two persons, with “ their issue, shall henceforth be deemed by us and our heirs free, and of free condition.”

Thus we see that this slavish custom of manors was still kept up in England, though, in most other respects, much altered for the better. See the antiquity, &c. of villenage under the year 600. and also a preceding manumission in the year 1338.

In this same year, the *Chronicon Preciosum* makes a master shipwright's daily pay, with his diet, to be five pence, and without diet, seven pence, an hewer, with diet, four pence, and without diet, six pence, and an able clincher the same. Whereby it appears that living then was still twice as cheap as in our days.

1515 As we have seen that England, five years previous to this time, had neither salads, cabbages, turnips, nor carrots, but what were sent from the Netherlands, it is natural enough to suppose, that Denmark was still later in those improvements. King Christian II. in this year 1515, marrying Isabella, the Emperor Charles the Fifth's sister, sent for a parcel of Netherlanders, her country-folks, whom he settled in the little isle Amagria, or Amager, in the vicinity of Copenhagen, where they built a town called Hollander-dorp, and not only improved the Danes in gardening, cookery, &c. but also in trade and manufactures.

Meursius, in his *Historia Danica*, lib. iii. observes, that the Danes had, for a long time, complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the Hans-towns in commercial matters; and particularly, that when they carried their merchandize to those towns for sale, the Danes were not permitted to ask what price they thought fit for the same; but that the Magistrates of those Hans-towns assumed a power of arbitrarily setting a fixed price thereon; and those Magistrates being generally merchants themselves, took great advantage thereof, so that the Danes were frequently obliged to sell at a losing price, as they were not permitted to re-export their merchandize from those towns, after they had once exposed it to sale; but at best, if not compelled to sell it at the price first fixed or offered, they had no other remedy but to lodge them in the citizens warehouses till the prices should change in their favour. The great quantity, moreover, of corn, butter, fish, &c. thereby carried out of Denmark, rendering provisions much

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1515 much dearer, and distressing the poor; this King therefore directed, that, for the future, all such merchandize should be exposed to sale solely at Copenhagen, whither also he brought the richest merchants from other parts of his dominions.—Thus this Prince, Christiern II. though in other respects a cruel tyrant, (for which he was expelled and deposed) brought Copenhagen to be the emporium or staple for all Danish merchandize, to the great detriment of the Vandalic Hans-towns, viz. Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Straelfund, Stetin, &c.—This was one great blow to the commerce of the Hans-towns, whose arbitrary proceedings induced other princes and states to adopt similar measures; and as men grew wiser by experience, it also put them upon establishing manufactures and other branches of commerce at home, which gradually brought on the further decay of those Hans-towns.

In England new measures were projected for the further prevention of frauds in the manufacture of woollen cloths; and, by two statutes, (cap. viii. and ix.) the weight of those cloths is directed to be ascertained, and orders made to prevent stretching in their measure, as well as shrinking; and other regulations touching the wool, yarn, &c. And Blackwell Hall is first named therein, as a repository for woollen cloths;—though there can be no doubt but that its first establishment was at a much earlier period.

In vol. xiii. p. 525, of the *Fœdera*, there is a promissory obligation of the secretary of the Duke of Milan, then a prisoner to King Francis I. of France, to Cardinal Wolsey, of ten thousand ducats per annum, during the life of his master the Duke:—"The first payment to be made when the said Duke shall be delivered from his French troubles, and be fixed in his said dominions.—And the cardinal shall promise, that there shall be a perpetual and inviolable friendship between King Henry VIII. and his said master."

This is so remarkable a transaction, that though it does not properly relate to our general subject, we thought it worth remarking; especially as it is too short, to interrupt our general subject. The Emperor Charles V. and the French King Francis, both paid the Cardinal annual pensions, viz. the former three thousand pounds Flemish, and the latter twelve thousand livres.

In volume thirteen, p. 476, &c. of the *Fœdera*, a new treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between King Henry VIII. and King Francis I. in much the same terms as that already named in the year 1514, with Louis XII. now dead, viz. for both their lives, and one year after, (the common manner of treating in those times) with an additional clause against the permitting of privateers of either nation to set sail, without giving security not to injure any of the subjects of the other contracting party, and not permit them to sell their booty in the ports of either party, nor to supply them with provisions.

Ibid. p. 493, King Henry VIII. having complained to the States of Genoa, who were still sovereigns of the isle of Scio, against the new duty laid on the merchandize of his subjects there; the Senate did not reply thereto until the year 1517, when they, in substance, acquainted the King, "That the heavy annual tribute which the state of Genoa is obliged to pay to the Grand Seignior, for being permitted to remain in the possession of the isle of Scio, occasions their imposing the duty or toll which his subjects complain of: wherefore they humbly hope his Majesty will not any more listen to the complaints of his subjects there, since they are no higher taxed than the other inhabitants."—They add, "that by the said grievous annual tribute to the Turks, they have contracted a debt of one hundred and twenty thousand

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1515 “ thousand ducats, which they can no otherwise discharge but by those new tolls or duties.”
—*Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 589.

In the same volume, p. 520, of the *Fœdera*, a new treaty of peace and intercourse of commerce was concluded between King Henry VIII. and King Ferdinand the Catholic, for himself as King of Arragon, and also as administrator of the person and dominions of his daughter Joanna, Queen of Castile, &c. the principal subject of which is the same with that of former treaties with Spain; with this addition, “ That in case the ships of either party should “ thereafter chance to be wrecked on the coasts of the other party, the Magistrates should secure and sequester the goods, &c. of such wreck for the proprietors, if within twenty “ months they should make out their claim thereunto; and perishable merchandize should be “ sold for the benefit of the right owners: but if no claim be made within twenty months, “ then the laws of the country, where such wreck shall happen, are to take place.”

Under this sagacious King, Francis I. of France, who came to the crown in this year, and reigned till the year 1547, Voltaire, in his *Essay on the Age of Louis XIV.* says, “ That trade, navigation, learning, and all the arts took their rise, but were all buried with “ him.”

1516 In this year King Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, departed this life at Madrid, which place (says Guicciardini, in his *History of the Wars in Italy*) was then but an obscure village. Spain, before the union of its several kingdoms, had naturally as many different capitals as kingdoms; but by its becoming the usual residence of Ferdinand's successors, Madrid, though still an open town without walls, is become a very great city.

In Hakluyt's third volume of *Voyages*, p. 489, he mentions a voyage made this year by Sir Thomas Port, Vice-Admiral of England, and Sebastian Cabot, from England to the coasts of Brasil, and other parts of South America, by order of King Henry VIII. yet he gives us no particulars of it.

In many different periods, we find the Hanseatic historians almost constantly complaining, and particularly the Lubeckers, of the violences committed by the Danes. For instance, in the year 1507, the King of Denmark, just after having concluded a peace with the Hans-towns, seized on nine Lubeck merchant ships, richly laden from Riga. On the other hand, the Danish historians paint the Hans-towns, and especially Lubeck, in very odious colours, and as being the continual and implacable enemy of Denmark: but, as at this distance of time, we are not well able to judge of the grounds of many of their quarrels, since both sides set off their own cause to their respective advantage, we shall not determine upon the matter, any further than historically to relate, that this remarkable seizure produced an eight-years war between them, which did not end till this year 1516;—during which space the city of Hamburgh alone carried on a trade with Norway and Denmark, without any regard to Lubeck, and the other Vandalic cities at war with that crown; by which attention to its interests, and by its trade with England and the Netherlands, (says the Hanseatic historian, Angelius á Werdenhagen, vol. i. part 3, cap. 17) Hamburgh very greatly increased in wealth and prosperity.

We have, in the thirteenth volume, p. 533, of the *Fœdera*, a renewal of the intercourse of commerce between England and Charles, sovereign of the Netherlands.

And in p. 539, that intercourse was renewed for five years to come, when it was further stipulated,

“ I. That the English, carrying their merchandize to Antwerp, which is in the province “ of Brabant, shall not there be obliged to pay the tolls of Zealand; neither, when they carry their

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1516 " their merchandize to Bergen-op-zoom," (it is Berghes in the original, and may possibly be intended for Mons, the Dutch name of that city) " or to Middelburg, shall they be obliged " to pay the tolls of Brabant, but solely those of Zealand.

" II. That the merchants of either country shall not make by-laws and statutes amongst themselves, for agreeing not to buy the goods of certain towns or persons of the other country: neither shall either side set a fixed price on the merchandize of the other side, at their fairs and markets, but all persons shall be free on both sides, to buy and sell as they best can.

" III. Lastly, within one year from the date hereof, a formal congress shall be held, for terminating of all complaints of the subjects of both princes, either general or particular, relating to tolls, customs, the staple, &c."

Thus were the traders of England and the Netherlands perpetually complaining and treating about grievances; and yet both parties found it their interest to go on trading with each other, as we have before remarked.

This year put an end to the famous monarchy of the Mamelukes in Egypt, after it had lasted upwards of three hundred years. It seems, that Campson Gaurus, their fifteenth monarch or sultan, had, about or soon after the year 1501, unhappily joined with Ismael, Sophy of Persia, against Selim I. the Turkish emperor, who proved too hard for them both, and found means to dethrone and kill Tonombeius, the son of Campson Gaurus. The Mamalukes, however, made a resistance to the power of Selim for some years after; yet he at length reduced, first, the port towns of Syria, as Tripoli, Sidon, &c. and next the city of Damascus. Lastly, he subjected the entire country of Egypt, after taking the vast city of Cairo, in this year 1516. This was a great blow to the balance of power in the East, by throwing two such noble countries as Syria and Egypt into the scale of the Turkish empire, already too ponderous; so that the Sultans were, for the future, the more enabled to give the law in the Levant seas, and to distress the commerce and territories of Venice and Genoa in those parts, as they soon after effectually did. It also gave them the dominion of both sides of the Red Sea, and down south west to the coast of Africa without that sea, and south east on the Arabian shore. It likewise gave the Turks the means of going by sea to the East Indies, to the great annoyance of the Portuguese in those parts, as may be seen in the histories of their Indian conquests.

Under the year 1489, we have exhibited my Lord Bacon's solid reasons for a law made in that year, (fourth Henry vii. cap. 19) " against decaying of houses of husbandry, or not laying of convenient land for the maintenance of the same," to which therefore we now refer the reader. The same evil, it seems, still prevailed;—that is, much arable land was inclosed and turned into pasture. A fresh law therefore was made in the fourth year of King Henry VIII. cap. v. importing, " that whosoever decayeth any town or house of husbandry, or doth " convert tillage into pasture, shall forfeit to the Lord of the Fee half the profits thereof." Yet this not being thought sufficient, the very next (*i. e.* the present) year, an act of the seventh of this King, cap. i. was made " That if any person shall decay a town, a hamlet, or " house of husbandry, or convert tillage into pasture, the immediate Lord of the Fee shall " have the moiety of the offender's land until the offence be reformed," which title of the act is the same as that of the preceding year; and although we have nothing but the titles of all the three in the printed acts, yet they sufficiently shew the humour of people in those times in favour of pasturage, and the sense which the legislature had of the danger of suffering it to increase.

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The city of Antwerp constantly increasing in wealth and commerce, and the city of Bruges as constantly declining, such foreign merchants, as had not before quitted the latter city, removed in this year 1516, to Antwerp; the English had removed thither in the preceding year: so there now only remained a few Spaniards at Bruges; yet the staple for English wool was not as yet removed thence.

We have seen, under the year 1509, that King Ferdinand the Catholic, by erecting a fort on the small isle fronting the city of Algiers, kept the Algerines from piratical excursions till his death, which happened in this year 1516. On which event they took fresh courage, and to get rid of the Spaniards almost at any rate, called in to their aid the famous Barbarossa, who, in the year 1504, had been the first of any Levantine or Turkish pirate that ventured to cruize so far west as the coasts of Italy and Spain; the piratical cruizing on which coasts having been till then solely carried on by the Moors of the Barbary Shores, who hitherto had no dependence on, nor connexion with the Ottoman Porte or Levantine Turks.* But Barbarossa's undaunted courage and steady conduct gained him such fame and conquests, that, from a small single galliot, he arrived to the command of a large squadron or fleet; and, from having been a potter's son, came at length to be King of Algiers, after having, before this year, obtained the sovereignty of a smaller dominion on the same coast of Barbary. Barbarossa joyfully accepted of the invitation of the Algerines. We have seen, that most of the Moors, who had been expelled from Spain, after the conquest of Granada, in the year 1492, had settled in the Moorish towns of the opposite shore of Barbary, where they vowed irreconcilable enmity and revenge against Spain; and, for those ends, kept a dangerous, but very private, correspondence with such Moors as still remained in Spain, many of whom they secretly drew over to Barbary. It was now therefore much easier for Barbarossa to gain the sovereignty at Algiers, more especially as he had got with him above one thousand Levantine Turks, who, having heard of his successes, flocked to serve under him; and as they were, from time to time, reinforced by more of their countrymen, they there kept the city of Algiers in perpetual awe; and thus he actually was inaugurated King of the city and territory of Algiers.

517 King Charles of Spain, however, now sends out a fleet, and a land army of above ten thousand men, for the attack of Algiers, and for restoring of their young King, Salem's son; yet, by the conduct of Barbarossa within that city, and the tempest they met with on the sea, both fleet and army were almost all destroyed. And thus did Barbarossa first introduce the power and influence of the Turks into that part of Barbary; although, during his own life, he never owned any such dependence on the Grand Seignior as the Deys of Algiers acknowledged afterwards; yet, as Barbarossa was, the same year, pursued by the Spanish Governor of Oran, in his flight from Tremisen, he was on that occasion slain: whereupon, the Algerines elected Heyradin, Barbarossa's brother, for their King. He was the first who directly put himself and subjects under the protection of the Ottoman Porte, who very gladly granted it, and sent two thousand Janissaries with a commission to Heyradin, constituting him the Grand Seignior's Bassa or Vice-Roy of Algiers, as the most probable means, in Heyradin's opinion, for protecting Algiers from the attacks of Spain.

Four Portuguese ships, attended by four Malayan ships, sail from Malacca for China, with an ambassador for the Chinese Emperor, who journeyed from Canton to Peking, all the way over land.

The first account we have of the grand cod fishery on the banks of Newfoundland was in this year, when, according to Hakluyt's third volume, p. 499, but Herrera says two years

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1517 later, an English ship of two hundred and fifty tons arrived at the island of Porto Rico, pretending she came with another to discover a passage to Cathay, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships on the fishery. From thence the said ship sailed for Hispaniola, but being fired at from the castle, it returned to Porto Rico; and after its departure from that island was never heard of more.

▲ So great an event, and so fraught with such interesting consequences, as the reformation of a great part of Christendom from popery to protestantism, cannot altogether be passed over in silence for many obvious reasons; yet, as ecclesiastical history is not our province, it will be sufficient for us briefly to observe, under this year 1517, that Pope Leo X. being, or seeming to be alarmed at the conquest of Syria and Egypt from the Mamalukes, by Selim the Grand Seignior, as related under the preceding year, published a crusade against the Turks; and, for that apparent end, published his indulgences all over Christendom, which were so shamefully disposed of in Germany, that the benefit of them were even to extend to the dead, whose souls, upon payment by their heirs, &c. of a sum of money, were immediately to be redeemed out of purgatory: and Guicciardini, in his wars of Italy, relates, that those powers for releasing of souls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns. Which scandalous proceedings excited Martin Luther, a monk, and professor of divinity at Wirtemberg in Saxony, to attack the papal power, and being supported in that design by Frederick, Elector of Saxony, &c. a reformation of religion was gradually brought about in several kingdoms and states of Europe. Which great event has proved very beneficial to those particular countries wherein protestantism has been firmly established; since, by suppressing the idle drones in the convents, and putting a stop to the great sums annually remitted to Rome, and carried to other parts for pilgrimages, &c. their people are more increased and more profitably employed for the general benefit; while their money, before so unworthily dissipated, is now employed in trade and commerce. Much more might be said on this subject, to shew the many benefits which have accrued to those particular countries which embraced the reformation of religion; but as these general remarks may be sufficient for our present purpose, we shall leave our readers to supply the rest, as their several inclinations shall direct them.

1518 On May-day, 1518, there was a shameful riot committed, says Hall in his Life of King Henry VIII. p. 62, by the London apprentices, servants, watermen, and priests, against foreigners, by pulling down and rifling their houses, &c. The complaints against them were, “ That there were such numbers of them employed as artificers, that the English could get no work—That the English merchants had little to do, by reason the merchant-strangers bring in all silks, cloths of gold, wine, oil, iron, &c. that no man almost buyeth of an English-man—They also export so much wool, tin, and lead, that English adventurers can have no living—That foreigners compass the city round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple-bar, Holborn, St. Martins Le Grand, St. John’s-street, Aldgate, Tower-hill, and St. Catherines; and they forefall the market, so that no good thing for them cometh to the market, which are the causes that Englishmen want and starve, whilst foreigners live in abundance and pleasure—That the Dutchmen bring over iron, timber, and leather ready manufactured, and nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools; tables, chests, girdles, saddles, and painted cloths.” These accusations throw some light on the commercial condition of London at this time. “ Dr. Bele’s Spital sermon on Easter Tuesday had greatly increased the people’s jealousy of foreigners. I saw, (said John Lincoln, the chief instigator of the people) on a Sunday this Lent, six hundred foreigners shooting at the poppinjay with cross bows.”

“bows.” This riot was over by dawn of day, called Evil May-day. Several of those rioters were hanged, and the King pardoned the rest. The pretended crimes of those foreigners were probably their working cheaper, and being more industrious than our own people, whose exclusive privileges within the city, kept the foreigners in those out-parts already named out of the freedom; thereby getting much of the trade, &c. from the freemen.

A treaty was now concluded between King Henry VIII. and Francis I. the French King, for the marriage of Mary, Henry's daughter, with the Dauphin of France, wherein Henry stipulates to pay three hundred and thirty thousand crowns, of thirty-five sols tournois each, as the lady's portion; but it did not take place. *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 632.

And, in the same page of the same work, we have a treaty, in which Henry stipulates to deliver up to Francis the city and territory of Tournay, with Mortagne and St. Amande; for which Francis agrees to pay him six hundred thousand crowns, of thirty-five sols tournois each, at several distant payments.

By the following commercial, or rather maritime or marine treaty, in the same thirteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 649, between King Henry VIII. and King Francis I. the title of which is *Tractatus Depredationis*, it appears that there were, in those times, many violences, robberies, and piracies committed on the seas of Europe. For the prevention whereof it was now stipulated,

“I. That, at London, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Master of the Rolls, for England; and at Rouen, the like officers for France; should reciprocally be the judges of such enormities.

“II. The security which masters and owners of ships gave, by former treaties, on their setting sail, not to injure the subjects of the other contracting party on the seas or in port, was, by this treaty, made general, viz. that they should not injure any nation whatever.

“III. Ships, on their return home, are to undergo a strict examination, and to give a just account how they come by any ships, merchandize, or prisoners, which they may hereafter bring home by way of booty.”

Since all the powers of Europe have adopted the mode of keeping up both a standing maritime and land force even in times of peace as well as in war, such piratical violences amongst nations in amity are ceased, because they would be so easily detected, and so speedily punished.

And here it may be proper to remark, that, in almost all the general treaties between England and France, for about one hundred years backward from this time, England, along with such other powers as are comprehended by her in those treaties, generally has comprehended, as the now expressly comprehends, the community and Society of the Teutonic Hans, *communitas et societas Hansæ Teutonicæ*.

We may also remark, that King Henry VIII. was the first King of England that had any correspondence with the Swiss Cantons, whom he therefore generally comprehends in his treaties, under the title of the Helvetic Lords, (*Domini Helvetii, sive Suetensēs*.)

In this year, according to Thuanus, lib. 51. “fourteen of the Hans-towns were cut off from their general confederacy,” for irregularities, doubtless, in their conduct. He adds, however, “that there still remained, till his time, sixty-six cities in that confederacy, viz. six Vandalic cities, eight of Pomerania; six of Prussia, three of Livonia, thirteen Saxon cities, ten of Westphalia, seven of Cleves or Marck, three of Overysse, seven of Guelder-land, and three of Friesland.” By which account, there must have been in all eighty

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1518 Hans-towns in that confederacy; yet we have seen that their own historiographer, Werdenhagen, makes but sixty-four cities, who ever paid annual contributions for the expence of that confederacy. See the year 1370.

In the fourth Parliament of King James V. the Scottish Parliament passed an act, with proper penalties, against those who neglect to plant woods, hedges, and fences; though this, like former laws for the same purpose, has never been well executed, even to the present times: but they are in our days setting effectually, though but gradually, about what their own statutes long since enjoined them to do.

1519 The Spaniards proceeded in their discoveries on the continent of America, and particularly on the coast of what is still called Terra Firma, Darien, &c. although, as elsewhere observed, what with storms and shipwrecks, and the resistance of the native Indians, it may be thought doubtful, whether, upon the whole, they were really gainers till after the year 1519; when the Emperor Charles V. King of Spain, received news of the discovery and commencement of the conquest of the famous Indian empire of Mexico by Hernando or Ferdinando Cortes; who, sailing, in the year 1518, from the isle of Cuba, with about four hundred foot soldiers, seven small cannon, and fifteen, some say fifty, horsemen, laid the foundation of a very great dominion for Spain in America, by the immense treasures which, to this day, are annually brought from America into Spain, more especially after they had from Mexico invaded Peru, Paraguay, and Chili southward, and New Mexico northward. "The mention of this particular," says Mr. Rapin very judiciously, in his History of England, "is the more necessary, as it was the gold and silver wherewith the new world furnished Spain, that contributed most to render Charles V. so powerful as he will hereafter appear; besides, money growing more plenty by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader must not be surprized hereafter to find more numerous armies, greater magnificence in Princes' Courts, and the dowries of Princesses much larger than before."

Ferdinand Magellan, who had served under Albuquerque, the great Portuguese Commander in East India, having, through some discontent, entered into the service of Spain, now signified to the Emperor Charles V. King of Spain, that, by the imaginary line of division, or partition, which King John of Portugal had agreed on with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, all the Banda and Molucca Isles must fall to the share of Spain, of which rich isles he proposed to him to make a compleat discovery, by a bold and till then unheard-of navigation westward. The Emperor joyfully embraced his proposal, giving him five ships and three hundred men for its execution; yet, through storms, scarcity of provisions, &c. he did not get through that famous streight, to which his name was thereupon given, till November 1520: sailing from thence by the Ladrone Isles, he arrived at the Isles which he called the Philippines, where he lost his life in a skirmish; but the ships sailed on for Tidore, one of the Molucca Isles, where they arrived on the twenty-seventh month after their first setting out from Spain, and where (contrary to what the Portuguese had given out, to deter others from coming thither) they found the sea one hundred and two yards in depth; though the Portuguese had, as some write, spread reports of its being so shallow, that there was no navigating it, (they should have said, except by Portuguese) beside continual darkness, rocks, &c. Here the Spaniards first tasted the spices at their fountain head, and traded with the King and people of Tidore for them, in exchange for their own cargo of cloth, glasses, &c. to a vast profit; from thence they returned home, with only one of their ships, by the Cape of Good Hope, one ship being taken by the Portuguese, and the other left leaky, and arrived at Seville, in September,

1519 tember, in the year 1522; having been, in all probability, the first of any mortals who had ever sailed quite round the terraqueous globe.

There having, probably, been some difference before this time between England and Genoa, on account of commerce, or perhaps from the partiality of the Genoese to France, under the protection and vassalage of whose Kings they had, for some time past, put themselves; the French King, amongst his other titles, now styling himself Lord of Genoa, matters were, in this year, accommodated; and we accordingly meet with King Henry the Eighth's passport or safe-conduct, (in thirteenth volume, p. 700, of the *Foedera*) to Luke Spinola, styled master of the society of merchants of Genoa residing in England, and to all other Genoese merchants, and their factors, &c. together with their carracks, gallies, and ships, to resort to any part of England and its territories, there freely to sell their merchandize, and to buy wool, woollen cloth, tin, lead, &c.—Provided they do not export any merchandize of the staple of Calais to any port but to Calais, unless it be through the Straits of Morocco; any letters of marque, or reprisals against the community, dominion, and city of Genoa, their vassals or subjects, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding. Lastly, this safe-conduct was to continue for five years, even although it should happen, in the interim, that war should break out between England and France.

According to the English translation of Dr. Sandoval's History of the Civil Wars of Spain, in the beginning of the Reign of Charles V. printed in London, in the year 1657, in folio, when almost all the cities of Spain, in 1519, and the following years, were troubled with insurrections, on account of the exorbitant exactions of that Emperor's Flemish favourites, and their carrying great quantities of money out of Spain into Flanders, &c. we find mention made of several cloth-workers amongst those rebels, whose army having drawn up articles or conditions to be agreed to by the Emperor, some of them are as follows, viz.

“ 1. That the cloth imported from other countries shall be of the same size and goodness as the cloths wrought in these kingdoms” of Spain.

“ II. That the merchants and clothiers of the kingdoms” of Spain “ may take,” (seize) “ to work and spend therein, one half of all the wools bought, either by natives or by strangers, to be sent out of the kingdoms, paying the same price as they had done for them.— And that the officers of justice may take the said wools either from the shepherds or from the buyers, and deliver them to be manufactured, as above.”

From which it is plain, that there was once a considerable woollen manufacture in Spain, though afterwards neglected, chiefly proceeding from two causes, viz. First, From the continual flowing in of the gold and silver of America very soon after this time, so that the nation grew lazy with their riches, and careless of the labour required in manufactures.—Secondly, The temptation of getting suddenly rich, allured such numbers of people to withdraw to America, that there were not industrious hands enough left in Spain to carry on such manufactures.

Spain has, since that period, made various unsuccessful efforts for the revival of that manufacture; and such measures are, in our days, pursuing by his present Catholic Majesty, as are very likely to restore it in some considerable degree, though that country still labours under the great misfortune of a want of industrious hands: so extremely difficult it is for a nation to recover or regain a neglected and lost manufacture.

The Emperor Charles V. makes, in this year, a second attempt from Spain against Algiers, by his Admiral Moncado, with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, and a good body

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1519 body of veteran troops, in order to overturn the new government there under the Levantine Turks, which, however, proved as unfortunate as the preceding attempt in the year 1517, the greatest part of both the navy and army being destroyed by a violent tempest. Thus Heyradin Bassa proved as successful as his late brother Barbarossa, scouring the coast of the Mediterranean sea by his piracies every where, with upwards of twenty galliots, and near as many brigantines; frequently landing on the coasts of Spain, and doing not only incredible damage to the Spanish commerce, but interrupting, in a great measure, the general commerce of the Mediterranean.

1520 In vol. xiii. p. 714, of the *Fœdera*, the commercial treaty, named by the Netherlanders *intercurfus magnus*, concluded in 1495-6, was now renewed between King Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. sovereign of the Netherlands, for five years certain.

And, in the same volume, p. 722, King Henry VIII. issued a commission for a congress at Bruges in Flanders, "to treat with commissioners from the Hans-towns, concerning the abuses, unjust uses, extensions, enlargements, interpretations, and restrictions, made by the Hanseatic merchants, of or concerning the several privileges at any time granted to the Hanseatic League by this King or his predecessors, and to remove all the said abuses; also to demand and receive whatever sums of money, and how large soever they may be, due to us," says the King, "on that account. And, finally, to renew and conclude an intercourse of commerce between England and the said Hans-league:" but the issue of this congress does not appear.

The Genoese, says Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, p. 480, observing the various ways of essaying to get to the East Indies, beside the common way by the Cape of Good Hope, as that now by Magellan's Straits, the north-west supposed passage, that supposed from New Spain, and the hoped-for north-east passage, every nation seeking to excel in industry in this age of discoveries; they, because not so much accustomed to voyages on the ocean, sent Paul Conterano to the then Czar of Muscovy, with a proposal for carrying the merchandize of East India over-land into Russia; but, says our author, the difficulties of this undertaking were so many, that the Czar rejected their proposal.

Archbishop Nicholson, in his *English Historical Library*, speaking of the state of geographical knowledge at or about this time, observes, "That since the beginning of King Henry the Eighth's reign, our eldest general geographer or antiquary is said to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guernsey man, who died at London, in the year 1545; the year following, a much greater man of the profession, Sir Thomas Elliot, one of King Henry's ambassadors, and of Sir Thomas More's friends, died also. Contemporary with those two was George Lilly, son of William, the famous grammarian, who lived some time at Rome with Cardinal Pole, and published the first exact map that was drawn of this island."

1521 The great progress of the Turks at this time against Christendom, justly alarmed the Princes of Europe; for, in the year 1521, the Sultan Solyman the Magnificent not only took the fortrefs of Belgrade from Louis King of Hungary, but likewise soon after the city of Buda, the capital of that kingdom. In the year following he assaulted the famous isle of Rhodes, so long possessed by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and although the city of Rhodes had but six thousand Christians in garrison, they held out six months against the whole power of the Turks, who lost sixty-four thousand men before they were able to take it. Solyman also, out of the Black Sea, and other parts, having got together near six hundred gallies, &c. attempted the isle of Corfu, and ravaged the neighbouring coasts and isles, proving too powerful for the
 * united

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1521 united fleets of the Emperor, Venice, and the Pope. This circumstance caused a great detriment to the naval commerce of England in the Levant seas, where, till now, those zealous Knights of St. John had been the common protectors of all Christian ships, and a great obstruction to the Turkish depredations. When the Knights quitted Rhodes with fifty of their galleys, they carried great riches and many people with them; yet, that we may not any more recur to this article, in about eight years following, in moving about between Candia, Naples, Sicily, Villa Franca, &c. their number and riches were much diminished, until the year 1530; when the Emperor Charles V. bestowed on them the isles of Malta and Goza, in the Sicilian sea, in full propriety. Here they again soon became the terror of the Mahometans. Captain Morgan, in his History of Algiers, published in 1728, in two quarto volumes, vol. i. p. 315, acquaints us, "That the naval force of Malta, in his time, consisted of seven stout ships of war, none carrying fewer than fifty guns, beside galleys and privateers of all sizes, with which they are perpetually harassing the coasts of Barbary, and bringing home prizes to Malta."

In those times, when commerce was but in its childhood, there was too much of a monopolizing spirit throughout all Europe; amongst the rest, the city of Hamburg pretended, and partly still pretends, to an exclusive dominion on the river Elbe. This had been contrived at in the early days of commerce, when they even claimed a right to exclude all the other towns lying between it and the sea from a free navigation on that great river, by virtue of grants from several Emperors; which, they also alleged, enabled them to oblige the subjects of Danish Holstein to import their merchandize no where but to Hamburg; for which, it was said, they were to take what price the Hamburgers were pleased to allow them. King Christian II. of Denmark, in this year 1521, opposed their exorbitant claims; and, in resentment of which opposition, Hamburg, in 1523, actually declared war against Denmark; yet King Christian III. being of a mild disposition, permitted Hamburg to keep up those claims during his whole reign, which ended in the year 1558, after which we shall trace those disputes further.

There being, at this time, a great decay of husbandry in England, by reason of the many inclosures, which, within the preceding fifty years, had turned much arable land into pasture, thereby lessening the number of husbandmen, &c. most capable of defending the country; so that towns and villages were depopulated, and both wool and flesh-meat were thus enhanced, because engrossed by the nobility and gentry, who were not necessitated to sell; King Henry the Eighth therefore now issues out his commissions to the magistrates for their putting in execution the laws against inclosures.

In the same year there was so great a dearth in England, that wheat was sold at twenty shillings per quarter, or two shillings and sixpence per bushel; beans at four shillings; and oats at three shillings per quarter.

In the same year was first introduced the use of hand-guns, or muskets; so that in little more than one hundred years later, the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aside.

In the same year there was a great breach from the sea in the dykes or sea-walls of Holland, by which accident seventy-two villages, and upwards of one hundred thousand people, were said to be drowned. But we dare not, because we cannot ascertain this for fact, without more authentic vouchers of time, place, &c. than merely a general report.

In

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In vol. xiii. p. 752, of the *Fœdera*, King Henry VIII. by his favourite and lieutenant, Cardinal Wolsey, acts as a mediator, at the treaty of Calais, between the two great rivals for power, the Emperor Charles V. and King Francis I. of France. What relates to commerce is as follows.

“Whereas, the fierce war carried on between those two Princes had occasioned many maritime depredations, to the grievous damage of the innocent subjects on both sides, and it being now the proper season for the herring-fishery,—to prevent those depredations, it was now stipulated,

“I. That the fishers, both of the Emperor and France, may freely fish for herrings, &c. from the date hereof, (October 11, 1521) to and through all the month of January following, even though the war should go on between those Princes, and they may return home in safety.

“II. It was also stipulated,” much for the honour of King Henry, “that during the war between Charles and Francis, none of their subjects shall, in the harbours, bays, rivers, or mouths of rivers, roads, or stations for shipping, and particularly the station called the Downs, nor in any other maritime places belonging to the jurisdiction of the King of England, take, spoil, rob, or plunder any ship or merchantman, loaded or unloaded, armed or unarmed, of whatsoever burthen or nation they may be. Neither shall they rob any such ship of its merchandize, arms, &c. nor injure the same any other way; but both ships and mariners, of whatever nation, shall be absolutely secure in those places, and shall remain at anchor there, without obstruction or molestation from either of the said two Princes, or of their subjects.”

Lastly, the ratification is memorable, viz.

“We, having seen the above-named articles, and being *desirous to gratify the said most reverend Cardinal*, OUR MOST DEAR AND MOST BELOVED FRIEND, do hereby ratify and approve the same.

(Signed) “CHARLES, Emperor.

“FRANCIS, King.

We have seen, that so early as the year 1508, the Portuguese had become, in some measure, masters of the Spice or Molucca islands, and that the Emperor Charles V. had encouraged Magellan to visit them by the straits of his name, in the year 1518; yet the Spaniards proved unsuccessful in all their attempts to possess those islands. At length, King John III. of Portugal, in 1529, sent to the Emperor, his brother-in-law, three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, when, about this time, he went into Italy to be crowned Emperor, on condition of not being disturbed in the possession of those islands till the re-payment of that sum; which being never done, says Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, Spain has never since pretended to those isles.

The Portuguese now brought the Indian spices home to Lisbon in great quantities, whereby, says Pensionary De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, part iii. chap. 3. the King of Portugal got above two hundred thousand ducats yearly. “Those isles,” says the same able author, “before they thus lost their independence, were aristocratical republics, and then carried on, a great trade in their cloves, mace, and nutmegs; and although the third part thereof was not carried by shipping to Calicut, that great staple of India, and being there sold, were carried to Bassora, and thence to Cairo with caravans; and, lastly, from Cairo transported

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1521 “ by shipping to Europe; yet the Sultans of Syria and Egypt, through whose lands they were brought to Europe, were wont to receive yearly above eighty thousand ducats custom for the same. No wonder, then, if the Princes of those countries, as well as the state of Venice, were very uneasy with the Portuguese for diverting this profitable channel of that trade.”

About this time, the French first commenced a silk manufacture, having been supplied with workmen from Milan, whilst France held that noble duchy. In this manufacture they made a very quick progress, it having then, and ever since been carried on principally at Lyons, and other parts of the south of France, with which they supplied many parts of Europe; and, until England long afterwards engaged in the same manufacture, it was the means of draining us of great sums annually. Yet it was long after this time before France began to raise raw silk from the worms.

In this year, the city of Genoa was stormed and pillaged by the Spanish troops of the Emperor Charles V. And the Chevalier De Mailly, in his *Histoire de Gènes*, vol. II. liv. x. p. 81. acquaints us, that Genoa was, at that time, esteemed the richest city in the world, (in Europe, I suppose, he meant) next after Venice and Lyons.

The republic of Venice having, for so many centuries, enjoyed the sole commerce for the spices of India, till lately deprived of it by Portugal, made, at this time, an effort to re-establish some considerable benefit from it, by making a proposal to the court of Lisbon, for Venice to take off all the spice annually imported by the Portuguese, over and above what that kingdom itself could consume, at a certain fixed price: but, says Captain John Stevens, in his *History of Portugal*, published in octavo, in the year 1698, this proposal was rejected.

1522 In the thirteenth volume, p. 766, of the *Fœdera*, we find that Censio de Balthazari, a merchant of Lucca, then residing in the island of Crete or Candia, was appointed by King Henry the Eighth to be, “ for life, governor, master, protector, or consul, of the English nation there, with the usual powers and emoluments which any consul formerly enjoyed there, or any where else, either from the said King, or any of his predecessors.”

Although the following proposed match did not take place, yet, for the sake of the dowry, we give it a place in this work. It is a treaty, in the year 1522, between the Emperor Charles V. and King Henry VIII. as delivered by Rapin de Thoyras, &c. That Emperor, on his return to Spain from Flanders, took England in his way, having landed at Dover, where he was waited on by Wolfey, and visited by the King, who conducted him to, and entertained him at Greenwich and London in a very magnificent manner, and also at Windsor, where he was installed Knight of the Garter. By that treaty, Henry was to give his daughter Mary in marriage, when twelve years old, to the said Emperor, with a portion of four hundred thousand crowns.

So necessary and important are a few single sea-ports to the welfare of the whole kingdom, that even the absolute fate of the latter may depend on the former: thus, in the year 1522, the Lubeckers, Dantzickers, &c. sent nine ships of war to the assistance of Gustavus I. surnamed Vasa, King of Sweden, by whose aid he so well succeeded, that, in grateful return, he granted those Hanseatic cities great privileges in Sweden. Voltaire, in his *General History of Europe*, alleges, that the city of Lubeck also supplied him with troops, without which he would have found it difficult to succeed. By Lubeck's assistance the city of Stockholm was taken; and, although the sixty thousand marks agreed to be paid for that service, could not then be discharged by Sweden, yet, in lieu thereof, says Puffendorf, they were allowed the sole trade of Sweden, and to pay no custom there for merchandize imported, &c. which benefits were too

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1522 great to be held long. "And thus," adds that spirited author, Voltaire, "the fate of Sweden depended on a little trading town." Which last assertion, like many others of that author's, was not strictly true, for Lubeck was undoubtedly a great trading town. Fowler, in his History of the Troubles of Swedeland and Poland, printed in folio, in London, in 1656, relates, that this wise Prince greatly improved his people in tillage, buildings, and in searching out the metal mines, and the more easy working of them by aqueducts and huge engines, &c. He also erected work-houses, &c. for vagrants. Those Hans-towns, says Werdenhagen, their historiographer, at the same time declared war against Christian II. King of Denmark, who had raised on them the toll in the Sound, and obstructed their commerce; yet, by so frequently intermeddling in the wars between potent Princes, and states, the Hans-towns now and then sufficiently suffered; although, for the most part, they did not lend their aid, without at least providing for themselves an ample equivalent.

In this year, the Emperor Charles V. set sail from Southampton in England; his own fleet consisted of one hundred and eighty sail of Netherland ships, beside the English fleet under the command of the Earl of Surry, the English admiral, whom the Emperor likewise, on this occasion, prudently appointed to command his own fleet.

1523 Vol. xiv. p. 1, of the *Fœdera*, begins with a grant of the office of keeper of the privy seal of King Henry VIII. in the year 1523, bestowed on the Bishop of London; the ancient salary of which office was still kept up, being only twenty shillings per day.

In the same year, according to my Lord Herbert's History of King Henry VIII. of England, in the attempts of the English and French courts to gain Scotland to their respective sides, at the death of King James V. the English ministers, amongst other arguments, asserted, "That the English were masters of the seas, and thereby were able to stop and interclude all succour that could come to them (the Scots) from any other place." And as, in the replications of the partizans of France, that assertion is not contradicted, the point seems to have been admitted.

At this time, through the wicked counsels of Cardinal Wolsey, and King Henry the Eighth's arbitrary disposition, there was little more than a shadow of liberty left to the English people. In Sir Robert Cotton's Remains, printed in octavo, in 1651, p. 177, there is a record quoted, which is mentioned also in the general histories of those times, that in the fourteenth year of that Prince's reign, 1523, "He exacted, by way of loan, ten per cent. on all goods, jewels, utensils, and lands, to be revealed by the oaths of the possessors. Notwithstanding," says this author, "that there was a law of the second year of King Richard II. importing, that none shall be denied, in demand of any loan, his reasonable excuse."

It was now, by an English act of Parliament, determined, cap. xii. "That of every hundred pounds worth of gold to be coined, there shall be twenty pounds coined into half angels, of three shillings and fourpence each; and of every hundred pounds worth of silver, fifty pounds shall be coined into groats; twenty pounds into half-groats, or twopences; twenty pounds into pence; ten marks into halfpence; and five marks into farthings."—With respect to these silver farthings, my Lord Herbert observes, "That though it was, doubtless, for the convenience of the people, that they should have so much of such small coin; yet, by reason of their littleness, they are all long since worn out." N. B. Here is no mention of shillings. This too was the last time of coining any silver farthings, probably for the same reason.

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1523

The once well-known Gerard Malynes, in his book named *Lex Mercatoria*, printed in folio, in the year 1622, p. 189, alleges, that it was not yet one hundred years complete, since one Violet Stephens, and other discontented fish-mongers, went into Holland, to the town of Enchuyfen, where they procured the inhabitants to fish for them in his Majesty's seas of Great Britain. In another part of the same book he adds, whereby the fishing is so increased, that Holland and Zealand have above two thousand busses or fishing-ships, which usually make three voyages yearly. He had just before said, that in our King Henry the Seventh's days, there was no fishing trade established in the Low Countries. By the fishing trade here mentioned by Malynes, we are only to understand their supplying foreign markets with fish; for, with respect to the Netherlands themselves, it cannot be doubted, but that they always fished on their own coasts for their own proper supply, although England might be beforehand with them in respect to the supplying other nations.

1524

Charles V. Emperor and King of Spain, being at war with France, his fleet was, in the year 1524, very strong in the Mediterranean, and commanded by Moncado, who, for some time, gave the law on the coast of Italy; yet he was at length attacked by the French fleet commanded by Doria, and utterly discomfited.

The low rate of house rents plainly shews, that even in London itself, at this time, there was but little wealth compared with the present times. James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, p. 110, relates, "That an ancient grammar school in Bow Church-yard, being decayed, the school house was let out for rent, about this time, at four shillings yearly, a cellar at two shillings, and two vaults under that church, both for fifteen shillings."

Much about this time, says Howell in the same work, p. 208, soap began first to be made in London; "before which time, that city was served with white soap from beyond sea, and with grey soap speckled with white, very sweet and good, from Bristol, sold here for a penny the pound, and never above a penny farthing; also black soap for a halfpenny the pound."

By an act of Parliament, of the fourteenth and fifteenth of King Henry VIII. cap. ii. for settling how many apprentices and journeymen (not denizens) should be kept by foreign tradesmen settled in London, &c. great powers were given to the corporations of handicrafts over the workmanship of those foreigners, there being, in those times, smiths, joiners, coopers, &c. who were foreigners, and had seals or stamps put on their works, after being examined by the Wardens of those corporations, both in London and other parts. "The jurisdiction of the London corporations was, by this act, to extend two miles beyond the city, viz. within the town of Westminster, the parishes of St. Martin in the Fields, and of our Lady in the Strand, St. Clements Danes without Temple Bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrews in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel parish, St. John's-street (in Clerkenwell) and Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Catherine's, (near the Tower of London), and Bermondsey-street." This is an authentic view of the suburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheless, we are not to imagine that all those suburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at present; for there were then and long after, many large breaks or interruptions, where no buildings were, not only in the street, (now so well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but likewise a great part of St. Martin's parish, was then literally in the fields, as it is still denominated, and the same may be said of St. Giles's in the Fields, then stiled the Town of St. Giles, and of the upper part

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1524 of St. Andrews in Holborn; much of all which, and also of Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and Southwark, was actually fields, even so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as appears by a map of London and its suburbs, still extant, which was first published about the year 1560.—“This act was not to extend to any other handicrafts but “joiners, pouch-makers, coopers, and blacksmiths.—Also Lords, and all others having lands and tenements of one hundred pounds per annum, were hereby permitted to retain foreign “joiners and glaziers in their service;” which may lead us to conjecture, that those two trades were not then so well improved in England as they have been since that time.

By another act of this year, cap. iii. we find the manufacture of worsteds, says, and flamins, now further regulated, was, at this time, greatly increased at Norwich, since the former laws made for their regulation in King Edward the Fourth’s reign, and had extended themselves to Yarmouth, Lynn, and other parts of Norfolk, &c.

According to the laborious Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1603, and to the *Orbis Maritimus* of Morisotus, lib. ii. cap. 34, p. 597, 1643, and other French authors, King Francis I. sent out John Verazzano, a Florentine, with four ships on discoveries, three of which he left at the Madeiras, and with the fourth first landed on the coast of Florida; and from thence sailing to fifty degrees of north latitude, he first gave the land the name of New France; but he returned home without having planted or left any colony there.

We have now the first statute made in England for mending a particular highway, in the fourteenth and fifteenth years of Henry VIII. cap. vi. There being a certain public way in the weald of Kent, which was much worn out, and also not so near and commodious as another in the same neighbourhood; the Lord of the Manor is thereby impowered, (at his own expence) to complete the said new road, and when so done, he might shut up and inclose the old road for his own sole benefit. By another law, cap. vii. of the twenty-sixth of this King, the same was done in Suffex.

☞ The ancient method employed to mend roads in England, until after the restoration of King Charles II. was by a pound-rate in the respective counties on the landholders, &c. and by supplying of carts and horses of parishes for a limited number of days. But when, after the last named period, commerce was become so greatly increased, and, in consequence thereof, wheel carriages and pack horses on the roads were so extremely multiplied, “that, in the “year 1663, being the sixteenth of King Charles II. cap. i. the first turnpike road was erected by law, for taking toll of all but foot passengers on the northern road, through Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; which road was then become very bad, by “means of the great loads of barley, malt, &c. brought weekly to Ware in waggons and carts, “and from thence conveyed by water to London. By means also of other carriages from “Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, Cambridge, &c. to London, those roads were become so “ruinous, and almost impassable, that the ordinary course appointed by all former laws and “statutes of this realm, is not sufficient (says this act) for the effectual repairing of the same; “neither are the inhabitants, through which the said roads do lie, of sufficient ability to repair the same, without some other provision of monies to be raised towards putting the “same into good and sufficient repair, &c.—Wherefore, three toll-gates,” (now generally termed Turnpikes) “were erected, one for each of those three counties, viz. at “Wadefmill, Caxton, and Stilton, for receiving of all passengers, the toll or custom following, &c.”

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1524 Pizzaro now sails from Panama, and first discovers the immense riches of Peru, where he found vessels of gold and silver, fine palaces, &c. the conquest of which country was gradually carried on, to the vast emolument of the first conquerors, and the perpetual advantage of the Spanish court.

About these times, there were many new and unusual things brought into England of eatables and drinkables, &c. some of which occasioned the following rhyme :

“ (1.) turkeys, (2.) carp, (3.) hops, (4.) piccarel, and (5.) beer,
“ Came into England all in one year.”

Another distich of our writers, under the year 1546, runs thus :

“ Hops, reformation, bays and beer
“ Came into England all in one year.”

(1.) Turkeys, or guinea cocks, as then called by some, and by others Indian fowls, were said to have been first brought into England in this fifteenth year of King Henry VIII. which, though a tender species of fowl, have since multiplied exceedingly.

(2.) The fish, named carp, was brought hither also about the same time, and have since become very common, not only in ponds but in many rivers: Suffex is more especially famous for the best. The anonymous author of a work, termed English Worthies in Church and State, octavo, 1684, says, “ That Leonard Mascall, of Plumsted in Suffex, was the first who brought “ over into England, from beyond sea, carps and pippins, about the fifth year of King Henry “ Eight, or 1514.”

(3.) Hops came from Artois in the Netherlands, *i. e.* the use of them in malt liquor, which some say, though untruly, first gave that liquor the name of (5.) beer, as distinguished from the ancient and softer malt liquor called ale: yet we have elsewhere observed, that beer, as a malt liquor, was long before known and used by that name.

(4.) Piccarel is a name we do not very well understand; since we can find no other meaning of the word but that of young pike, which, it is said, was always an English pond fish: this therefore is probably a mistake in the transcribers.

Several other kinds of fruits and plants were first cultivated in England about this time; such as apricots and musk-melons, though others make both of them to have been introduced much later, viz. the former in the year 1578, and the melon seeds not till King James First's time, from Italy. The large fine pale gooseberry was brought hither also from Flanders about this time, with salads, garden roots, cabbages, &c. as elsewhere related.—See the present state of England, in the year 1683, part. iii. p. 258.

1525 In the fourteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 48, &c. there is a treaty of alliance concluded between King Henry VIII. of England and the Queen Regent of France; the immediate object of which was the setting King Francis I. at liberty, he being then a prisoner in Spain ever since the battle of Pavia. King Henry to have two millions of gold crowns, of thirty-five sols tournois each, in forty gradual payments, being in consideration of the arrears due to Henry from Francis, on the million of crowns stipulated to be paid to him by the treaty of 1515, and of six hundred thousand crowns for the city and territory of Tournay, by the treaty of 1518; which kind of stipulations were too often indifferently observed. For the performance of those payments, many great Lords of France were now bound to Henry, under their

hand

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1525 hand and seal, in all their estates real and personal, as were also the principal cities of France, (*primarie civitates*) viz. Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Tholouse, Amiens, Rouen, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims. They also concluded a treaty concerning depredations, the same in substance with a preceding one already exhibited.—See p. 70, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*.

Sebastian Cabot, or Gabota, formerly employed by King Henry VII. of England, but now employed in Spain as chief pilot, instead of going to the Moluccas, as first designed, sails a great way up the vast river De la Plata, and found the country of Paraguay so inviting, that he built several forts in it, and soon after that country was planted by Spain.

The Hans-towns were still so powerful, that, in this year 1525, Frederick I. King of Denmark, was induced to desire an union with them, being seconded in that measure by the Great Master of Prussia.

And if Puffendorf's History of Sweden is to be relied on, even the Lubeckers alone fancied themselves so far masters of the northern kingdoms, that they had already sold Denmark to Henry VIII. King of England, who had actually advanced to them twenty-thousand crowns on this account; but, it seems, he wisely put off the payment of the remainder, till they should actually perform their engagement.

Moreover, King Gustavus Erickson of Sweden, about this time, agreed with Frederick I. of Denmark, to refer their differences about the isle of Gothland and the province of Blekinga, &c. to the six following Hans-towns, viz. Lubeck, Hamburgh, Dantzick, Rostock, Wismar, and Lunenburg; between which towns and these two Kings an alliance was made against the expelled King Christian II. who claimed all the three northern crowns; by which alliance a final period was put to the union of these three kingdoms; which union, the Swedes alleged, had ever been prejudicial to them, but beneficial to Denmark, who, whilst they commanded in Sweden, lived like opulent lords; whereas, the native Swedes, says Puffendorf, were slaves and beggars.

Although the following treatise of geography was not, perhaps, the first general one of the kind, since the revival of learning, yet it is, without doubt, a very old one: it is a Latin work, in folio, printed at Strasburg, (*Argentoragi* for *Argentorati*) in the year 1525, intitled, "Claudii Ptolomæi Geographicæ Enarrationis Libri octo. Bilibaldo Pirckeymbero Interprete. Annotationes Joannis de Regiomonte in Errores commissos a Jacobo Angelo, in Translatione sua."

After this author has exhibited Ptolemy's maps, tables, &c. he gives us a new set of maps of his own composing, on wretched wooden plates, according to the modern discoveries of that period.

I. It appears, that by means of the Portuguese discoveries, the charts of the coasts of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India are tolerably correct for that early period.

II. With respect to China, to which the Portuguese had not as yet given that more modern name, and which he, after the old authors of the thirteenth century, styles Cathay, almost all that he seemed to know of it is, that it was to be sailed to from India.

III. He calls America, "*Terra nova inventa per Christophorum Columbum*," i. e. the new land found out by Columbus; which seems to be all that he knew of it. But

IV. His map or chart of what he calls the *Mare Congelatum*, together with the countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, is miserably erroneous, as is also that of the Baltic Sea. And between Greenland and Norway-Lapland, instead of an open sea he makes a great bay, which terminates at a fabulous ridge of mountains, like those of Ptolemy, &c.

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V. In one of his maps, he makes England and Scotland two different isles, and in another but one isle, though extremely erroneous in figure, &c. Other parts of the world are described in the same erroneous manner. This is enough to shew the infant state of cosmographical knowledge at that time.

About this time, King Henry VIII. at a great expence, erected the pier of Dover harbour, which had been an ancient Roman port, by the name of Dubris. Being afterwards decayed, it was repaired by Queen Elizabeth; and both the pier and the harbour have since, at many different periods, been, with very great charge, repaired and enlarged. Dover was anciently a flourishing town, and had seven parish churches, which have since been reduced to two; which circumstance was partly occasioned by the loss of Calais, and partly by the suppression of pilgrimages and monasteries; (which is also the case of the anciently famous city of Canterbury) and partly also by the decay of its harbour: yet Dover has since, in some measure, recovered its former prosperity, and its harbour is one of the best dry harbours in England.

Nothing material of discovery had been made from England since Cabot's voyage to the coasts of America, in the year 1496. In this year 1525, King Henry VIII. sent out two ships towards the same coasts, one of which was cast away in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and the other returned home the same year without any material discovery. There are some who place this attempt under the year 1527, and particularly Hakluyt, in vol. iii. p. 129. This voyage is probably the same with that which one Robert Thorn recommended to King Henry, for a north-west passage to the Moluccas.

We shall close this year with some account of a period being put to the once famous mercantile, as well as religious republic of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, after it had existed about three hundred years. About one hundred years prior to this time, viz. in the year 1410, they had received so terrible an overthrow in the battle against the Poles and Lithuanians, as very much weakened them, since, according to Thuanus, lib. v. they lost no less than fifty thousand men. King Casimir IV. of Poland, who came to that crown in the year 1444, and died in 1492, was the means of further enervating that Order, by bringing about a revolt of many of their towns and castles to the Poles; and he at length reduced them to such distress, as obliged them to agree, that, for the future, every Great Master of that Order should, within six months after his election, come to the King of Poland in person, and take an oath to him as his superior liege Lord. Yet even after that, both Frederick of Saxony, and Albert of Brandenburg, (Great Masters) disputed that servile submission; and the German Emperors and Imperial Diet, of which empire they had ever been deemed a fief, made some faint but fruitless efforts to rescue them from Polish vassalage. At length, Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, Grand Master, who was sister's son to Sigismund I. King of Poland, after struggling hard for independence, and finding that the empire was negligent of this their noble and ancient fief, made a treaty with his uncle, King Sigismund, whereby he renounced the title and vows of Great Master, (the last being inconsistent with his becoming a protestant at this time, says Thuanus, lib. i.) and assumed the new title of Duke of Prussia, thereby made hereditary in his House, which enjoys the same to this day, with the superior title of a kingdom. The royal author of the late Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg says, that King Sigismund I. made it a condition with his said nephew to do homage for his dukedom to the crown of Poland. Yet this new dutchy, and newer kingdom, is but a part of the whole country of Prussia, being only that portion of it which lies furthest from Germany; and with respect to the other part of Prussia, which lies on the west side of the Vistula, we have seen, that, under

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1525 the year 1471, it was then conquered and annexed to Poland, with the title of Royal Prussia, by King Casimir IV. When those German Knights first commenced the conquest of Prussia, it was merely through a pretended religious zeal, all the inhabitants being then Pagans; but, allured and puffed up with their successful conquests, they afterward found pretexts to make war on their neighbours of Poland, &c. though Christians, which, in the end, brought about their fall.

1526 According to Lord Herbert's history of King Henry VIII. that King now first raised his gold from forty shillings to forty-four shillings per ounce, and his silver from three shillings and four-pence to three shillings and eight-pence per ounce, still preserving the former proportion between those two metals of twelve to one. "The benefit of this raising of bullion," says his Lordship, "was very sudden and great, by bringing back to us from the Netherlands great quantities of our gold coins, which, by the low price here, the subtle Flemings were enabled to draw from us. So our King, in two months after, further raised the price of both metals one-fortyfourth part more, viz. the ounce of gold to forty-five shillings, and the ounce of silver to thirty-nine shillings and nine-pence, still keeping to the proportion of twelve to one."

In this same year was the famous treaty of Madrid made between the Emperor Charles V. and King Francis I. of France, then his prisoner. It is placed in the fourteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 308 to 326, under the year 1529, by mistake. What merely relates to commerce, amongst the hard articles which the captive King was obliged to agree to, is in substance as follows:

"I. That only the ancient customs and duties on merchandize should be paid, annulling the new imposts laid on within twenty years past on either side, and particularly those on wines and salt.

"II. That the prohibitions by France, that the woollen cloths made in Catalonia, Roussillon, Sardinia, and other parts of the kingdom of Arragon, should not be brought into France, be repealed so far, as that the said cloths, and likewise other Arragon merchandize, may be freely carried into France, either by land or sea, yet not to be sold there, but merely in order to their being carried through France into other countries, whereby the many hazards of a long sea carriage may be saved."

Thus we see, that Spain, in those times, had a woollen cloth manufacture, before the treasures from Mexico and Peru had poured in amongst them in such vast abundance as to have made them quite neglect such a valuable branch of commerce.

It appears from Hakluyt's second volume, p. 3, "That not only now, but for some time before, certain merchants of Bristol city did, by the ships of St. Lucar in Spain, trade to the Canary Isles, sending thither cloath, soap, &c. and returning with dying drugs, sugar, and kid skins; and that they also sent thither their factors from Spain."

In p. 4, *ibid.* this author observes, as we have elsewhere done, that the Spaniards first planted vines and sugar canes in the Canaries, as the Portuguese also did in Madeira; but it is to be presumed, that they had not as yet got wine enough for exportation at those isles. He adds, that at Palma, one of the Canary Isles, he was well informed they had twelve sugar-houses, called *ingenios*, as the Spaniards still name such places, in which they made great quantities of good sugar produced there.

1527 In volume fourteenth, p. 218, of the *Fœdera*, we have a treaty of perpetual peace concluded between King Henry VIII. of England and King Francis I. of France, wherein the latter

• obliges

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1527 obliges himself to pay Henry a perpetual annuity of fifty thousand crowns, and also as much salt of Brouage in Saintonge annually, as should amount to fifteen thousand crowns more yearly, to be delivered on the place to such as King Henry should empower to receive it.

To the performance of which treaty, were again bound, agreeable to the usage of those times, many great lords of both countries, and also the French cities mentioned in a former treaty, in the year 1525; and for King Henry the under-named English cities and towns, viz. London, York, Canterbury, Norwich, Coventry, Winchester, Exeter, Salisbury, Lincoln, Wells, Hereford, Chichester, and Chester.

Francis stood in great need of Henry's friendship, at this time, against the ambitious schemes of the Emperor Charles V.—he was therefore extremely liberal of his promises to Henry, more especially as the latter was, now actually making large monthly payments, for supporting the war in Italy against the Emperor.

One Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn, in his treatise, called, *A Supplication of the Beggars to the King*, represents the number of lepers and poor to be so much increased, that all the alms of the realm were not sufficient to relieve them, occasioned, says he, “by counterfeit holy beggars, who have got into their hands more than a third part of the realm;—the goodliest lordships and manors are theirs, besides the tythes, oblations, mortuaries, &c.”—But his computations in political arithmetic are extremely erroneous; for instance, he says, “there are fifty-two thousand parishes in England, and ten households to each parish, in all five hundred and twenty thousand households:—that every one of the five orders of friars received a penny a quarter, and twenty pence yearly from each household; so,” says he, “though these friars be not the four hundredth person in the realm, they nevertheless had half its profits.”

It was, even long after this time, a question whether the precise number of the parishes of England was known.

I. Their number, in King Edward the First's valuation, as appears from the manuscript copy in the Bodleian library, was about eight thousand nine hundred, without including chapels, many of which have since been erected into parishes.

II. According to the valuation in the King's books, in the time of King Henry VIII. the number of parishes was considerably above nine thousand.

III. Yet even in our days, it is not actually settled whether there be quite ten thousand parishes in England and Wales: if then the number of parishes remains still uncertain, it cannot be wondered at that the exact number of our whole people is not exactly known. Accordingly, we find many various, and some not a little extravagant computations on this subject, of which our Preface has taken notice: but without taking any further cognizance of such conjectures, it may be sufficient to observe, that, from many various reasonings, there may probably be above seven million of souls in England at this time. Lord Chief Justice Hale, in his *Primitive Origination of Mankind*, written about ninety years ago, makes them to be at least six million, and subjoins, “That nothing can be clearer than the gradual increase of mankind, to be seen by the curious observations on the bills of mortality.” His lordship also makes an elaborate comparison between the number of people in Gloucestershire, with which county he was well acquainted, at the time of making *Doomsday Book* by William the Conqueror, and the then present time; and he thinks them at least twenty times as many as they were at the former period, by reason of the vast increase of the people in the towns and villages then in being, as well as of the great number of towns, villages, &c. now existing, which are not named in that famous book. Yet though this may possibly be true of

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1527 Gloucestershire, the same proportion cannot possibly be supposed to hold in other counties ; and it may even be well, if the number of people at the Norman conquest, which is supposed to have been two millions, be at this time encreased, in seven centuries, to much more than three and an half times that number, or between seven and eight millions of people.

My Lord Herbert says, that the Emperor Charles V. proposed to King Henry VIII. a treaty for selling to him his claim to the Molucca or Spice islands, from no other motive, probably, but a view of drawing him over from the side of France ; since we hear nothing further about it afterwards ; and we have elsewhere observed, that he resigned all his pretensions to those islands for three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, borrowed of the crown of Portugal, his own title to them not being founded on a just pretension.

Spain now sends out Narvaez with a design, the first time, to make a settlement in North America, with five ships and four hundred men, for the conquest of Florida ; but finding no gold, and much hardship, with the loss of ships and men, the remainder got from the North Sea to New Spain, after living among the Indians nine years, and travelling two hundred leagues ; at length only three of them returned alive to Old Spain.

1528 In the fourteenth volume, p. 258, of the *Fœdera*, there is a truce, between the Emperor, France, and England, prolonged for eight months to come ; and not only the mutual freedom of fishing on the seas is hereby stipulated, but also the commerce between England and the Netherlands was to be absolutely free and undisturbed for this and all subsequent continuations of the truce ; and moreover, it was agreed that the freedom of commerce should extend to the Mediterranean Sea, as well as to the seas surrounding the British isles.

Until now the dominions of the Bishop of Utrecht were of great extent, comprehending Utrecht, Groningen, and part of Friesland, &c. But this year being expelled by his subjects, the Emperor Charles V. took him under his protection, and expelled the Gueldrians, who had aided those of Utrecht, and had taken the Hague and other towns : yet the condition of this crafty Emperor's restoration of that Prelate, was, his resigning to him for ever all his temporal jurisdiction over his territories, which was a considerable accession of dominion to that Emperor.

At this time, in the wars of Italy between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France, the Imperialists, commanded by Andrea Doria, took Genoa from the French ; and, by virtue of his agreement with the Emperor, Doria, to his immortal honour, restored his native country of Genoa to that liberty, and form of government, which it has enjoyed to the present time, instead of imitating the Medici Family at Florence, as he might easily have done.

A war being likely to break out between England and the Emperor, (King Henry VIII. having at this time entered into engagements with France) Lord Herbert thereupon remarks, " that our merchants, who used not then the trade to the many northern and remote countries " they now frequent, foreseeing the consequence of those wars, refused to buy the cloths that " were brought to Blackwell Hall in London ; whereupon the clothiers, spinners, and card- " ers in many shires in England began to mutiny : for appeasing whereof, the Cardinal Mi- " nister commands our merchants to take off those cloths at a reasonable price from the poor " men's hands, threatening, otherwise, that the King himself should buy them, and sell them " to strangers ; but the sullen merchants, little moved herewith, said they had no reason to " buy commodities they knew not how to vend : therefore, whatsoever was proposed for sta- " ples at Calais, or at Abbeville," (the English staple being then at Antwerp) " our mer- " chants

528 "chants did not, or at least would not understand it. But this discontentment did equally
 "extend to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and especially to those of Antwerp, where
 "the chief mart was."

This matter, however, blew over for that time; yet this relation plainly shews, that our commerce to the Netherlands was the most important one we then possessed.

529 Cortes, the Viceroy of Mexico, having sent Saavedra with three ships from New Spain, for finding a passage that way to the Moluccas or Spice Islands, one of the ships got safe thither, and returned the same way back to Panama in the year 1529, laden with the spices of those islands.—This voyage prepared the way for the Spaniards possessing themselves of the Philippine Isles in the Indian Seas, which they hold to this time.

The rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary, by Solymán the Magnificent, encouraged that daring monarch to approach Vienna, which he ventured to besiege in the year 1529; but here he met with a great overthrow, with the loss of eighty thousand of his army, and was forced to raise that siege with great precipitation.

530 The catalogue of goods restored in the year 1530, by King Henry VIII. to his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, after he had been condemned to forfeit all his real and personal estate, is to be found, with their valuation, though probably much undervalued, in the fourteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 375, viz.

Silver plate, at three shillings and eight pence per ounce, (of which there were nine thousand five hundred and sixty-five ounces and three-quarters). One thousand ling, valued at fifty pounds, which is one shilling each. Eight hundred cod, valued at forty pounds, the like. Eighty horses, with their furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds, or one pound seventeen shillings and six pence each. Four mules for the saddle, with furniture, valued at sixty pounds, or fifteen pounds each. Six mules for carriage, valued at forty pounds, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence each. Sixty-two oxen, valued at eighty pounds, or one pound five shillings and nine pence three farthings each. Eighty sheep, valued at twelve pounds, or three shillings each.

We may observe, that this was only what the King thought proper to restore him, together with three thousand pounds in ready money, which was equal to four thousand five hundred in our time; and that, in all probability, there was much more of his immense riches kept by the King. It is said, that, of fine Holland linen alone, there were found in his house a thousand pieces: and one may judge of the rest by this pattern, (says Rapin). Mr. Keyser, in the English Translation of his Travels in the years 1729 and 1730, asserts, that, two hundred years before, one dollar would go as far as ten would do in his time. That might possibly be so in his country of Germany, but the proportional difference was not so great in England, France, and the Netherlands; for he did not consider that a pound or livre, two hundred years before, contained much more silver (and possibly also his dollar) than in our times; that being the only just rule to form a judgment of the rate of living at the two distinct periods.

It may not be here improper to take notice of an act of Parliament of this twenty-first year of Henry VIII. cap. xii. for regulating of rope-making in the town of Bridport, (therein always named Burport) in Dorsetshire. It sets forth, "That whereas, the people of that town
 "have, out of time that no man's mind is to the contrary, used to make most part of all the
 "great cables, hawsers, ropes, and all other tackling, as well for your royal ships and navy,
 "as for the most part of all other ships within this realm, by reason whereof your said town

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1530 "was right well maintained, &c."—Then comes the grievances, viz. "That the people of the adjacent parts to this town have set up rope-making, and make slight goods, whereby" says this act, "the prices of the said cables, &c. are greatly enhanced:"—(a very odd reason truly for enhancing a commodity! In several other acts of Parliament of old, we find the pewterers, clothworkers, &c. companies of London, and other towns, in their complaints against non-freemen, among other things confidently asserting, "that a multiplicity of artists causes the enhancing of the price," the contrary of which is long since known to be invariably true. Neither is the other accusation against a multiplicity of workmen always true, viz. that of making slight goods, since such a multiplicity will as often strive to excel in goodness and ingenuity as in cheapness)—"and your said town or borough, by means whereof, is like to be utterly decayed."—This was probably true, and perhaps the only ground for procuring this law.—For remedy whereof it was enacted,

I. "That all hemp growing within five miles of Bridport, shall be sold no where but in that town.

II. "No persons, other than such as shall dwell and inhabit the said town, shall make, out of the said town, any cables, hawfers, &c. made of hemp, in any other place or places within the said distance of five miles from the said town."

This law is but too palpable a confirmation of what we have elsewhere remarked, that the preambles to many acts of Parliament, and also very often the reasons assigned for particular clauses, are by no means to be relied on, in point of just and true reasoning.

In this same year 1530, the city of London obtained a decree of the Star Chamber, wherein it is represented,

I. "That the realm is over-run with foreign manufactures.

II. "That foreigners export bacon, cheese, powdered beef, mutton, &c. whereby great portions of corn, victual, &c. grown and bred within the realm are consumed."

These are such grievous accusations as would generally be deemed blessings in our days. "Thus" says a reverend and learned modern writer (Dr. Tucker) on this subject, to whom we are indebted for this decree, "did the monopolizing societies, in those infant days of commerce, impose on the legislature, not then judges of commerce. And by such means, foreigners, being greatly discouraged, withdrew from us, and with them many of our own manufactures; insomuch that our woollen manufactures very much declined, and foreign cloth was sold cheaper than our own, by means of those monopolizing laws; the nation grew thinner of people, and provisions not selling so well, the gentlemen turned much land into sheep-walks, for supplying the Netherlands with wool."

In an act of Parliament of this same year, cap. xiii. intitled, "Spiritual Persons abridged from having Pluralities of Livings, and from taking of Firms, &c." there is the following clause, "And be it enacted, that if any person, having one benefice with cure of soul, being of the yearly value of eight pounds or above, accept and take any other, with cure of soul, —that then, and immediately after such possession had thereof, the first benefice shall be judged in the law to be void. And it shall be lawful to every Patron, having the advowson thereof, to present another; and the presentee to have the benefit of the same, in such manner and form as though the incumbent had died or resigned."

Now although clergymen, in those times, were all single persons, it must be allowed that forty pounds of our money is but barely, and indeed hardly, sufficient to keep a single man with

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1530 with decency ; for the rate or proportion of living appears then to have been near about five times cheaper than in our days, when we consider the before mentioned valuation of Cardinal Wolfey's cattle ;—though this clergyman's eight pounds was still equal to twelve pounds of our silver coin.

This year 1530 is also memorable for the re-establishment of the Medici Family as sovereigns in Florence ; which city being taken by the Emperor Charles the Fifth's army, after an obstinate resistance, the Florentines, in their capitulation, stipulated the enjoyment of their ancient liberty, but left it to that Emperor to settle the form of their future government. The Emperor, without regarding the capitulation, established Alexander de Medicis, who had married a natural daughter of the Emperor's, to be hereditary Sovereign of Florence, in whose lineage it remained to our days ; when Cosmo, the last duke, died without issue, and it was settled in the house of Lorrain.

In this year, Dionysius Harris, of London, merchant, was appointed by King Henry VIII. to be Consul of the English merchants at Candia during life.—*Fœdera*, volume xiv. p. 389. This is the first Englishman who was appointed Consul in those remote parts, where the English commerce being but small, our own merchants might not as yet be well enough acquainted with their customs, language, &c. for that office. The year following, the King appointed a foreigner (*ibid*, p. 424) to be Consul at Scio, or Chios, and parts adjacent in the Archipelago, during the King's pleasure only ; whereas, till now, all foreign consuls had been constituted such during life.

It was about this time, (or rather a little sooner, according to Paulo Paruta's History of Venice, book vii. part 1.) that the famous Turkish Sultan, Solymán II. styled the Magnificent, is said to have been first instructed, by his famous Admiral Barbarossa, to manage a navy, and all things else relating to maritime armaments ; the Turkish Emperors having, till now, applied themselves principally to the increasing their power by land armies only. It was by this famous sea commander's advice that the Turks first manned their galleys with slaves, instead of having before been manned with only raw and inexperienced men. By such regulations did Barbarossa greatly increase the skill and strength of the Turkish navy, which, from that time, became much more terrible to Christendom than it had ever been ; which not only the Venetians, but also the Genoese, soon and sadly experienced, by the loss of most of their isles and ports in the Levant Seas. Yet, in our days, the naval strength and skill of the Turks is again greatly diminished.

In this same year 1530, Heyradin Barbarossa-Bassa, observing that the Spanish fort on the island before Algiers was an obstruction to the safe lying of his ships, determined to be master of it, and he accordingly besieged and took it : whereupon, he joined that isle to the city by a noble mole, so that it has ever since been a fine and safe harbour. This same Heyradin did infinite mischief to the commerce of the Christians in the Mediterranean.

Lastly, so early as this time, according to Hakluyt, Captain William Hawkins of Plymouth, made a voyage to the Guinea Coast, and traded there for elephant's teeth, &c. and from thence sailed to Brasil, where he also traded. In those early days, the Europeans had not as yet confined the commerce of their American colonies so entirely to themselves, as totally to exclude the approach of all other nations thither. Captain Hawkins traded to Brasil again in the year 1532.

1531 Several historians tell us, that in the year 1531, a terrible earthquake happened at the city of Lisbon, which lasted eight days, and overthrew one thousand five hundred houses and many churches.

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1531

The same year, the new canal from Brussels to Antwerp was begun, but not completed till the year 1560.

Antwerp, being now in great prosperity, and possessing an immense commerce, the inhabitants built their then famous Bourse, or Exchange, the noblest of that age in Europe, for the daily resort of merchants of all nations. Upon the front of that edifice, according to Louis Guicciardini, in his History of the Netherlands, there was the following inscription :

S. P. Q. A.

*In Usum Negotiatorum cujuscunque Nationis ac Linguae, Urbisque adeo sua Ornamentum,
Anno MDXXXI, à Solo extrui curaverunt.*

i. e. “ The Senate and People of Antwerp erected this Structure for the Accommodation of
“ Merchants of all Nations and Languages, and for an ornament to their City, in the
“ year 1531.”

Guicciardini gives us the rise or original of this name of Bourse, given to such edifices in several cities of Europe.

There was, it seems, before this time, a square commodiously situated in the middle of the city of Bruges, in which stood a large ancient building that had been erected by the noble family of La Bourse, (which signifies Purse in French and Flemish) whose coat of arms on its walls was three purses. The merchants of Bruges made this old house the place of their daily assemblies; and when afterwards they went to the fairs of Antwerp and Mons, they called the places they found there for the merchants assembling, by the name of La Bourse, or the Bourse or Purse; where, at length, that name alone obtained. The French merchants also carried that name to the same kind of places at Rouen, and even as far as Toulouse: yet, (says he) Queen Elizabeth of England, in whose reign he wrote, upon viewing the newly-erected magnificent Bourse of London, would needs have it called the Royal Exchange, though foreigners there still, (says he) call it the Bourse Royale. He tells us also, that in Antwerp there is an handsome edifice, called the English Bourse, built in the year 1550, for the accommodation of English merchants and their merchandize. Also another noble bourse or structure for the German Hans-towns merchants, and their merchandize, called in Latin, *Domus Hansæ Teutonicæ sacri Romani Imperii*.

From Stowe, and other old writers of the English annals, we learn, that, in this year, the rates or prices of the following provisions in England were, viz. an ox, one pound six shillings and eight pence; a sheep, two shillings and ten pence; an hog, three shillings and eight pence; a pig and a capon, six pence.

My Lord Herbert relates, that King Henry VIII. being, in this same year, informed, that Italian and other foreign merchants brought commodities into England which they sold well, and then returned the money home by exchange, to the exhausting of the wealth of this realm, and diminution of his customs; he therefore issued a proclamation, pursuant to a branch of a statute of King Richard III. “ That no money they took here for selling their wares should
“ be exchanged to other countries, but should be employed in the commodities of his realm,
“ which, as long as it was observed, proved a great benefit to both King and subject.” This might possibly be true in those days, and is one proof of the smallness of commerce, compared to what it is in our time, when such unreasonable restraints would create infinite disorders in

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1531 commerce, if not a total stagnation, wherever they should take place. It therefore also shews how little that King's advisers understood the true nature of commerce, and the true interest of the kingdom.

Beggars, and the other necessitous poor of England, had as yet no other relief than an act of Parliament of this twenty-second year of King Henry VIII. cap. xii. in the year 1531, whereby the justices of every county were empowered to grant licences to poor, aged, and impotent persons, to beg within a certain precinct; and such as should beg without or beyond that licence or precinct, were either to be whipped, or else to be set in the stocks three days and three nights, with bread and water only: also begging vagabonds should be whipped, &c. as in King Henry Seventh's reign, in the year 1496.

In this same year, the Emperor Charles V. published a long edict in his Netherland provinces, much to the same effect, wherein he justly remarks, That the trade of begging fixes them in idleness, and leads them into bad courses of life; none therefore, except mendicant friars and pilgrims, shall beg, under pain of imprisonment, whipping, &c. yet poor people, reduced by fire, war, or inundations are also an exception.—All the poor residing in our provinces one whole year shall remain where they are settled, and share in the alms which shall be ordered them; and a common purse to be established at all poor houses, hospitals, brotherhoods, &c. where alms is usually given, poor boxes in churches, and once or twice in every week magistrates shall collect alms in churches, and at private houses, for the said poor.—Idle and roguish livers shall be compelled to work.—Poor women in childbed, and also orphans and foundlings, to be taken care of, and the latter put to schools, and taught on Sundays and holidays the pater noster, creed, and ten commandments, and put to trades and services. But since those old times, Holland has so greatly improved in their methods of provision for helpless poor, and the forcing idle ones to labour, as make their regulations a pattern for all other nations upon earth.

1532 A very great alteration now happened both in the form and in the substance of the law in Scotland, occasioned by King James Fifth's instituting a new College of Justice, commonly called the Bench of the Lords of Council and Session, framed upon the model of the Parliament of Paris; that Prince being much attached to French usages, by having married both his Queens from France. It consisted, and still consists, of a Lord President and four other Lords, commonly together called the fifteen Lords of Session, but, in more legal sense, the Senators of the College of Justice. "These," says our Camden, "sit and administer justice, not according to the rigour of law, but with reason and equity. They are governed by the civil law, in cases where no statute law nor long custom intervenes," as they were before by the feudal law. Some make this alteration of the Scottish law to have happened five years later, viz. in 1537.

In volume xiv. p. 433, of the *Fœdera*, we see that King Henry VIII. having entered into a stricter alliance with King Francis I. of France against the Emperor Charles V. the maritime force of each party was to consist of a squadron of ships, (not naming either their number or tonnage, or force) having one thousand five hundred soldiers in it, with artillery, &c. which squadron, when demanded by either party, was to cruise between Ushant and the Downs for six months in the year, for the defence of both coasts of England and France from the attempts of the Emperor. And if, in the Netherlands, the Emperor should, at any time, seize on the English merchants and their effects, Francis hereby obliges himself to seize on the Netherlanders effects in France for satisfaction. On the other side, Henry stipulates to do the same

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1532 fame in England in behalf of the French merchants, in case the effects of these last should be seized in the said Netherlands.

The Lubeckers fall out with the Hollanders, on account of the assistance afforded by the latter to King Christiern of Denmark.

In the twenty-third year of King Henry VIII. says Hall's Chronicle, p. 201, upon Stokesley Bishop of London's exhorting his inferior clergy, at a general meeting, to contribute towards paying the hundred thousand pounds which they had granted to the King, to exempt them from the *premunire*, the said clergy replied, " My Lord, twenty nobles a year is but a " bare living for a priest; for now *vitayle*, and every thing in manner, is so dear, that poverty " in manner forceth us to say, Nay." Now twenty nobles made but six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, and money not weighing above one and one-half of our silver coin, those clergy had not above ten pounds yearly to live on; so that the rate of living must then still have been near five times as cheap as in our days.

In the same year 1532, the new haven at Middelburg in Zealand was begun, and was finished in two years after.

The Emperor Charles Fifth's fleet, commanded by Doria, consisting of eight great ships of war and forty-four gallies, was now so superior to that of the Turks, that they durst not face them. Doria therefore took Coron in the Morca, after a sharp siege; and then he sailed up the Archipelago, and took the Asiatic castle of the Dardanelles, but was not able to take the European castle, by reason of the approach of a great body of Turkish forces; wherefore he sailed homewards. Coron was, in the year following, besieged by the Turks with eighty gallies; but the Imperialists, with thirty ships and twenty-seven gallies, obliged the Turks to abandon the siege of that place.

By a statute of this twenty-third year of King Henry VIII. cap. vii. in confirmation of one of the fifth of Richard II. concerning the importation of wines to be in English ships only, and by English masters and mariners, the prices of the following wines are thus ascertained, viz. " None shall sell any French wines above eight-pence per gallon, or one-penny per pint; " nor Malmsey, Sack, Rumney, or other sweet wines, above twelve-pence per gallon."

By the eighth chapter of the said twenty-third of King Henry VIII. for mending the havens of Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Teingsmouth in Devonshire, and of Falmouth and Fowey in Cornwall, it is asserted, that the said ports were, in former times, esteemed the principal and most commodious havens of England, until they became much choaked up by the gravel, sand, rubble, &c. of certain works of tin in those counties, called stream works; and that ships of eight hundred tons burden have formerly come easily into those havens at low water, whereby a great multitude of ships, as well foreign as English, have been preserved and saved; whereas now a ship of one hundred tons can scarcely enter them at half flood.

1533 By an act of the twenty-fourth of Henry VIII. cap. iii. beef, pork, mutton, and veal were first directed to be sold by weight; no person to take above one halfpenny for a pound of beef or pork, nor above three farthings for mutton and veal. On this occasion, James Howell, in his Lendinopolis, remarks, that the number of butchers in London and its suburbs did not then exceed eighty, each of whom killed nine oxen weekly, which, in forty-six weeks, (none being then killed in Lent) amounts to thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty oxen yearly. My Lord Herbert observes, that this law was afterward justly repealed, in consideration that unreasonable years did not permit any certain rule for the prices of flesh meat, which were afterward referred to be fixed occasionally by a committee of the Privy Council.

By

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By another statute, cap. xi, "the street way between Charing-crofs and Strand-crofs," *i. e.* near where Somerset House now is situated, in the suburbs of London, "was directed to be sufficiently paved and maintained at the charge of the owners of the lands adjoining." This shews that the Strand was not as yet built into a continued street.

A statute in this same twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII. cap. iv. directed, that for every sixty acres of land in England fit for tillage, one rood should be sown with flax seed or hemp seed. And by the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. v. that Queen had power, by her proclamation, to revive that law in such counties as she should judge proper, "for the better provision of nets for help and furtherance of fishing, and for eschewing of idleness;" but no mention of a linen manufacture is therein made.

The currant-tree, or shrub, is, by several authors, said to have been, in or about this year 1533, first brought from the isle of Zante, belonging to Venice, and planted in England; its fruit then being, by those authors, called grapes of Corinth. This truly delicious fruit or grape is long since become every where in such great plenty, throughout Britain and Ireland, that it would be difficult to convince some people that currants were not original natives here; which is also the case of many other fruits, plants, roots, and flowers. Dr. Heylin, in his Cosmography, observes, "That the people of the island of Zante were very poor when first the English resorted to trade thither for their currants; and that those islanders much wondered to what end they annually brought away such quantities; asking the English, whether they used their currants to dye cloths, or else to fatten their hogs?" He adds, "that our trade thither has enriched those islanders."

In the same year 1533, the Lubeckers, who had been serviceable to Gustavus Erickson, otherwise named Vasa, of Sweden, demanded of him the sole right of trading on his northern sea-coasts; but this being, by that great Prince, judged unreasonable, they thereupon demanded immediate payment of what he owed them; and also joining with the refugees of the exiled King Christiern's party, they proposed to themselves, says Puffendorf, no less than the conquest of the northern kingdoms.

Concerning this King Gustavus I. Voltaire observes, "That he was the first of the Swedish Kings who made foreign nations sensible of the weight which Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when European policy was putting on a new face, and when first the notion was started of a balance of power. Sweden," continues this author, "had as yet no regular commerce nor manufactures, and the useful inventions were unknown there. It was this King Gustavus who first drew the Swedes out of obscurity, and likewise encouraged the Danes by his example."

The city and state of Tunis was now reduced to the subjection and obedience of the Ottoman court, by means of Heyradin the Turkish rover, to whom that people, who were discontented with their King, applied for relief. Whereupon, Heyradin joyfully addressed Solymán the Magnificent, who sent a fleet and army to be under Heyradin's direction, with which he possessed himself of the city and kingdom of Tunis, and expelled their King Muley-Hassán: thus Tunis came under the protection of the Grand Seignior, who appointed Heyradin to be Bassá thereof.

1534

Jacques Cartier sailed from France in the year 1534, with one ship, upon discoveries, chiefly with a view to find a north-west passage to the East Indies. He sailed into the Bay of St. Lawrence, as far as the isle of Assumption, and returned home the same year. The next year he sailed up the great river of St. Lawrence, or Canada, with three ships, as far as Mont-

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1534 real, two hundred leagues from its entrance, and wintered there amongst the natives; some of whom, with their King, he invited on board his ship, on pretence of an entertainment, and carried them home to St. Maloes, (where their King died four years after) in hopes thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of their country, and of the expected passage to India. But, it seems, this treacherous dealing justly provoked the natives so far, that they could not, in many years after, be brought to permit the French to trade thither. On Cartier's return, in the year 1536, he found many French ships fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland, which shews how early the French engaged in that fishery.

Cartier made no settlement in Canada, but erected a cross there, with the arms of his King, Francis I. and called the country *La Nouvelle France*; yet a village there has perpetuated his name to this day. In Sebastian Munster's *Geographia vetus et nova*, Basilee, 1540, there is a map of America, which he calls *Novus Orbis*, and names that part where Canada is situated, *Francifra*; he also has *C. Britonum* on his map, where Cape Briton is situated.

By an act of Parliament in this twenty-fifth year of King Henry VIII. cap. viii. the high-street in London, between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, at the west-end thereof, was directed to be paved with paving-stone; that is, we may suppose, from St. Andrew's church westward, the other part down to the bridge being already paved. The streets of Southwark were by the same statute also directed to be paved; and that every one shall maintain the said pavement before his own ground, or forfeit to the King sixpence for every yard square.

Under the year 1489, we have seen the state of husbandry in England at that time. It seems the evil then complained of was grown to a greater head in this twenty-fifth of King Henry the Eighth; for a law now made, cap. 13. "represents the custom of engrossing great numbers of sheep in one man's hands, for that end keeping many farms in the same hands, as a practice which has been but within a few years past; putting such lands as they can get into pasture, and not to tillage; whereby they not only pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the old rates of rents, or else brought them to such excessive fines, that no poor man is able to meddle with them, but also have enhanced the prices of all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, &c. by reason whereof, a marvellous multitude of people be not able to provide meat, cloaths, &c. for themselves and families. One of the greatest occasions why those greedy and covetous people do keep such great quantities of lands in their hands, from the occupying of the poor husbandman, and do use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep, now got into few persons hands, in respect of the whole number of the King's subjects; so that some have twenty-four thousand, some twenty thousand, some from ten thousand to five thousand sheep; whereby a good sheep, that used to be sold for two shillings and fourpence or three shillings, at most, is now sold for six shillings, or five shillings, or four shillings at least; and a stone of wool, which used to be sold for one shilling and sixpence, or one shilling and eightpence, is now sold for four shillings, or three shillings and fourpence, at least, &c.—Which things tend to the decay of hospitality, the diminishing of the people, and to the let of cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accustomed to be set on work.—For remedy, it was in substance enacted,

"1. That none shall keep above two thousand four hundred sheep, exclusive of lambs, at any one time, unless it be on his own lands of inheritance; in which case he is not hereby limited, nor are spiritual persons.

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"II. No man shall hold above two farms; in the parish of one of which two he shall be obliged to live and reside himself."

The increase of the woollen manufacture increasing the demand for wool, gave rise to this practice of engrossing farms, and turning them into sheep-walks: which, undoubtedly, can be managed by much fewer hands than tillage farms, so that depopulation must necessarily ensue.

We have seen the monopolizing law in favour of the town of Bridport, for engrossing rope-making to themselves, exclusive of the villages or open country. We have now such another, upon a petition to Parliament from the city of Worcester, and the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove; representing, That the said cities and towns were, in times past, well and substantially inhabited, and employed in the manufacture of woollen cloths, until, within a few years past, that divers persons, dwelling in the hamlets, thorps, and villages of the said shire, have not only engrossed and taken into their hands sundry farms, and become graziers and husbandmen, but also make all manner of cloths, and exercise weaving, fulling, and shearing, within their own houses, to the great depopulation of the said city and towns. For remedy, it was hereupon enacted, cap. xviii. "That no person within Worcestershire shall make any cloth but the proper inhabitants of the said city and towns, excepting persons who make cloths solely for their own and family's wearing."

Thus, the legislature, in former times, were too often mistaken with respect to the true interest of the public. It is the cheapness of the manufacture which enables the merchant to export it, and to undersell all foreign competitors; and the thus confining it to towns, was the way to make it come dearer to the merchant than it would have done, had it been in the open country, where every necessary is cheaper than in towns; which point those Worcester monopolists well understood, and that therefore they could not hold the manufactures long, without a restricting law to bring it back solely to themselves. Formerly, the counties of Surrey, Berks, &c. adjacent to London, enjoyed a considerable woollen manufacture; but their vicinity to the metropolis occasioning all, or most necessities to become dearer than in more remote parts, the distant northern and western counties have got that manufacture to themselves: and as the northern counties have necessities considerably cheaper than the western ones, it is apprehended they will, in time, gain considerable ground on the latter in this respect.

The progress which the Portuguese made, at this time, in the East Indies was very extraordinary. We find Da Cunha, in this year, had built the fort of Diu, had sent a fleet one hundred leagues up the river Indus, and had invaded the kingdom of Cambaya with his land-army. But, as it is not our design to give a particular relation of their exploits in India, the reader may consult Captain Stevens's Portuguese Asia, printed in English, in 1695, in three volumes, in octavo.

The Hans-towns of Lubeck and Hamburg must have been, at this time, very considerable, as well as enterprising, when, according to my Lord Herbert's History of King Henry VIII. of England, "that King, to strengthen himself against the Pope and the Emperor, being desirous to have a King on the throne of Denmark, then vacant and elective, in his interest, had an offer made to him by those two cities, that, for the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, they would make a King of Denmark who should be at his devotion."—See the year 1525. "That a great sum of money was lent by that King on this account," according to a Dutch history which his Lordship had seen; "whereupon also they proceeded in their war, which yet at last being composed, King Henry demanded re-payment, they having failed in their

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1534 “undertaking.” It seems, that on the death of King Frederic I. of Denmark, when that kingdom was much divided by factions, those Hans-cities found means to persuade the senates of Copenhagen and Malmoe to join in their confederacy; and thus strengthened, they at first had great success against the Danes; who having, however, in the end, elected King Christian III. and being also assisted with money, ships, and troops by King Gustavus I. of Sweden, they beat the Lubeckers near Helsingburg, and afterwards, in a sea-fight, defeated their whole fleet, carrying a great many of their ships into Denmark.

According to Hakluyt’s second volume, p. 96, from about the years 1511 and 1512, to the year 1534, divers tall ships of London, and of Southampton and Bristol, had an unusual trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chios, and sometimes to Cyprus, and to Tripoli and Baruth in Syria. They exported thither sundry sorts of woollen cloths, calf-skins, &c. and imported from thence silks, camblets, rhubarb; malmsey, muscadell, and other wines; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets, galls, and India spices: our merchants likewise employed at this time several foreign ships in that trade, as Candians, Ragusans, Sicilians, Genoese, and Venetian galleasses; also Spanish and Portuguese ships: yet, in those days, they generally were a whole year in those voyages, as were two ships going this year from London to Candia and Chios; which voyage was found so hazardous and dangerous, that one of those ships was put into Blackwall dock, and never more went to sea.

1535 The next year, a ship of three hundred tons, from London, went on the same Levant voyage, with one hundred persons in her, and returned in eleven months, and the English merchants settled factors in those places. All which particulars the indefatigable Hakluyt, long after, collected from the ancient merchant books of those times; and he traced those voyages down even to the year 1552, though they were not so frequent in the latter years as in the former. In those parts they met with French and Genoese ships. There are journals remaining of those old voyages, which shew how difficult they were then thought to be.

The expelled King of Tunis, Muley-Hassan, being taken under the protection of the Emperor Charles V. because Heyradin Barbarossa, who expelled him, and who was appointed Bassa of Tunis, was incessantly infesting the coasts of Naples and Sicily; the Emperor, therefore determined, in this year 1535, to chastise Heyradin’s insolence, by attacking his new dominions with a powerful fleet and land-forces from Spain, with which he not only took the city of Tunis and the fortress of Goletta, but discomfited Heyradin both by sea and land; whereupon he restored King Muley Hassan, and delivered many Christian captives. But it was agreed that Hassan should remain under Charles’s protection, and the Goletta fort be garrisoned by Spanish troops, at Muley-Hassan’s expence; that commercial privileges were to be allowed to all Christians, and their churches tolerated in Tunis; all which was enough to make the Moors hate their King more than before: the Spaniards, therefore, soon lost all which they had conquered in that quarter.

On this occasion, we must not forget the great generosity of a very famous and rich merchant of Augsborg, named Fugger, who had also an house and great dealings at Antwerp.—For defraying the expence of this expedition to Tunis, the Emperor had run greatly in debt to Fugger, who had, at this time, the honour of the Emperor’s partaking of an entertainment at his house; when, to testify his respect for that Prince, he not only made a fire in his hall with cinnamon, but, which entertained his Imperial Majesty much more, Fugger, before his face, threw all the Emperor’s bonds into that costly fire, now made much more so by that great act of generosity.

It

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It was in this year, according to my Lord Herbert, that great ordnance of brass, as cannon and culverins, were first made in England, they having before been obtained from foreign parts.

We may have already observed, that since the accession of King Henry VIII. there was not only a great increase of the woollen manufacture of England, but likewise of its foreign commerce, and also many other marks of increasing riches. Nevertheless, any one entirely unacquainted with the circumstances of England at that time, would be led to imagine quite the contrary, by only perusing the preambles of certain acts of Parliament of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh years of that King's reign, where it is said, "That great numbers of houses have, of a long time, lain in ruins in the city of Norwich, occasioned by a fire there twenty-six years before; also in Lynn Bishop in Norfolk; and in Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Gloucester, Bridgnorth, Queenborough, and Northampton; many of which ruins, filled with nastiness, are in the principal streets of those towns, where, in times past, have been beautiful dwelling houses well inhabited. And therefore the owners are thereby directed to rebuild them in a fixed time, or else the property to go to the Lord of the manor, or to the community of those respective towns."

Upon which we shall only observe, that no certain opinion or judgment can be formed of the general state of a nation from the declension of certain particular towns in it. Commerce is ever shifting and varying; and there are, even in our days, (when commerce and wealth are so greatly increased since those times) particular towns that are in a declining state, from certain local circumstances. Possibly, and even probably too, the manufactures of those towns we have just mentioned, or at least of some of them, by spreading into the adjacent villages, and perhaps into other counties, might be the occasion of such declension. Possibly also, the skirts or suburbs of some of these places might be so over-built, which is, in some degree, the case in London itself, as to make the centers of such places neglected, more especially if those suburbs were exempted from the heavy freedom fines of such corporations; which last consideration I conceive to have been the probable cause of the decay of these towns.

In this year the first commercial treaty between any Christian Monarch in Europe and the Ottoman Porte was concluded between Francis I. King of France, and Solymán II. surnamed the Magnificent, Turkish Emperor or Sultan. It seems Francis had, before this time, been intriguing at Constantinople, to bring the Turks to invade the imperial dominions on the side of Austria; wherefore, this new Mosl Christian Ally of the Turks obtained, in return, many commercial privileges for the French in Turkey, beside their being allowed to have a consul of their own nation in the several ports of that kingdom, both for civil and criminal affairs, together with the private exercise of their own religion.

These privileges France alone enjoyed in Turkey for some time, exclusive of all other European nations, who were not allowed to resort at all to that country, unless they came thither under the protection of France, or under French colours.

The Venetian state next obtained a similar commercial treaty with the Turks, in 1580. And next to them the English obtained the same advantage, without the interposition of any other nation, in 1604. And then the Hollanders concluded a commercial treaty with the Turks. Last of all, Genoa, though not till the year 1665, obtained also a commercial treaty with the Ottoman Porte, as will be shewn in the next century.

In this same year, Mendoza was sent from Spain with two thousand two hundred soldiers to the river De la Plata, in Paraguay; on the south side of which vast river he founded the

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1535 town of Buenos-Ayres, which, though soon abandoned during his absence, was again re-founded, as also some other towns and colonies of Paraguay.

1536 Until this year, Portugal enjoyed, without a rival, the sole trade of all the vast western coasts of Africa, so that considerable riches had been brought to Lisbon, even before the Portuguese had made their discoveries in either the East or West Indies.

But next to the Portuguese, the English now began to trade to the Guinea Coast, some of whom, it is said, were so successful, as to bring home in one voyage above one hundred pounds weight of gold dust, beside elephants teeth, &c. Yet the English erected no forts on that coast till long after this time.

The French next (and soon indeed after) fell into this African trade, as will hereafter be shewn; and last of all the Dutch engaged in it.

In the fourteenth volume, p. 563, of the *Fœdera*, we find that King Henry VIII. having suppressed the hospital or sisterhood of Seynt James in the Fylde near Westminster, he grants to one of those sisters, named Jane Harwood, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per annum, (equal to ten pounds of our money:—See the year 1532,) during life, for her support. The King thereby declares, “That the said house or hospital of Seynt James in the Fylde he had now inclosed, and there made a park and manor for himself;” at present they are the royal palace and park of St. James’s, in the liberty of Westminster.

Ibid. p. 571, the Earl of Wiltshire, father to Queen Anne Boleyn, had now the office of Lord Privy Seal conferred on him, with the same salary as in former reigns, viz. twenty shillings per day.

In this twenty-seventh year of King Henry VIII. an extremely well-judged act of Parliament passed, cap. xxvi, “whereby the Principality of Wales, which had long before been absolutely brought under subjection to the crown of England,” but by reason of the wars with France, and between the houses of York and Lancaster, a great part of it had become barbarous again, “was now totally united and incorporated with England, its people being declared English subjects to all intents whatever, and to be subject to the laws of England alone; all their own peculiar tenures, descents, customs, and usages contrary thereunto being hereby abolished. The whole Principality was now divided into twelve shires, as at present, beside Monmouthshire and the town of Haverfordwest, which was before a county of itself.” And by the act of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of this King, cap. xxvi. it is declared, that eight have been shires of ancient time, and the four newly made are Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh. In this copious act, many regulations were made to reduce Wales entirely to the laws and customs of England; and divers lordships and manors in the marches of Wales were annexed to the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester. The Justice of Chester had annexed to his office the shires of Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, and yet, says the act, he shall have nothing but his old fee of one hundred pounds yearly. And three other Justices are appointed, each having three counties under his circuit, and each of these three Justices had fifty pounds yearly salary.

By these wise regulations, not only all former national prejudices on either side have been gradually removed, but the people of Wales have been brought to a more industrious course of living, by applying themselves to manufactures, and the better cultivation of their lands; so that, in our present times, that country wears quite another and more beautiful aspect than when this incorporating union was made. And we hear no more of the rapine, murders, &c. before so frequent on the borders or marches between England and Wales, but, to the mutual

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1536 mutual felicity of both countries, a regular intercourse has long since been established between them, in like manner as between one county of England and another.

In Mr. Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London we find, that coals at Newcastle were, this year, at two shillings and six-pence per chaldron, which might be about five shillings at London.

Under this year, Isaacson, in his Chronology, relates, " That a terrible fire broke out in the city of Delft in Holland, which destroyed the two churches, many monasteries, nine thousand three hundred houses; and much people and wealth were consumed, and only three hundred houses left standing." For which he quotes *Annales Belgicæ*.

If Delft had, at that time, nine thousand six hundred houses in it, it must have been a very considerable city, containing fifty-seven thousand six hundred people, if only six persons be allowed to each house.

In the latter end of the year 1535, and the beginning of this same year 1536, King Henry VIII. suppressed all the lesser monasteries; that is, such as had estates not exceeding two hundred pounds per annum. Bishop Burnet, the learned and judicious author of the History of the Reformation, observes, that the full report of the visitation of those houses, previous to their suppression, is lost; yet he saw an extract of a part of it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, which contained abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom! In some they found tools for coining; and briefly, in almost all of them, the greatest lewdness and wickedness. My Lord Herbert, p. 441, says, that the yearly amount of all these lesser monasteries was thirty-two thousand pounds, but that the King sold them at such easy rates, to enable them to keep up the hospitality which the monks had done when they were possessed of them, adding thereto a penalty of six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per month on the farmers and possessors of the monasteries and lands belonging to them, on failure of keeping up hospitality and husbandry therein. " But," adds his Lordship, " the penalty being not ordinarily required, due hospitality was for the most part neglected; for the forfeitures, being great, were, at the supplication of the Parliament, (twenty-first James I. cap. xxviii.) wholly abolished at length by the indulgence of that King." Somewhat surely ought to have been done in time, for preventing the poor from becoming so heavy a weight on the landed and trading interests, as it was easy to foresee they would be the case on the suppression of those monasteries, whose kitchens were ever open to the poor of their neighbourhood.

Had the purchasers of those church lands, in every parish, been obliged by their tenures to support the poor thereof, or at least to contribute thereto in a much greater and fixed proportion than others, it would have been extremely reasonable, as they purchased them at very low prices. This would have been more conducive to the benefit of a free and trading people, than my Lord Herbert's scheme of annexing them all to the crown for ever, for enabling our Kings to keep a good army and navy, without being obliged to have recourse to the people's purses from time to time: a dangerous scheme for a free people!

It is said there were ten thousand monks and nuns dismissed by this suppression of the lesser monasteries, to seek their livings where they could. To the men, if in orders, was given a priest's habit, and forty shillings in money; but to the nuns only a gown, such as secular women wore. Some, however, says Lord Herbert, for surrendering their houses, got small yearly pensions. Now if these ten thousand persons could not, whilst in their monasteries, spend less annually than seven pounds each on a medium, then the said estates were at least worth seventy thousand pounds per annum; which sum being, by the increased value of lands

and

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1536 and other improvements in our days, equal to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, at the rate of five to one, would be probably less than their yearly value at this day.

In the said year 1536, King Henry VIII. gives encouragement to certain merchants to send out two ships on discovery to the north coasts of America, where they visited Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and being in great distress for want of provisions there, they returned home in October the same year. And although this voyage proved unfavourable to the principal design of finding a north west passage to India, yet it gave rise to the very beneficial fishery of the English on the banks of Newfoundland; on which barren island one Mr. Hoare of London, merchant, attempted a settlement at this time, though he met with much misfortune in that unsuccessful attempt.

In the same twenty-seventh year of King Henry VIII. cap. xxv. an act of Parliament passed, "To enable the governors and magistrates of counties, towns, and parishes to find and keep every aged, poor, and impotent person, who should have dwelt three years in any place, by way of voluntary alms, with such convenient alms as should be thought meet by their discretion, so as none of them shall be compelled, (*i. e.* necessitated) to go openly in begging; and to compel sturdy vagabonds to work. Also that children under fourteen years of age, and above five, who live in idleness, and shall be taken begging, may be put to service.—No person shall make any open or common dole, nor shall give any money in alms, but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every parish."

This being the first law made in England that seemed to make any provision for aged poor, &c. yet being merely voluntary, it will appear from succeeding ones, that it did not prove by any means effectual. These open doles were made by persons of wealth, and of a charitable disposition, at the gates of their houses on certain fixed times, whither the poor of the neighbourhood came, at a known hour, to have money or provisions dealt out to them, and are said to be still practised in our own days in many parts of Scotland.

1537 There having been an English act of Parliament, which directed of what length and breadth the linen cloths called lockrams and dowlas, made in, and imported from Britany, should be, (a thing, indeed, somewhat extraordinary, to direct another nation concerning their own manufactures) the French thereupon absolutely refused to sell us linens of those dimensions; and as those linen cloths were used to be paid for by English woollen cloths exported to Britany, whereby great numbers of our weavers, tuckers, spinners, dyers, wool pickers, &c. were constantly employed; all which being now suspended, an act of Parliament was made in the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. cap. iv. which repealed the above-named statute.

By another statute of this year, cap. xlv. the prices of wines are fixed, viz. no person shall sell any Gascon or French wines at above eight-pence per gallon, and one penny per pint; nor Malmseys, Rhenneys, Sacks, and other sweet wines above twelve-pence per gallon, and and three halfpence the pint.

About this time, according to Camden, in his Britannia, commenced the cloathing trade of the town of Ellisfax in Yorkshire; his words are to this effect, "That beside the then largeness of its parish, which contained eleven chapels and twelve thousand men in it, nothing is so admirable in this town as the industry of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding an unprofitable barren soil, have so flourished by the cloth trade, which, within seventy years past, they first fell into,"—Camden published his first edition in 1607,—"that they are become very rich, and have gained a reputation for this above their neighbours. And this confirms the truth of the old observation, That a barren country is a great whet to the industry"

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1537 "dustry of its natives; whereby alone we find Nuremburg in Germany, Venice and Genoa in Italy, and Limoges in France, in spite of their situation on a barren soil, have long been flourishing cities."

Solyman the Magnificent, the Turkish Emperor, feeling the great loss his people sustained, by being deprived of supplying Europe with spices and other Indian merchandize from the port of Alexandria, made an attempt this year to drive the Portuguese out of India. He for that end sent his Admiral, Solyman Bassa, with eighty ships and gallies, from the ports of the Red Sea, to besiege the strong fort of Diu, near the mouth of the Indus. The Turks, however, were repulsed with firmness, after using all kinds of means to master it.

1538 Just upon the dissolution of monasteries, by the order of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Vicar-General of King Henry VIII. every incumbent minister in all the parishes in England was enjoined to keep a register of weddings, christenings, and burials. This laudable custom has been continued ever since, though it is to be feared not so carefully as it should be. It is a practice which, on many important occasions, may be of great use to princes and statesmen, both for political and mercantile considerations, and, as Bishop Nicholson observes, affords some of our best helps towards preserving history: and the use of it, (says he) might be of a yet further extent, if care were taken to register also many other remarkable occurrences relating to the public concerns of the several parishes: and therefore, persons of all persuasions or opinions ought, under a penalty, to be obliged to register the same in the vestry books of every parish. Such registers are also of great use and authority in law disputes and trials, for evincing the age of persons, and the titles to estates, &c.

In this year, Ferdinando Soto having had a grant from the Emperor Charles V. of the country of Florida, he sent thither nine ships and six hundred men at his own expence, and travelled many hundred leagues over that country, meeting with many great misfortunes; and after various battles with the natives, returned home in the year 1543, with only half his men.

1539 In the year 1538 was begun, and in 1539 was completed, the dissolution of all the remaining Abbies, called the greater ones, and soon after those in Ireland.

My Lord Herbert computes the total yearly value of them all, both greater and lesser ones, to be one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, but this is far from being an exact account of their annual value; for the Abbots and Priors, foreseeing the impending desolation, had raised the fines for leases very high, which brought the rents, in consequence, very low, that they might procure the means to support themselves when they should be expelled. Indeed, the heads of those convents had, in part, at least, long before adopted that practice, that they might not be bound to entertain too great a number in their houses; by which measure they had much enriched themselves.

The anonymous author of a small folio, printed in the year 1689, with the title of, *The happy future State of England*, (said by many to be the Earl of Anglesey) "thinks there were in all about fifty thousand persons maintained in all the convents of England and Wales." Now, if they were then maintained at seven pounds each person, their annual expence would be three hundred and fifty thousand pounds which probably was near the then yearly value of their lands; and living being still about five times cheaper than in our days, the total yearly value of their lands in our money would be one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. And if, on an average, those lands be worth twenty years purchase, (as being since

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1539 greatly improved) then the total value or purchase of all the said Abbey-lands may be about thirty-five millions sterling. That anonymous author further observes, " That as Camden, " in his *Britannia* (1607) makes all the parishes of England amount to nine thousand two " hundred and eighty-four, thereto may be added twenty-six bishops, twenty-six deans, sixty " arch-deacons, and five hundred and forty-four prebendaries ; these, joined to several rural " *deaneries*, may make about one thousand more ;" (though here our author seems to have forgot that the deans and arch-deacons, as well as the prebendaries, have, almost without exception, at least one parish living, in some of which they may perhaps officiate, though but few, without entertaining a curate.) " And," continues he, " there being then, (*i. e.* at the dissolution of the monasteries) " in Oxford and Cambridge, about sixty thousand students, who, " in expectation of church preferments, either as regulars or as seculars, abstained from marriage, there were then in all about one hundred and twenty thousand persons restrained by " their function from increasing and multiplying : as at present, double" (he should at least surely have said treble) " that number is in France ; which consideration alone gives a considerable advantage to Protestant countries, in point of commerce as well as population. And " reckoning that every marriage, one with another, produces four children," viz. two for each sex, " these would more than double their number in the same age." This, we doubt, is not strictly true.

According to Camden's *Britannia*, the number of monasteries suppressed in England and Wales, first and last, was six hundred and forty-three, beside ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals. It is now too late to lament the demolition of all the monasteries, two or three of which, in every county, as being many of them spacious and stately edifices, would excellently well have served for county hospitals and workhouses ; much more should the overthrow of the colleges be lamented, since even the two illustrious universities of Oxford and Cambridge were included in the dissolution act ; and it was some time after, that the King was, with great difficulty, induced to continue them in their former condition ; yet so inconsistent was he, almost at the same time, as to found new and magnificent colleges in those Universities : and what shall we likewise say, of the destroying of such as were real hospitals for the sick poor, the most innocent and useful of any one kind of charity whatever ? These matters may seem almost foreign to our subject ; yet when we still meet every where with such heaps of those venerable ruins, the effect of the work and riches of many ages, it is scarce possible to avoid joining with Denham, in his Poem on Cooper's Hill, in lamenting the wild and arbitrary proceedings of a tyrannical monarch :

" Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand,
 " What barbarous Invader sack'd the land ?
 " But when he hears no Goth nor Turk did bring
 " This desolation, but a Christian King ;
 " When nothing but the name of Zeal appears
 " Twixt our best actions and the worst of theirs,
 " What does he think our Sacrilege would spare,
 " When such th' effects of our Devotions are ?"

This seems to have been the first time that the Spanish West Indies began to be haunted by French pirates or free-booters, according to Herrera and other historians of those parts. In
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1539 the following year, Herrera reports, that many Portuguese caravels traded to the island of Hispaniola, who, at their return, did not, as all Spaniards were bound to do, carry their cargoes to the India Contractation House at Seville, by which means, says he, the King was defrauded of his duties. It was therefore ordained, in that same year, that none should take in any lading at Hispaniola, without giving security to enter their whole cargo at the said House at Seville.

1540 This year was the first wherein France made any attempt for a plantation in Canada: Jacques Cartier, already mentioned, having now sailed again from St. Malo with five ships up the great river St. Lawrence, four leagues above the haven of St. Croix; where he, jointly with the Baron de Roberval, erected a fort. Others make Roberval's first going to settle or form an establishment at Canada to be in the year 1542, with two hundred men and women.

The state of shipping, even in the port of London was, at this time, but low, compared with the present times. If we may give credit to Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, in quarto, 1601, who wrote in defence of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers, to which Company he was Secretary, and who testifies considerable knowledge in mercantile concerns; he expressly asserts, "that about sixty years before he wrote, there were not above four ships, besides those of the navy royal, that were above one hundred and twenty tons each, within the river of Thames."

There being a great coolness at this time between King Henry VIII. of England and his nephew King James V. of Scotland, who was ever much attached to the French interest, the latter, in the year 1540, prepared a navy of fifteen ships, with two thousand men in them, for some enterprize. My Lord Herbert "does not pretend certainly to know James's design in those preparations, though it looked as if he hoped to annex Ireland to his crown," says his lordship, "since, about that time, certain Irish gentlemen came to invite him over to their country, promising to acknowledge him for their King; and that divers noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland should come over to do him homage. It seems, King James wanted not money at this time; his monastical clergy giving him great sums to keep their houses from being dissolved."

From the great numbers of Scottish Highland volunteers, who, in those times, assisted the great Irish chieftains in their revolt from their allegiance to the crown of England, it seems plain enough that such a design was meditated by King James.

Baldivia first invades the fine country of Chili in the South Sea of America, and became master of some part of it: nevertheless, what the Spaniards have held in that country did, for many years, cost them much bloodshed, and the loss of a great number of lives.

The *Fœdera*, volume fourteenth, p. 657, 703, and 704, acquaints us, that King Henry the Eighth settled yearly pensions of fifty pounds on one, and thirty-eight pounds on two other of his musicians; also some others of them had one shilling and eight pence, and others two shillings and four pence daily pay.

Also, (p. 705, *ibid.*) that King appoints Thomas Wakefield to be his first Professor of Hebrew, or Reader of the Hebrew language, in the University of Cambridge; this being his own new foundation.

It was about this time, that (according to the ingenious author of the Third and Fourth Parts of the Present State of England, printed in octavo, and published in 1683) "cherry-trees were first brought into England from Flanders, and planted in Kent with such success," says that author, "that an orchard of only thirty-two acres produced in one year as much

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1540 "much as yielded one thousand poynds." Probably, the novelty of so delicious a fruit made people at first give high prices for it. Yet this author, in another place, says, that Leonard Mascall, King Henry the Eighth's gardener, alleges, that both pippins and cherries were in England prior to the fifteenth year of that King, 1524. Nevertheless, Camden, in his *Britannia*, asserts, that the Romans introduced the growth of cherries into Britain whilst that empire held it. If so, it is strange that the Saxons suffered so fine a fruit to be lost in England.

An act of Parliament now passed in Scotland, which appointed in every burgh an officer, for the scaling of all woollen cloths, by way of prevention of all drawers (*i. e.* strainers or stretchers) thereof, and also of all listers (*i. e.* dyers) of false colours.

1541 In this year, at the earnest solicitation of Pope Paul III. the Emperor Charles V. in person, undertook a third expedition to the Barbary coast, which proved very unfortunate. It was a great attempt, being no less than the total conquest of the city and kingdom of Algiers, for which, it must be allowed, his preparations were proportionably great. His fleet consisted of sixty-four galleys, two hundred ships, and one hundred frigates, (others say five hundred sail of all sorts) carrying twenty-two thousand troops, horse and foot, commanded, under the Emperor, by the Duke d'Alva, beside retinue and mariners: but when he got on that coast, it being the month of October, and, had he judged right, it was a more proper season for returning from thence, his fleet was attacked by a most violent tempest, whilst he was encamped before Algiers: which, together with the gallant resistance of Hassan-Aga, Bassa of that city and kingdom, obliged the Emperor precipitately to raise the siege, and suddenly to embark for Spain, with the loss of two-thirds of that fine army; having also had most of his ships dashed to pieces against the shores. This, if well conducted, was undoubtedly the only rational method of bridling the piracies of those Barbary Moors; since, without a permanent dominion in the inland country behind their sea ports, for affording a supply of provisions and other necessities, it can never be effectually done; as is plain from the Spanish and Portuguese strong holds on that coast, supported at a vast expence, without being able to protect their own commerce.

It would have been more prudent in King Henry VIII. of England, if, at this time, he had employed some of his treasure in settling part of North America, of which England was the first discoverer, (whereby we should have got footing there almost seventy years sooner than we did) than for him expensively to display his extreme love of pomp and pageantry, as he particularly did in the year 1544, when he crossed the sea to Calais, in a ship with sails of cloth of gold, to the siege of Boulogne, where his pavilion tent was of the same rich stuff; over the door of which he put up the following superb motto, *viz. Cui adhæreo præstet*,—that is, Whomsoever I shall favour shall prevail. And if, instead of intermeddling so much in the quarrels of his continental neighbours, whilst he cruelly destroyed many of his own subjects for being better Christians than himself, he had improved his commerce and manufactures, and his royal navy, he might have sat at home on his throne, and been the absolute umpire of all Christendom.

It was probably about this time, that (according to Puffendorf, who is negligent enough of exact chronology, in his History of Sweden) the first league or alliance commenced between France and Sweden.

It seems, King Gustavus Erickson of Sweden, observing that the Emperor Charles V. gave every kind of assistance to the Count Palatine, brother-in-law to the dethroned and imprisoned King Christian

1541: Christiern II. in order to restore that unhappy King to the throne of the three northern kingdoms, from which he had been expelled, found it needful to strengthen himself by some potent foreign alliance as a counterbalance: and King Francis I. of France being engaged in the Smalcaldic league of the Protestant Princes of Germany against that Emperor, Gustavus dispatched an ambassador to Francis, with certain proposals concerning a mutual commerce between both nations; particularly, that the Swedes would fetch their wines, salt, &c. directly from France in their own bottoms, instead of taking them at second hand from the Hollanders; and Gustavus, moreover, proposed to erect magazines of salt in Sweden, and to compel every family, as is done in France itself, to take a certain quantity of it at a fixed rate. His salt project, it is true, did not succeed; but his other proposals for trade, were well received by Francis, to whom Gustavus offered his aid against the Emperor. Yet, as the kingdom of Sweden was till then very little known in France, Francis made a strict enquiry into its power, constitution, &c. and finding so warlike a nation capable of being very conducive to the purposes of France, he not only agreed on a treaty of commerce between the two kingdoms, but likewise to a defensive alliance, by which the two Kings mutually agreed to assist each other with twenty-five thousand troops, and fifty ships.

An English statute was made, in the thirty-second of King Henry VIII. cap. xiv. by which all former statutes were confirmed, concerning the confining the importation of wines from Gascony, and woad from Toulouse, to English and Irish ships alone.

By another act of this same year, cap. xvi. the power which King Henry VIII. had before assumed, by his proclamation alone, of remitting to merchant-aliens the duties they would otherwise have been obliged by law to pay, is now confirmed and made legal. Such abject slaves did those Parliaments render themselves to the pleasures of that monarch.

There is another act of Parliament of the same thirty-second of Henry VIII. cap. xvii. for paving the following streets or ways in London, viz.

- " I. The street leading from Aldgate to Whitechapel Church.
- " II. The upper part of the lane called Chancery Lane.
- " III. The way leading from Holborn Bars, westward, towards St. Giles in the Fields, as far as any habitation is on both sides of the said street.
- " IV. Gray's Inn Lane.
- " V. Shoe Lane. And,
- " VI. Fetter (now Fetter) Lane; the two last being thoroughfares and passages from Fleet Street into Holborn."

That part of Chancery Lane now to be paved is thus described, viz. " From the bars beside the Rolls, lately set up by the Lord Privy Seal, unto the said highway in Holborn." This passage shews the age of the Rolls Office in Chancery Lane, and also that all Holborn above the city bars remained unpaved till now; neither was it now all built on both sides, (nor a good while later than this time) as appears by a map of London in Queen Elizabeth's reign. All these six ways now directed to be paved, are herein described as " very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous, and (noyous) noisome, as well for the King's subjects on horseback as on foot, and with carriages;" yet three of these, viz. Shoe Lane, Fetter Lane, and Chancery Lane, are now in the very center of the present immense contiguity, and all the rest are likewise well built and inhabited. So vast is the increase and improvement of London since those times.

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1541 In the same King's thirty-second year, by a statute, cap. xviii. and xix. a list of decayed cities and towns is exhibited, as in 1535, wherein it is said, there had been, in times past, many beautiful houses, viz. within the walls and liberties of the cities and towns of York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colchester, Rochester, Portsmouth, Poole, Lynn, Faversham, Worcester, Stafford, Buckingham, Pontefract, Grantham, Exeter, Ipswich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Oxenford, Great Wycombe, Guildford, Etfretfore, (quare, what place, if not Stafford?) Kingston upon Hull, Newcastle upon Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, and Berwick. And in cap. xix. Shafton, Sherborn, Bridport, Dorchester, and Weymouth, (all in Dorsetshire) Plymouth, Plympton, Barnstable, Tavistoke, and Dartmouth, (all in Devonshire) Lancelton, Leskeard, Lestwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, and Helston, (all in Cornwall) Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerton, and Alcester, (all in Somersetshire) Malden in Essex, and lastly, the town of Warwick. "Which houses now are fallen down, decayed, and at this time remain unre-edified as desolate and vacant grounds, many of them nigh adjoining to the high streets, replenished with much uncleanness and filth, with pits, cellars, and vaults, lying open and uncovered, to the great peril of the King's subjects; and other houses are in danger of falling. Now, if the owners of the waste ground, on which houses had stood within twenty-five years back, and of the decaying houses, do not within three years time rebuild them, then the Lord of whom the ground is held may re-enter, and seize the same, &c. as in a like law, anno 1535." Concerning which laws, now and afterward, it may truly be said, they were well enough judged, as probably the nuisances complained of were more owing to carelessness, than to any real decay in most of the places mentioned in those two acts, and in the subsequent ones of this century: since it is well known, that many of those cities and towns were, in those very times, increasing in commerce and manufactures: so that these two statutes seem to have proceeded rather from a particular temporary humour or turn of that House of Commons, than from any real decrease or decay of all, or at least of many of the above-named places; since, excepting London, Norwich, Liverpool, Northampton, Chester, Nottingham, Cambridge, and a few more, almost all the considerable cities and towns of the kingdom are thus enumerated as decaying ones, which is almost impossible to have been the case, whilst the nation was in general increasing, though then but slowly, in wealth and commerce. This therefore seems to be one instance, at least, of the fallibility of some of our old statutes:—indeed, some of those places might complain of a real decay, which, perhaps became a reason for the representatives of other places to include them also in that number, though probably without any ground.

1542 The humour of coercive laws, for building up of waste ground in cities and towns of England, seems to have taken much in the reign of King Henry VIII. We have just exhibited a long list of such, by an act of Parliament in 1541; and by an act of the thirty-third of this King, cap. xxxvi. it is preambled, "That whereas, in times past, many beautiful houses have been within the walls and liberties of the cities of Canterbury and Rochester, the towns of Stamford and Grimsby in Lincolnshire; the towns of Cambridge, Darby, Guildford, Dunwich; the towns of the Cinque Ports, with their members, Lewes in Sussex, and Buckingham; which are now fallen down, decayed, and remain unre-edified—lying as desolate, with much ordure, filth, &c. as in the preceding laws is specified.—Wherefore, the owners of such waste grounds, and of those decayed houses, are to rebuild them within two years after proclamation made by the Magistrates; or failing them, then the next or chief

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1542 "chief lord of the soil may seize on and rebuild the same for his own use, so he does it within two years and an half after. And in default of his not re-entering thereon, then any person, having a rent-charge on the premises, may re-enter as in the before named case. And, in default of him who has the rent-charge, then the Magistrates of the respective cities and towns may re-enter. And lastly, if the said Magistrates fail to re-enter and rebuild in three years time, then the first owners might re-enter and possess them, as in their former state."

The English merchants of Southampton and London, we find, by Hakluyt, traded to Brazil in the years 1540 and 1542; which seems to have been permitted at those times, and until the year 1580, when Spain obtained possession of Portugal.

After the death of King James V. of Scotland, in the year 1542, says Archbishop Nicholson, in his *Scottish Historical Library*, octavo, London 1702, p. 319, "we hear no more of groats, half-groats, pennies, or halfpennies (of silver) coined in Scotland; nor any of their names so much as once mentioned in any of the subsequent acts of Parliament. It is supposed, that by this time the price of silver was so risen, (or rather the Scots, like the French, had so raised the accounts of their sums) that the old smaller silver coins, which took their denomination from pennies, grew into disuse; and the pieces that were thenceforward coined, took theirs from shillings and marks. Thus, in France, the deniers perished and were forgotten, and the sols and livres succeeded in their room."

The Portuguese Governor of Malacca having made a full discovery of the coast of China in the years 1540 and 1542—he was, in the latter year, driven by a storm to make an accidental discovery of the islands of Japan, lying eastward from China between the north latitude of thirty and forty degrees, where the Portuguese were at first well received.

King Henry VIII. assumed this year the title of King, instead of Lord of Ireland, by virtue of an Irish act of Parliament. Upon which circumstance, Sir James Ware, in his *Historical Relations*, observes, "That albeit the Kings of England had been absolute monarchs of Ireland before, though only with the title of Lords of it; yet, because in the vulgar conceit, the title of King is higher than that of Lord, assuredly the assuming of this title hath not a little raised the sovereignty of the King of England in the minds of this people." Yet he at the same time acknowledges, "that although Sir Anthony St. Leger, then Lord Deputy, took several good measures for the improvement of Ireland, all this while the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, with a good part of Leinster, were not reduced to shire ground. And although Munster was anciently divided into counties, yet the people were become so degenerate, that no Justice of Assize durst execute his commission amongst them."

In such a situation as this, there could be no room for any thing like a settled commerce in Ireland: for much of the bulk of the old English race were become so far degenerated, as to have lost the use of the English tongue, and, becoming mere Irish, they assumed Irish names; much to the shame of England, in not making a more compleat conquest of the whole island before this time. Their new Irish names were such as Mac-William, Mac-Pheris, and Mac-Yoris, who refused to come to the Parliaments summoned by the King of England's authority.

The negligence and decay of the eastern coast fishing towns of England at this time, is apparent from an act of Parliament of the thirty-third of King Henry VII. cap. ii. which describes a bad custom of our people on that coast, who, instead of fishing themselves, went in their boats half-seas over, and bought fresh fish, between shore and shore, of the Flemings, Zealan-

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1542 Zealanders, Picardy men, and Normans. It was therefore now enacted, "That whosoever should buy any fresh fish in that manner, (sturgeon, porpoise, and seal excepted) to put to sale to any person within this realm, should forfeit, for every time, ten pounds. But this not to extend to fish bought in Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Shetland, Ireland, or Newfoundland," then called Newland.

1543 We have now the title of the first law ever made in England relating to Bankrupts, in the thirty-fourth year of King Henry VIII. viz. "The Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, &c. shall take order with bankrupt's bodies, lands and goods, for the payment of their debts." But a statute in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. vii. (which complains of the great increase of them in the year 1571) explains who are properly bankrupts, and puts the method of proceeding concerning them pretty nearly on the same plan as at present.

In this year, according to Louis Guicciardini's History of the Netherlands, the renowned city of Antwerp had its third and last great enlargement of its circuit, by extending the walls, so as to inclose what is called the new town, towards the north: the new walls were built of fine hewn stone, and beautifully adorned. That illustrious mercantile city, then contained about one hundred thousand inhabitants, according to that author, who had diligently computed the same.

From the under named statute of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of King Henry VIII. cap. vi. it seems natural to conclude that pins, (such as we now know by that name, and chiefly used by the ladies) must have been but of very recent invention. The act says, "That no person shall put to sale any pinnes, but only such as shall be double-headed, and have the heads soldered fast to the shank of the pinne well smoothed, the shank well shaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and sharpened." Now the labour and time of making pins after this manner, as it must have rendered them much more expensive, shews the novelty of the invention, which probably was but lately brought from France. And the inconvenience of the make of those pins naturally set our people upon improving so tedious and clumsy a manufacture; for, in about three years time, they adopted the present ingenious and expeditious manner of making them, viz. by the thirty-seventh of this King, cap. xiii. repealing the above statute. Before the invention of these brass pins, there were many pretty and ingenious contrivances for the convenience of the dress and ornament of both sexes; such as ribbons, loopholes, laces with points and tags, clasps, hooks and eyes, and skewers made of brass, silver, and gold. From the last, viz. skewers, it is very probable that pins naturally proceeded, being no other than smaller and more convenient and delicate skewers.

Herrera acquaints us, that, in this year, the Spaniards from Mexico failed for discovery on the west side of North America as far as the latitude of forty-four degrees north, even to the further part of California; but as they found there neither gold nor silver, and only very cold and frosty weather, they returned home to Mexico.

We have now an authentic proof of the proportion between English and Scottish money, still of the same denomination. It is in the fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 31, being a contract or indenture between King Henry the Eighth's Commissioners, and Matthew, Earl of Lenox, concerning the marriage of that King's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, to that Earl; and for his delivering up Dunbarton Castle, &c. to Henry. The yearly sum to be settled on that lady, in lands in England, was six thousand eight hundred marks Scottish money, or one thousand seven hundred marks sterling; being still in the proportion as one is to four.

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Upon King Henry the Eighth's returning from his successful siege of Boulogne, in consequence of which he had grounds to apprehend reprisals from so great a Prince as King Francis I. of France, he set about fortifying his sea-coasts.—He began with guarding the entrance into the river Thames, by erecting the fort of Tilbury, and a battery opposite to it at Gravesend. Dover was his next care, where he built its famous, though too fruitless pier, running out into the sea, at the expence of no less a sum than sixty-five thousand pounds, (if transcribers have not added a cypher too much) and since frequently repaired at a great expence. Portsmouth was his next care, and afterwards several other places. Moreover, the Tower of London having till then been the only magazine of the kingdom for artillery and military stores, he now prudently distributed much of them in those newly fortified places on the coast, which happened extremely opportune; for this same year, a large French fleet of one hundred and fifty great ships, and sixty smaller ones, beside twenty-five galleys from the Mediterranean, being all hired merchant-ships, made an attempt upon Portsmouth, whither King Henry went in person to its relief. My Lord Herbert, and other historians, relate, that the English fleet of one hundred sail, (which also were all hired merchant-ships) fought that of France, though much more numerous, for two hours, and made them fly to their own coasts; but none of them are accurate enough to give us any account of the order or form, &c. of that sea-fight, nor indeed of many others of the same kind. This Mr. Rapiñ terms the greatest effort that France had ever made at sea.

We again find the French pirates or freebooters in the West Indies, according to Herrera, who tells us, that four of their ships, with a tender, entered the port of Santa Marta, where, landing four hundred men, the Spanish inhabitants abandoned the place, which the French plundered and burned. From thence they sailed to Carthagena, where they practised a similar degree of rapine; that place having not been as yet well fortified. Afterwards they attempted the town and port of Havanna, in the island of Cuba: when, being repulsed there, they returned home by the Bahama islands.

We have, in two former instances, observed the great influence which corporation cities and towns had in Parliament, for monopolizing to themselves the manufactures of their respective counties, exclusive of the villages and open country, viz. in the case of rope-making at Bridport, in Dorsetshire, and that of the woollen manufacture at the city of Worcester, and the other corporations of that county. The case now before us is that of a peculiar manufacture in the city of York, viz. coverlets for beds. The act which establishes this monopoly, as usual, sets forth, in substance, “That York city had been formerly supported by sundry handicrafts, and most principally by making of coverlets and coverings for beds, whereby great numbers of inhabitants and poor people in that city and suburbs, and in other places of the county, have been constantly employed. But that of late years, sundry evil-disposed persons, apprentices, not expert in that occupation, had withdrawn themselves out of that city into the county; and divers other persons, inhabiting the villages and towns of that county, and nigh to the said-city, have intermeddled with the said craft, and do daily make coverlets, neither of good stuff or proper size; and do hawk and sell them abroad in the county, to villages and men's houses, &c. to the great deceit of the King's subjects, &c.”—All which, or at least the bulk of it, might be absolutely an imposition on the Parliament, for aught that we can tell to the contrary. It was now therefore enacted, “That no person whatever, within or nigh to the county of York, shall make any coverlets for sale, but inhabitants alone dwelling within the city of York and its suburbs, upon forfeiture, &c.” What

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1544 could be a greater monopoly than this? Or what a greater injustice to the poor manufacturers in other parts of the county?

As the gradual increase of the suburbs of London does, in a great measure, keep pace with the gradual increase of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a piece of curious and entertaining history, to mark the gradual advances of both, we therefore have no need of an apology for exhibiting whatever occurs of that kind.

By a statute of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of King Henry VIII. cap. 12. "The streets named Whitecross-street; Chiswell-street, leading from Whitecross-street unto the highway leading to Moor-gate; the lane called Golding-lane, and the street called Grub-street, in the parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate; the street called Goswell-street, in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate; Long-lane, in the parish of St. Botolph aforesaid, and of St. Sepulchre, without Newgate; the street called St. John-street, leading from the bars of Smithfield up to the pound, at the corner of the wall extending along the highway leading to Islington; and also the street from the said bars to Cow-cross; the lane called Water-lane in Fleet-street, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple-bar westward, by and unto Clements-Inn Gates, and New-Inn Gates, to Drewry-place, in the county of Middlesex;" this shews that it was not then built on, "and also one little lane stretching from the said way to the sign of the Bell at Drewry-lane end; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petit-France, from the bars of the west-end of Tothill-street at Westminster, unto the uttermost part of the west-end of the said place called Petit-France; the street or highway leading from Bishopsgate to and above Shoreditch church; and the bridge called Strond-bridge, and the way leading from the said bridge towards Temple-bar; and the lane called Foskue-lane, from the garden and tenement of the Bishop of Litchfield, and the gardens and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strond-bridge," (these names are now unknown) "be very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious, and very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt favours, and an occasion of pestilence. For the amendment and reformation whereof, all who have any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforesaid streets, lanes, and ways, shall sufficiently pave the same with paving-stones, every man such part and quantity of the said streets and ways, unto the midst of them, in length and breadth, as his lands or tenements do lie or extend, in like manner and form as the streets of the city of London be paved, with causeys or channels in the midst of the same streets, and shall yearly maintain the same."

In the same year, an act of Parliament, cap. 13. enabled the county palatine of Chester to be represented in Parliament by two knights, and the city of Chester by two citizens; this being the first time that ever that county or city had any representatives to sit in Parliament. And thus this county remains to the present day, there being no other towns in it but the city of Chester which are represented in Parliament.

In this year King Henry VIII. being at war with Scotland, the English army took and pillaged the town and port of Leith, which is properly the port of Edinburgh. And my Lord Herbert hereupon remarks, "That, on that occasion, the English found more riches in Leith than they could easily have imagined."

In that same war, Dr. Drake, in his *Historia Anglo-Scotica*, p. 351, relates, "That the English took twenty-eight of the principal ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kinds of rich merchandize, as they returned from France, Flanders, Denmark, and other countries; and

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1544 “ and they brought them into the English ports.” So that Scotland, at this time, appears to have possessed some considerable share of foreign commerce.

The same year, says Lord Herbert, King Henry VIII. finding that the money of this kingdom was drained away by his crafty neighbours, he, to remedy the evil, raised the price of gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight shillings per ounce; and silver from three shillings and ninepence to four shillings per ounce.

As yet, the present great suburb of London, eastward along the north bank of the Thames, since named Wapping, had not, as far as appears, any existence as a suburb, or was not built up into houses: for, by an act of Parliament, the thirty-fifth of King Henry VIII. cap. 9. “ Wapping Marsh, in the county of Middlesex, is directed to be divided by certain persons assigned, or by any six of them. And Richard Hill of London, mercer, the assignee of Cornelius Wanderdelf, who, at his own charge, inned, inbanked, and recovered the same, “ being drowned, shall have the one moiety thereof to him and to his heirs;” it having been before this time within the flux of the tide and the Thames. Those banks being, in the year 1565, broken in several parts by inundations, were repaired; but were again damaged in the year 1571, when, for the greater security of the banks hereafter, they first began to erect houses on them, the memory of which is still preserved in a street there, called Wapping-wall.

In an act of Parliament of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. cap. 21. relating to grants of lands by the King, it is therein enacted, “ That for over-grants of lands, “ more than was specified and intended by the King, the grantees shall content and pay to the “ King after the rate of twenty years purchase.” Yet this is by no means a rule to judge of the value or purchase of lands at that time, which certainly was very much lower than this valuation; and which, most probably, was intended as a punishment and a caution to all grantees not to conceal the quantum of the crown’s grants.

The streets of the town of Cambridge were first directed by a statute of the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. cap. 16. to be paved with stone.—See the year 1410.

And in the same year, cap. 17. a very good statute, and the first of the kind, was made for preserving the woods of England, as well for the benefit of house and ship-timber, as for firing: which statute was, by the twelfth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 25. made perpetual.

By an act of Parliament of the same year, cap. 24. we find that two hundred acres of land, (viz. one hundred of meadow, and one hundred of pasture) at Maddingly in Cambridgeshire, with the appurtenances, are thereby declared “ to be, in the whole, of the yearly value of ten “ pounds, and so letten to farm at this day, to the use and intent that the profits thereof “ should be for the fees and wages of the knights, in Parliament, for the county of Cambridge; “ and this land therefore was called the Shire-manor; and was now actually let to John “ Hinde, serjeant-at-law, for that sum yearly;” being twelve-pence per acre yearly rent.—This is a better guide to the true value of lands in those times than the preceding quotation from cap. 21. of the same year; which lands may at present be worth near twenty times the said valuation.

King Francis I. of France having been, as already related, the first Christian monarch who entered into an alliance with the Turks, joined with Sultan Solymán, the Grand Seignior, in the attack of the Emperor Charles V. And whilst Solymán attacked Hungary, and possessed himself of Strigonia and Alba, he, Solymán, sent one hundred and thirty galleys to the coast of Lombardy, and formed a junction with twenty-two French galleys, jointly besieging the city of Nice, belonging to the Duke of Savoy. The town they soon took, but

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1544 the castle proved too hard for them, and so they raised the siege; and the famous Turkish admiral, Heyradin Barbarossa, wintered with his fleet in the harbours of Provence. And, says Mezerai, during the war between Henry II. of France and the said Charles V. Sultan Solyman failed not every year to assist the former with a naval force.

In the same thirty-fifth year of King Henry VIII. cap. 4. we have another statute for repairing and rebuilding of decayed houses and waste places in the following towns, exactly in the same stile as the acts of 1535, 1541, and 1542, viz. in Shrewsbury, Chester, Ludlow, Haverfordwest, Pembroke, Tenby, Caernarthen, Montgomery, Cardiff, Swaneffe, (that is, Swansea) Cowbridge, New Radnor, and Prestend, (*i. e.* Presteigne) in Radnorshire, Brecknock and Monmouth, Malden in Essex, Abergavenny, Uske, Caerleon and Newport in Monmouthshire, Lancaster, Preston, Lyrepoole, (*i. e.* Liverpool) and Wigan in Lancashire.—The remedy for repairing the decayed houses, and building the waste-grounds, is exactly the same as is prescribed by the three statutes, already mentioned, and probably with as little reason.

A judicious observer will, we imagine, naturally remark, that there is such a thing as fashion or example, even in the important subject of acts of Parliament of England. Thus, one age, from an applauded example or two, runs more into one kind of reformation of abuses; another age into some other kind, for the same reason. This, and the other three statutes, sufficiently exhausted the subject they relate to, having therein gone through not only almost all the considerable cities and towns of the kingdom, London excepted, but have even descended to several towns which neither are, nor ever were of consideration enough to have so much regard paid to them; yet it is not to be denied, that the design in general is very laudable. After the restoration of King Charles II. the making of rivers navigable, and the repairing and deepening of harbours, had a considerable run; and the last and present generation have, in a great measure, followed the same practice; but, in our time, public spirit has been very greatly exerted in building bridges, making roads, and forming internal navigations.

1545 According to Herrera's History of Spanish America, the unparalleled silver mines of Potosi, in Peru, which had been discovered a little time before, but remained till now concealed from the King's officers, were, in this year, first registered in the King of Spain's books. It is related, that an Indian running up that mountain after a deer, discovered the first mine, by laying hold of, and tearing up by the root, a shrub which grew out of a vein of ore. The next year other veins were discovered, says that author, on this seemingly inexhaustible mountain; which being noised abroad, brought most of the inhabitants of the town of La Plata to settle there; so that in a short time, in the neighbourhood of those mines, there sprung up the largest town in all Peru, where there is a prodigious trade. The mountain lies in twenty-one degrees and forty minutes of south latitude; yet, because of its great height, it is cold and dry, and by nature barren, producing neither fruits nor grass. The colour of its earth is a dark red. Such were the riches drawn from those mines, that even in those times, the King's fifth amounted to one million and a half of pieces of eight yearly; although, in those early days, the King was robbed of much of his due; not one-third part of the silver being stamped and registered. He adds, that in the year 1585, they counted one hundred and eleven millions that had paid the King's fifth, from the first discovery of the mines to that year, beside an immense quantity that had never paid it at all. It seems, that it was first found to be very difficult to separate the metal from the earth or dross by dint of fire; the ancients being ignorant of the secret of separating the metal of silver by mercury, although they knew that of gold, and
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1545 thought that mercury would not cleave to any other metal. The Spaniards, however, afterwards discovered that it would cling to silver also, though not so soon; but it has no effect upon other metals. And since this discovery, the poorer ore, which cannot be refined by fire, is not lost as formerly; for the quicksilver perfectly clears the silver without fire. There were, it seems, no quicksilver mines in Europe, according to our author, until after the discovery of America, excepting those of Carinthia in Germany, and of Almadin in Spain; but, in the year 1566, they discovered one near Guamanga in Peru, by which the crown gets, it is said, four hundred thousand dollars of clear profit annually, besides what is gained by cleansing the metal with mercury, amounting to a vast sum. "Two-thirds of all the silver which arrives in Europe from America," says our author, "comes from Peru."

To this account of the most famous silver mines in the universe, and of the great improvement in refining the metal by quicksilver, handed down to us by so authentic an author, we may venture to add, that since Herrera's days, there have been other very rich silver mines discovered in Peru; and particularly, it is said, there was a very rich one discovered near Cusco, so lately as the year 1712.

Under this same year, Father Daniel tells us of a French ship of war carrying one hundred large brass cannon; yet he nevertheless owns, in general, that the largest ships of war, in former times, were not to be compared for bulk with those of a modern period; since, in old times, large fleets were fitted out from harbours, where now ships of a moderate size have not water enough to float them; of which Havre-de-Grace, built by King Francis I. and many other places, may be instanced. Our English naval historians think that ships had not, as at present, gun port-holes till this time; before which, they only placed a few cannon on their upper-decks, and on their prow and poop; fighting with cannon in ships being but just come into use. Father Daniel therefore may be mistaken as to the date of his hundred gun ship.

1546

We are now come to the time when interest, or usance for money lent, in those days, and always known by the name of usury, was first settled in England by law. It is a statute of the thirty seventh year of King Henry VIII. cap. 9. entitled, How offenders in usury shall be punished. "Before this time," says the judicious Sir Josiah Child, "there was no law for limiting the rate of interest; there was then little trade, and as little money in the nation; wherefore, every man took such an interest for what money he could put out as he could get, which, in sundry instances, to be found in history here and there, was, before this time, generally higher than ten per cent." as appears also, in part, from the strong expressions in this law, the preamble whereof says, "That sundry statutes have been made for the avoiding and punishment of usury, being a thing unlawful," (and yet, with the same breath, these lawgivers establish it; for this was the church's opinion of those times, though never uniformly put in practice) "and of other corrupt bargains, shifts, and chevifances; which statutes are so obscure, and dark in intents," (so framed on purpose, to leave room to avoid the penalties, whilst, in general words, all usury, to please the clergy, was declared sinful) "and are of so little force, that, by reason thereof, little or no punishment hath ensued to the offenders of the same. For reformation whereof," says this preamble gravely, "be it enacted, That all former statutes concerning usury, shifts, &c. and all forfeitures and penalties concerning the same, be henceforth utterly void."

Next, this act prohibits the tricks made use of to evade the laws forbidding usury: as,

"1. The first, by selling of merchandize to a person, and within three months after, buying the same of him at a lesser price.

"II. None

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" II. None shall, by way of any corrupt bargain, loan, exchange, chevifance, shift, interest of any wares, merchandizes, or other thing whatever, or by any corrupt or deceitful way, or by any covin, engine, or deceitful way of conveyance, receive or accept, in lucre or gains, for the forbearing or giving day of payment of one whole year, of and for his or their money, or other thing that shall be due for the same wares, &c. above the sum of ten pounds in the hundred, neither for money nor merchandize, nor yet for mortgages of lands and tenements, under the forfeiture of treble the value of the principal money lent, and of the issues and profits of the said lands or tenements, and shall also be imprisoned, and make fine and ransom at the King's will and pleasure. Of this forfeiture one moiety to be the King's, and the other the informer's."

The good folks, in the fifth and sixth of King Edward VI. repealed this law in the year 1551-2, and determined all interest taken for money to be unlawful. But the wiser folks of the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth repealed that law, and restored this of King Henry VIII. as will be seen in their places.

In the fifteenth volume, p. 95, of the *Fœdera*, there is a treaty of peace between England and France, by which King Henry VIII. agrees to surrender Boulogne and its territory to Francis I. in eight years time, on condition of being paid by Francis two millions of French crowns, &c. and all new impositions on commerce in either kingdom, for the last fifty years, were agreed to be abolished. Hall's Chronicle says, that just before the conclusion of this treaty, the English entered the river Seine with one hundred and sixty sail of large ships, and came before the town of Havre-de-Grace, where the French fleet was, consisting of two hundred ships, and twenty-six galleys of force, whereof the Pope had sent twenty; but a storm soon separated the two fleets without any action.

The great wealth of the Fuggers, merchants of Augsburg, now living at Antwerp, who have been already named under the year 1535, appears again in vol. xv. p. 101, of the *Fœdera*; by an acquittance of Anthony Fugger and nephews to King Henry VIII. of England, and to the city of London, bound with him, for one hundred and fifty-two thousand one hundred and eighty pounds Flemish, which that King had borrowed of him.

And, in the year 1547, the first of King Edward VI. in the same volume, p. 152, that young King had borrowed of the same persons one hundred and twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty Caroline florins, on the security of the city of London; for which the King grants the city his indemnification.

Thus we see, that in those times, even our great monarchs frequently could not borrow beyond-sea, without the collateral security of our renowned metropolis.

In the same fifteenth volume, p. 103, under the year 1546, there is a grant of King Henry VIII. to Philip, Count Palatine of the Rhine, of an annual pension of ten thousand German florins, each of which was then worth three shillings and fourpence sterling: so that as English coins were near twice as weighty as in our time, a German florin might then probably be worth near six shillings of our money, though now but about two shillings and fourpence. Which shews, that the rest of Europe, and Germany in particular, gradually raised the nominal, whilst they lessened the real value of their coins.

By the same volume, p. 105, of the *Fœdera*, it appears, that there was much finery and gaiety of apparel, &c. in those times, though not so generally diffused as in our more opulent days: for, in the year 1546, King Henry VIII. grants a licence to two Florentine merchants, therein named, to import, for three years to come, the following rich merchandize, which,

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1546 he says, "were for the pleasure of us and our dearest wife, the Queen, our nobles, gentlemen, " and others, viz. All manner of goldsmith's work of gold and silver; all manner of skins " and furs, of fables, &c. all manner of cloths of tissue of gold, silver, tinsel, velvet, and silk, " cloths of tapestry and arras, mixed with gold and silver; all sorts of fringes and lace, wrought " with gold and silver, or otherwise."

By a statute of this thirty-seventh of King Henry VIII cap. 21. two parish churches, or one church and a chapel, not being above one mile asunder, and one of them not exceeding the yearly value of six pounds, may be united into one, with the consent of the Bishop, patrons, and incumbent, &c. &c. It seems, by the preamble to this act, that there were many parsonages in England, the glebes, tythes, and other yearly profits of which, were not sufficient to maintain a priest or curate for the benefit of the parishioners; and as, within a mile or less of such poor parsonage, there happens, in many places, to be another parish church, situated as conveniently for the said parishioners as their own church may be;—And whereas, the expence of supporting the said two churches, for reparations, &c. is greater than such poor parishioners can bear; therefore, if one of those church livings happen not to exceed the yearly value of six pounds in the King's books, it may be united to the other parish church. Yet the consolidation, or union, may be afterwards made void, provided the parishioners of such poor parish shall, in ~~the~~ year after such union, properly secure and assure to the incumbent of the said parish the yearly payment of so much money, as, with the sum that the said parishes rated at in the King's Court of first Fruits and Tenths, shall amount to the full sum of eight pounds yearly.

The fifteenth volume, p. 110, &c. gives King Henry Eighth's last will and testament in this same year. Among other things, he bequeaths " to our daughters Mary and Elizabeth, " at their marriages, they being married to any outward," i. e. foreign, " potentate, (by the " advice of the aforesaid counsellors) if we bestow them not in our life time, ten thousand " pounds, in money, plate, jewels, and household stuffs, for each of them; or a larger sum, " at the discretion of our executors."

1547 In this year, the first of King Edward VI. Peter Baude, a Frenchman, was the first who, in England, cast iron ordnance or cannon, says the author of an octavo book, intituled, English Worthies in Church and State, London, 1684. As the English made use of cannon two hundred years prior to this time, it is somewhat strange they were so late in manufacturing iron ordnance as this year, and brass cannon as the year 1635.

Upon the accession of King Edward VI. to the crown of England, he settled a pension of one hundred pounds yearly, for life, on each of his two physicians, as appears in the fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 143.

Also, according to p. 157 of the same volume, that King settled a salary of two hundred marks, or one hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence, on the Lord High Admiral, in the person of his uncle Thomas Lord Seymour. And in the year 1549, an equal salary was settled on his successor, John Earl of Warwick.

The same year, according to Howell's *Londinopolis*, " the price of Malmsey wine, then " the only sweet wine imported, and then only by the Lombards, was but three halfpence the " pint;" for which he gives for voucher the church books of St. Andrew Underhaft in London in that year, " wherein it appears, that the churchwardens paid ten shillings for eighty " pints of Malmsey spent in the church."

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Under this same year, Thuanus, lib. 129, speaking of the progress of silk, from the east to the western parts, relates, that, in the reign of King Francis I. of France, who died in this year, silk prospered in Touraine, but more especially in Provence, as lying most southerly; it prospered also at Avignon, Lyons, and several other parts of France; but being also attempted about Paris, the climate was found not to be proper for it, though the greatest care was taken of the silk worms at Fontainebleau.

Yet Mezerai, speaking of the reign of Henry II. the successor of Francis, alleges, that silk was still dear and scarce in France. This Prince, according to him, was the first who wore a pair of silk knit stockings.

In this first year of King Edward VI. we have a statute against vagabonds; cap. iii. which carries so many marks of the ancient bondage of the lower class of the people of England, that it is no wonder it was repealed in the third and fourth years of the same reign, and still further in the thirty-ninth of Queen Elizabeth, as improper for a free and commercial people. It enacts, "That a run-a-gate servant, or any other who liveth idly and loiteringly by the space of three days, being brought before two justices of the peace, they shall cause him to be marked with an hot iron on the breast with the mark V, and adjudge him to be the slave of him who brought him, for two years after; who shall take the said slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse him any more, and cause him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him to, be it never so vile. And if such slave absent himself from his said master within the said term of two years, by the space of fourteen days, then he shall be marked on the forehead, or the ball of the cheek, with an hot iron, with the sign of an S, and further shall be adjudged to be slave to his said master for ever. And if the said slave shall run away a second time, he shall be adjudged a felon.—It shall be lawful to every person, to whom any shall be adjudged a slave, to put a ring of iron about his neck, arm, or leg.

"A justice of peace may bind a beggar's man-child apprentice to the age of fourteen years, and a woman-child to the age of twenty years, to any that will require them. And if the said child run away, then his master may retain and use him for the term aforesaid as his slave." Here the word slave is named seven times, besides twice more in a clause needless to be transcribed, concerning clerks attainted or convict.

"All impotent, maimed, or aged persons, who cannot be taken for vagabonds, shall have convenient houses provided for them, and otherwise shall be relieved in the cities or towns where they were born, or where most conversant by the space of three years, by the willing and charitable disposition of the parishioners; and none other shall be suffered to beg there." This very lame clause contains an express inconsistency or contradiction; the first part of it being an injunction in behalf of the poor, or beggars, and the latter part leaves it to the willing and charitable disposition of people. This way of making provision for the disabled and aged poor, is to be found in the statute book both before and after this time; but as these acts were more properly, and indeed merely, recommendatory, they always proved ineffectual.

At this time, it seems, the ancient city of York was become much decayed. A statute of the same year, cap. ix. represents its declension in the following terms, viz. "In that city and suburbs there are many parish churches, which heretofore (the same being well inhabited and replenished with people) were good and honest livings for learned incumbents, by reason of the privy tythes of the rich merchants, and of the offerings of a great multitude; which livings being now so much decayed by the ruin and decay of the said city, and of the

"trade

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“ trade of merchandize there, the revenues and profits of divers of the same benefices are not, at this present time, above the clear yearly value of one pound six shillings and eight-pence, so that a great sort of them are not a competent and honest living for a good curate; yea, and no person will take the cure, but that of necessity there is some chantry priest, or else some late religious person,” *i. e.* monk, “ being a stipendiary, taken and appointed to the said cure and benefice, which, for the most part, are unlearned and very ignorant persons. Wherefore, the Mayor and Recorder of that city, and the Ordinary or his deputy, and six Justices of Peace in the said city, are hereby impowered to unite the said parishes into fewer number; to wit, so many of the said parishes into one parish, as shall to them be thought convenient to be a living for one honest incumbent, so as the clear yearly value exceed not twenty pounds.—The superfluous churches shall be pulled down, toward the reparation and enlargement of the other churches, or of the bridges of the said city, and the relief of the poor.” The rest of this act contains a provision for the their incumbents of united parishes; the King’s first-fruits and tenths, &c.

As acts of Parliament do not always sufficiently set forth the true grounds of many evils they are designed to rectify, it may be proper to remark on this statute, that the smallness of those livings in York city, as in many other places, was probably owing to the light of the reformation from popery, by which the ignorant and ill-judged zeal of the laity received a great check: dying persons and others, in ignorant times, frequently erected and endowed new parishes unnecessarily; and many of those endowments were at first but small, so that when in consequence of the reformation, the privy-tythes of the rich, and the offerings of the multitude failed, and money also was becoming gradually less valuable, they were naturally reduced to their original value, though a wrong cause of such failure was often assigned. The zealous method of multiplying of parishes in many cities and towns in old times, renders it impossible to form any certain judgment of the number of inhabitants from that of the parishes in them. Thus, for instance, the town of Newcastle upon Tyne has but four parishes in it, though it probably may now contain sixty thousand inhabitants; and York city has still twenty-eight parishes, without containing half the said number of people: Oxford and Cambridge have each of them above thrice as many parishes as Newcastle, with little more than a quarter of the number of people in each; and the same might be said of many other places.

The herring fishing of the Hollanders was now so considerable, and was become of such importance to that people, that their great Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part II. cap. i. relates, “ That the States of Holland, though then but low, and although it was in a time of peace, fitted out eight ships of war for the defence of the said fishery.”

Voltaire, in his introduction to his essay on the age of King Louis XIV. of France, speaking of the times of King Francis I. says, “ The French, though possessed of harbours, both on the Ocean and Mediterranean, were yet without a navy; and though immersed in luxury, had only a few coarse manufactures. The Jews, Genoese, Venetians, Portuguese, the Flemings, Dutch, and English traded successively for us, we being ignorant even of the first principles of commerce.”

The statute, cap. xiv. which now granted King Edward VI. all the Popish chantries, &c. in England, not disposed of by the thirty-seventh of Henry VIII. cap. iv. did, amongst other uses, direct part of the rents settled on those chantries, “ to be applied towards the maintenance of piers, jetties, walls or banks against the rage of the sea, havens, and creeks.”

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1547 It had been well if that application had duly taken place, as it would have been productive of great national benefit.

And by cap. v. of the second year of that young King, "all the fee farms, payable by any city or town-corporate to the crown, are directed, during the three following years, to be bestowed solely about repairing of walls and bridges, and setting the poor on work, or other good deeds in every such city and town." But few or none of these fine things or good deeds were ever put in practice.

1548 A very necessary statute was also made in the second and third of Edward VI. cap. xv. "for restraining the sellers of all manner of provisions in England from combining together, not to sell but at a fixed price; and also for restraining workmen and labourers not to make or do their works but at a certain fixed price, or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours." A clause, wisely intended, was added to this act, "licensing all manner of workmen relating to building of houses, &c. to follow their occupations in all cities and towns corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of such corporations." But this wise clause was repealed by a statute of the third and fourth of this King, cap. xx. plainly (as appears) by the interposition of the city of London. It sets forth, "That the city of London being the King's chamber, and most ancient city of this realm, the artificers and craftsmen of the arts, crafts, and mysteries aforesaid are at great costs and charges, as well in bearing and paying of taxes, tallages, subsidies, scot, lot, and other charges, as well to the King's Majesty as to the said city, and at many and sundry triumphs, and other times for the King's honour; and that if foreigners," *i. e.* non-freemen, "should come and work among them, within the liberties of the said city, contrary to their ancient privileges, the same should be a great decay of cunning, and an impoverishment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts, arts, and mysteries aforesaid within the said city of London, to the great hurt and destruction of the said city. For reformation whereof, the said clause is hereby repealed entirely." So that, although the reasons for this repeal are expressed as above only in respect to London, yet the repeal, being general, took in all other corporation cities and towns; and so it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of most wise and judicious men.

In the same second and third of King Edward VI. there was a kind of Lent enjoined, partly ecclesiastical and partly political, by a statute, cap. xix. whereby, although in the preamble it is expressly admitted, "That all days and all meats be of their nature of one equal purity and holiness, none of which can defile Christian men—yet forasmuch as divers of the King's subjects, turning their knowledge therein to satisfy their sensuality, have of late, more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence as hath been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, Embering-days, and other days commonly called Vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent. And considering that due and godly abstinence is a means to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit; and considering also, that fishers may thereby the rather be set on work, whereby much flesh shall be saved and increased," how differently do our landed men and farmers reason in our days on this subject! and also for divers other considerations, it was enacted,

"I. That all former laws concerning fasting be repealed.

"II. That none eat flesh upon Fridays, Saturdays, and Embering-days, nor in Lent, nor yet on any such other days as is and has been accounted a fish day," this clause seems to be purposely expressed very loosely for a loophole, "on pain of forfeiting ten shillings for the
"first

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1548 “ first offence, and ten days imprisonment, without, all that time, eating any flesh; and twenty shillings and twenty days imprisonment for the second, and for every following offence.”

“ III. This act shall not extend to any who may have the King’s licence, nor to aged, weakly, sick, or maimed persons, nor to women with child, or lying-in, nor to prisoners, nor to the King’s lieutenants, or captains of his army or forts; neither shall it extend to St. Lawrence Even, St. Mark’s Day, nor to any as heretofore have obtained licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury.”

By cap. iii. of the said second and third of King Edward VI. for regulating the purveyors for the King’s household, post horses are therein fixed at one penny per mile.

In Strype’s Ecclesiastical Memorials, under the year 1548, wheat was six shillings and eightpence per quarter, and barley, malt, and rye at five shillings, pease and beans at four shillings. We can frame no true estimate of the difference of the value of the coins at this time from those of our own time, that innocent young King being misled by his Ministers to debase his coin in a shameful manner, till the last year of his reign, when it was made of the same value as in our own days, and has so continued ever since.

By a statute of this second and third years of King Edward VI. cap. vi. all manner of duties and other incumbrances, doles or shares of fish, till now taken by admirals and their substitutes, &c. from those using the fishing trade of Newfoundland, Iceland, &c. are taken off: “ forasmuch,” says the preamble, “ as, within these few years past, there have been taken by certain of the officers of the Admiralty divers great exactions, as sums of money, doles, or shares of fish, &c. to the great discouragement of those fisheries, and of damage to the whole commonwealth — For reformation whereof, &c. it was enacted as above.”

About this time, the Emperor Charles V. is said to have begun to put in execution a design he had long been forming, of reducing the republic of Genoa to a state of absolute dependence on him, thereby to keep a door always open for his armies from Spain to pass into Italy. For the Genoese, notwithstanding the decay of their former vast commerce, were still immensely rich; and being great bankers and dealers in money, he reasonably concluded, that if, by extraordinary allowances for interest, he could draw their money into his exchequer, he should, in that case, possess himself of the surest pledges they could give him of their fidelity. In this year therefore that Emperor, being in the Netherlands, sent for his eldest son Philip to come to him, who sailing from Barcelona to Genoa, in order to go through Germany to his father, the Genoese, for a fortnight together, entertained him with surprizing magnificence, (says their historian De Mailly.) That Prince, whilst there, by the Duke D’Alva’s advice, proposed to that republic to permit the Spaniards to build a citadel in their suburbs, where their garrison might, for the future, secure that city from the frequent conspiracies and tumults to which they were so liable. But that proposal was not only unanimously rejected, but likewise the vast retinue of this Prince justly alarmed the Senate, and occasioned a great squabble between them and the Genoese, which was not quelled without bloodshed, so that the Prince was glad to leave Genoa. Whereupon, says De Mailly, the Emperor took other measures to secure to himself the fidelity of the Genoese; for he determined never to pay the principal sums due to them, which he had borrowed for his occasions in Italy and the Netherlands, (see also Thuani Historia, lib. lxi.) and only to pay them the arrears of interest; to the end, that remaining always in their debt, they might live in a constant dread of embroiling themselves with a Prince who owed them so much. His son Philip II. improved upon his father’s scheme, by which many millions of money were borrowed of them on the security of the

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1548 duties on the commerce of Spain and America. But Philip being soon after greatly exhausted by his Netherland wars, he not only suspended the payment of any part of the principal, but even of its interest, which occasioned much clamour and distress in Genoa, where so many families lived entirely on the interest of the money gotten in traffic by their ancestors; as is the case at this day with many principal inhabitants of Antwerp, though long since deprived of its immense trade, so comfortable are the effects which even a departed commerce leaves behind it for many succeeding generations. King Philip's real or pretended inability to pay even the interest of those large sums, made him at first begin to cavil with the creditors, on account of certain small pretended misreckonings, and to insist that he had overpaid their interest: he therefore obtained the Pope's approbation, for deducting out of their principal debt so much as they had received more than what his Holiness and King Philip thought fit to call legal interest. On their capital, however, thus reduced, it is said by some, though it seems untruly, that the Court of Spain were ever after punctual on paying the interest. By those vast loans, the Genoese are said, in a great measure, to have governed the rate of interest in other parts of Europe. Thus at first they had ten per cent. from those Princes, afterwards it was reduced to seven per cent. and since lower; and probably the fixing of usury at ten per cent. by law in England, in the year 1546, took its rise from the practice of Genoa.

And here let us add a melancholy and most interesting remark, for the serious consideration of those to whom it more immediately relates in our own days, which was made many years ago by the ingenious Dr. D'Avenant, in his Discourses on the public Revenues and Trade of England, published in octavo, in the year 1698, "That those large anticipations of King Philip II. which were continued from year to year, without any measures thought on for lessening the debt, have more contributed to sink the Spanish monarchy than all their other bad counsels put together. The chief branches of that kingdom's revenue being employed in payment of interest of money borrowed one hundred years ago; the nourishment, which should support the body-politic, being diverted another way, it becomes weak and unable to resist accidents. And when a people so involved, come to be engaged in a foreign war, it is quickly evident to their enemies, that they are not much to be feared for their power; and to their friends, that they are not to be depended on for help." All which, we fear, may soon become eminently the case much nearer home, than it was at the time that able author thus solidly warned the then government to beware of anticipations; the whole national debt scarcely amounting in 1698 to ten millions.

✍ Upon a review of this important remark of D'Avenant's, the author, with profound respect, and purely out of his warm zeal for the public welfare, most humbly presumes to dedicate and recommend to our present patriot Ministry, and to their successors in power, this single paragraph only, for their most serious consideration; as they would have the glorious epithet of Patriot joined to their names to latest posterity; humbly praying, that his honest zeal may not be construed to be dictating to his superiors, which he is far from presuming to do.

1549 In vol. xv. p. 181, of the *Fœdera*, King Edward VI. grants a pension of one hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence to Sebastian Cabot, who, it seems, had now left the service of Spain; which grant, says King Edward, was for services done, and to be done by him. He must then have been an old man, it being fifty-three years since his voyage with his father to the American coasts, in the reign of King Henry VII. That sum was

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1549 continued to him during life by Queen Mary; *ibid.* p. 427. he having been Governor of the Russia Company, and, for the rest of his life, the great director of our naval expeditions.

Other pensions, by that Prince granted this same year, though not immediately relating to our subject, (*ibid.* p. 192, 193,) were one hundred pounds per annum each to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, two eminent foreign Protestant Divines, and (p. 200) forty marks per annum to Peter Vannes, his Secretary for the Latin tongue. Also (p. 201) three hundred and seventy-five pounds per annum, during pleasure, to his faithful friend, Otho Duke of Brunswick.

That good young Prince, likewise, through his own inclination, and the advice of Archbishop Cranmer, gave great assistance to persecuted foreign Protestants, many thousands of whom settled in various parts of England, but principally at London, Southwark, Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Norwich, and Colchester; where they had the free exercise of their religion in separate congregations, some of which remain to the present time, and where manufactures were so greatly cultivated and improved by their means, as not only to enrich those places where they were settled, but to prove very beneficial to the whole kingdom. In the short persecuting reign of Queen Mary, those poor people were forced again to fly beyond sea, though, at her death, they returned to their old habitations. They consisted of Walloons, Germans, French, Italians, Polanders, and Swifs, and there was, in those times, even a congregation of Protestant Spaniards in London.

We have already remarked from my Lord Bacon, Lord Herbert, &c. that the humour of inclosing the lands of England for pasture, instead of arable, had made the common people, at different times, very uneasy; so that they had now begun violently to lay them open by insurrections in many different counties, without having patience to wait their being laid open by a proclamation from the King already issued, because the proprietors were not so quick in obeying it as the mob expected. And of all others, that in Norfolk, in this same year 1549, was the most remarkable and furious, headed by one Ket and Flowerdew, who, by firing of beacons, and ringing of bells, drew many thousands of the lower people of Norfolk and Suffolk to join them, and committed many very grievous and shocking outrages. Ket was a tanner at Wymondham, Norfolk. They did infinite damage and mischief to the city of Norwich, which they almost laid desolate, by either driving the industrious and wealthy inhabitants out of it, or else miserably butchering them; so that this city became a receptacle for idle, loose, and extravagant vagrants:—"In which condition," says Roger Coke, Esq; in his Reflexions on the East India and African Companies, printed in the year 1695, "it was thought so dangerous to the Government, that, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it was often debated in Council, whether, for this cause, it should not be demolished. But," says he, "a better fate attended that noble city, through the wisdom of that great Queen, and the cruelty of the Netherland persecution about twenty years after this time." This insurrection occasioned the slaughter of about five thousand of the rioters; Ket, their leader, was taken and hanged on the top of Norwich castle.

There had, indeed, been many inclosures lately made out of waste, marshy, and other kinds of barren and common grounds, in consequence of which great improvements were effected. But as the poorer sort became thereby deprived of the benefit of such waste, &c. grounds, for feeding their cattle, and also for fuel, it is not much to be wondered, that great clamours were raised on that account, which at length burst out into open riots, first in Kent, and afterwards in the counties of Essex, Buckingham, Northampton, Somerset, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

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1549

In this year, the French King, Henry II. caused the houses in his capital city of Paris to be numbered, which it seems amounted to ten thousand in number, exclusive of churches, chapels, monasteries, colleges, and other public edifices, and of nine market houses; and his son, Charles IX. found one hundred thousand persons in this city, besides strangers, servants, and churchmen.

House rents in England must have been still very low at this time, when, according to Archbishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, (who quotes the Life of Sir Thomas Smith for it) "a house, in the very precincts of King Edward Sixth's Court, in Channel-row, Westminster, was let to no less a person than the Comptroller of that King's household for "the yearly rent of thirty shillings;" even although the coins of silver were very little, if any at all, heavier than at this day. This was, without doubt, owing principally to the little commerce and few manufactures of those days, compared to modern times.

In the third and fourth of King Edward VI. there was an act of Parliament passed, cap. ii. with many well contrived clauses, for preventing of frauds in the woollen manufacture of England; such as for the clothier's seal on his cloth;—against over-stretching the cloths;—for the well dying of cloths;—also for the well dying of all wools to be converted into cloths, or into hats or caps;—also for preventing the putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, such as flocks, chalk, flower, starch, &c.—nor to use iron cards in the rowing of cloths;—also for the just measuring of cloths. For all which purposes, overseers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation towns by their chief magistrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the cloth-workers; but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the justices of the peace jointly with the cloth-workers; which overseers shall, at least once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they think needful, visit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and pressers houses, shops, &c. to which overseers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the King, &c.—All which evidently shews the care of the legislature for that manufacture, and also that it was at this time universally spread all over the kingdom, and in a flourishing condition.

Notwithstanding of all which former laws for regulating the English woollen manufacture, we have another statute, in the year 1552, (fifth and sixth of King Edward VI.) for the very same ends and purposes, to which we must refer our more curious readers.

1550 In the fifteenth volume, p. 211, &c. of the *Fœdera*, we have a treaty of perpetual peace, and of mutual intercourse of commerce, concluded between King Edward VI. of England and King Henry II. of France. In which the substance of what relates to commerce is as follows:

I. A free and undisturbed commerce shall be between both nations.

II. The ships of both nations going out armed, shall, as in former treaties, still give security not to injure the other party in any respect.

III. King Edward agrees, that, in six weeks time, he will restore to France the city, forts, and territories of Boulogne. In consideration whereof, Henry agrees to pay Edward four hundred thousand crowns of the sun. For the performance of all which, and also of King Edward's delivering up the castles of Douglas and Lauder to Queen Mary of Scotland, and for demolishing the castles of Aymouth and Roxburg, hostages were delivered on both sides.

In an acquittance for delivery of the artillery and ammunition of Boulogne, p. 218, there is the first mention to be found in the *Fœdera* of iron bullets (*bouletz de fer*). Notwithstanding which, we shall see, that stone bullets remained in use considerably later than this period.

1550 Monsieur Huet, Bishop of Avranches, in his *Memoirs of the Dutch Commerce*, (if they were really his, as some have written) speaking of the meridian glory of Antwerp, which was in its zenith in and about this year 1550, observes, “ That the persecutions raised in Germany many on account of religion in the reign of the Emperor Charles V.—in France under King Henry II.—and in England under Queen Mary; forced much people to settle at Antwerp, where a vast concourse of all European nations was to be seen; it being then the most celebrated magazine of commerce in all Europe, if not of the whole world; it having been, at this time, a common thing to see two thousand five hundred ships in the Scheld, laden with all sorts of merchandize: and that, in one word, Antwerp was then almost what Amsterdam is now,” a general storehouse for the whole world.

Yet the introduction of the inquisition into the Netherlands in this same year, though not into Antwerp, soon began to create great uneasiness, and even to influence commerce exceedingly. The Emperor Charles V. being desirous to have that infernal tribunal introduced that same year into Antwerp, “ so great was the influence of the English merchant-adventurers at that time,” says Sleidan in his *Commentaries*, lib. xxii. “ that the city had no other means for effectually influencing that Emperor, but to tell him, that the English merchants would certainly leave the city and country, if he brought the inquisition thither, which proved effectual.” For it seems the Emperor, on a strict enquiry, found that the English merchant-adventurers maintained or employed at least twenty thousand persons in the city of Antwerp alone, besides thirty thousand more in other parts of the Netherlands. The reader ought to be acquainted, however, that this last mentioned account is written by J. Wheeler, in his book published in the year 1601, in quarto, in vindication of the exclusive claims of that Company, whose Secretary he was; and that therefore some allowances are to be made on that score in this computation.

Antwerp having had new and very strong walls built round it about this time, says Guicciardini, within which a large space of ground was taken in for additional new streets, three thousand houses on new foundations were erected, and above one thousand old ones rebuilt larger and finer; so that, Paris excepted, says the last-named author, there is hardly a city on this side the Alps that exceeds it in power and riches; and as, in general, it may be reckoned among the principal cities of Europe, so particularly, with respect to its vast commerce, it may be deemed almost the first in the world. Yet,

In Heifs’s *History of the Empire*, vol. ii. p. 108-9, it is observed, under this year, that the Emperor Charles V. having issued his vigorous and famous edict against the Netherland Protestants, establishing several tribunals of inquisition for their severe punishment, the said edict paved the way for all the great changes which happened afterwards in those provinces; but its immediate effect, (as it regarded commerce) was the spreading terror and despair amongst the manufacturers and merchants, which more especially began, even now, to affect the tranquillity of Antwerp.

In the years 1550 and 1551, we find, that one Captain Bodenham made a trading voyage from London to the isles of Candia and Chios, in the Levant, where he loaded home with wines, &c. At Chios he found English, as well as French and Genoese merchants. Whilst Candia remained subject to Venice, and Chios to Genoa, Christian ships constantly traded thither; but when the Turks had afterwards conquered those isles, the Christian ships frequented them no more, till their respective sovereigns had gradually obtained commercial treaties at the Ot-

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1550 toman Porte. This trade to those eastern territories of Venice gradually brought on a direct trade to Turkey, as will be seen in its proper place.

We have seen that the Portuguese were acquainted with Japan ever since the year 1542; they had got very great footing there about the year 1550, or perhaps a little later: but, in the end, the intemperate zeal of their priests and missionaries, for the propagation of their religion, having had no bounds, it awakened the jealousy of the Japanese to such a degree, that, after they had found means to gain the Emperor's favour, and had, as their historians allege, converted or made Christians of about a third part of the people of that empire, they were all put to the most cruel deaths, and, together with them, all the poor converted Japanese. Had the Portuguese been so moderate as to have contented themselves with enjoying a toleration of their own religion for themselves alone, they might probably have remained there to this day.

The Hollanders have (by the Portuguese and others) been laid under the accusation of having been secretly instrumental in this massacre, because they were the only Christians excepted or saved out of it; a point which we are by no means able to clear up to any good purpose. What is certain is, that they alone, of all Christian people, are permitted to trade thither to this day, although indeed they are so very strictly watched, that, it is said, their guns, tackle, rudders, &c. are brought on shore as soon as they arrive there, ever since the year 1640, that they landed some cannon and ammunition in a private manner, and had, it seems, actually begun to erect a fort, under the colour of its being only a large warehouse; which, design, however, the jealous Japanese discovered in good time. Since then, the Dutch commerce to Japan is said not to be near so profitable as before, being only what they call in India a country trade, without having any house or factory there, *i. e.* a trade by voyaging from Batavia thither, and back again to Batavia, or to some other port in India; and it is said, that during their short stay in Japan, they are always shut up till their departure in a small island near the port of Nangasaki. The productions of that great and opulent empire are corn and rice, in great abundance; the finest tea, Porcelain and lacquered ware, far exceeding those of China; silk, cotton, drugs, coral, ivory, diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; also much gold and silver, fine copper, iron, lead, and tin. And the Dutch, in exchange, carry thither cloth, both woollen and linen, looking glasses, and other glass ware from Europe, and the various merchandize also of India, Persia, and Arabia.

From Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, wheat was, in this same year 1550, eight shillings per quarter, oats eight shillings, malt five shillings and one penny, Malmsley wine four-pence per quart, a load of straw five shillings, a load of coals twelve shillings. He adds, that wherever you meet with coals, in old accounts, you are to understand thereby charcoal, not sea coal; which last, says the good Bishop, as well as I can guess, has not been in common use one hundred and fifty years, at least not in London, though I find them mentioned in Matthew Paris, under the name of *carbo marinus*, *i. e.* sea coal, in the time of King Henry III. (see the years 1234, 1357, 1379, and 1421.) By the above rates of necessities, living must probably, at that time, have still been about four times as cheap as in our days; but the coin being still much debased, we cannot venture to pronounce with precision on this point.

1551 Although the following treaty did not take effect, yet it may be proper to mention it, as it is characteristic of the age in which it happened. This was a treaty for a marriage between King Edward VI. of England and Elizabeth, daughter of King Francis II. of France; the lady

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1551 lady to bring two hundred thousand crowns of the sun for her portion, and to have ten thousand marks sterling for her dowry, or six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence sterling.—See *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 273.

It seems provisions were, at this time, very dear in Scotland: for an act of the Scottish Parliament, passed that year, for restraining the dearth, in the following manner, viz. “No Archbishop, Bishop, or Earl shall” (under large penalties) “have more than eight dishes of meat at any meal; nor an Abbot, Lord-Prior, or Dean, above six dishes; nor Barons,” (*i. e.* Lords of Manors) “and freeholders above four dishes; nor no burgeses, or other substantial man, spiritual or temporal, above three dishes; each of all which dishes shall contain but one kind of meat. Marriages, however, are excepted, and also banquets made by Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Lords, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Barons, Provosts, and Ballies of Burghs, to strangers of other nations, but not to Scotsmen.”

Tripoli, on the Barbary Coast, was, in this year, taken from King Philip II. of Spain by the Turks, after Spain had possessed it about forty years.

In the same year, no fewer than sixty ships sailed from the port of Southampton for the Netherlands with wool; so vast was the woollen manufacture even at this time in the Low Countries, notwithstanding the great progress which England had, at this period, made in it.

1552 We have already hinted, under the year 1546, that the good people of King Edward the Sixth's reign fell into the same error, concerning the taking of usury or interest, as their old Popish progenitors had done from the beginning, and therefore, by the fifth and sixth of Edward VI. cap. xx. in this year 1552, the statute of the thirty-seventh of Henry VIII. cap. ix. which had fixed the interest of money at ten per cent. was absolutely repealed. And hereby truly, “no person, by any means, shall lend or forbear any sum of money, for any manner or increase, to be received or hoped for, above the sum lent; upon pain to forfeit the sum lent, and the increase, with imprisonment and fine at the King's pleasure.” Yet we shall see this present act justly repealed in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. viii.

We have seen, under the year 1515, a statute for ascertaining the length, breadth, and weight of certain English woollen cloths; as also another more ample statute, in the year 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them. In this year 1552, we have another still more extensive law for the same purpose, (the fifth and sixth of Edward VI. cap. vi.) wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are ascertained, with respect to length, breadths, weight, &c. and by which all former statutes concerning this subject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this statute might then be thought, there were many more subsequent ones made on the same subject, not only for ascertaining the true dimensions and weight of those cloths, but for discovering and restraining many frauds and irregularities therein, the full recital of which would be both tiresome and unprofitable to the generality of readers, and such as may be desirous to peruse them may consult the statute books.

By cap. xxiv. of the same statute of King Edward VI. there is another monopolizing act, relative to the making of felt hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks, (*i. e.* diaper-linen) though somewhat more moderate than that in favour of the city of York; for whereas, by the statute of the year 1544, as we have seen, the manufacture of coverlets was absolutely confined to that city alone, exclusive of all other parts whatever of that county; this law now

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1552 before us only confines the making of the above named four kinds of goods to the city of Norwich, and to all other corporate and market towns of that county.

In this same year, King Henry II. of France seized on the three bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, belonging to the German Empire, so that by such a political stroke not only a considerable territory was added to France, but the barrier of Germany was so broken, that France gained an easy entrance into it, of which she has very successfully availed herself ever since; and by her additional conquests on that side, she has reduced the empire to much more confined limits, and obliged her to yield those territories by the treaty of Munster, as well as the noble and extensive Landgravate of Alsace, to the no small breach of the general balance of power, and of the repose of all Europe.

The time was now at length come, that the eyes of the English nation were to be opened, for their discovering the immense damage which was sustained, by suffering the German merchants of the House or College in London, called the Steelyard, so long to enjoy advantages in the duty or custom of exported English cloths, far beyond what the native English enjoyed; which superior advantages possessed by those foreigners began, about this time, to be more evidently seen and felt, as the foreign commerce of England became more diffused.

The cities of Antwerp and Hamburg possessed, at this time, the principal commerce of the northern and middle parts of Europe; and their factors at the Steelyard usually set what price they pleased on both their imports and exports; and having the command of all the markets in England, with joint or united stocks, they broke all other merchants. Upon these considerations, the English Company of Merchant-Adventurers made pressing remonstrances to King Edward the Sixth's Privy Council.—These Hanseatics were, moreover, accused (and particularly the Dantzickers) of defrauding the customs, by colouring, or taking under their own names, as they paid little or no custom, great quantities of the merchandize of other foreigners not intitled to their immunities.—They were also accused of having frequently exceeded the bounds of even the great privileges granted to them by our Kings; yet, by the force of great presents, they had purchased new grants.—They traded in a body, and by that means underfold and ruined others. (This, though in some cases improbable, may, in other respects, be practicable.)—And having, for the last forty-five years, had the sole command of our commerce, (says an author) they had reduced the price of English wool to one shilling and six pence per stone.—That, in the preceding year, they had exported no fewer than forty-four thousand woollen cloths of all sorts, whilst all the English merchants together had, in the same year, exported but one thousand one hundred cloths: the Steelyard merchants were also excused from aliens duties, and yet all their exports and imports were made in foreign bottoms; which was a very considerable loss to the nation.

Upon mature consideration of these and similar reasons and arguments, as well as of the answer thereto, by the said Steelyard or Hanseatic merchants, and of records, charters, treaties, depositions of witnesses, and other proofs, “ it was found, in this year 1552, apparent to the King's Privy Council,

“ I. That all the liberties and privileges claimed by, or pretended to be granted by the said merchants of the Hanse, are void by the laws of this realm; forasmuch as the said merchants have no sufficient corporation to receive the same.

“ II. That such grants and privileges claimed by them, do not extend to any persons or towns certain; and therefore it is uncertain what persons, or which towns should or ought to enjoy the said privileges;” (this point is no quibble, but was really a material objection)

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1552 “ by reason of which uncertainty, they have admitted, and do admit to be of their freedom
 “ and immunities whom and as many as they list, to the great prejudice of the King’s customs,
 “ and to the common hurt of the realm.

“ III. That if and supposing the pretended grants were good in law, as indeed they are not,
 “ yet the same were made on condition that they should not colour any other foreigner’s mer-
 “ chandize, as by sufficient proofs they have done.

“ IV. That above one hundred years after the pretended privileges granted to them, they
 “ used to transport no merchandize out of this realm but only into their own countries: nei-
 “ ther did they import any merchandize but from their own countries. Whereas, at present,
 “ they not only convey English merchandize into the Netherlands, and there sell them, to the
 “ great damage of the King’s own subjects, but they do also import merchandize of all fo-
 “ reign countries, contrary to the true intent and meaning of their privileges.

“ V. That in King Edward the Fourth’s time, they had forfeited their pretended privileges,
 “ by means of war between the realm and them; (*i. e.* the Hans-towns) whereupon a treaty
 “ was made, stipulating, that our English subjects should enjoy the like privileges in Prussia
 “ and other Hanseatic parts, and that no new exactions should be laid on their persons or
 “ goods: which treaty has been much broken in several parts, and especially at Dantzick,
 “ where no redress could ever be obtained, either by the requests of the King’s father or him-
 “ self, for the said wrongs. In consideration of all which, the Council decreed, That the
 “ privileges, liberties, and franchises, claimed by the said merchants of the Steelyard, shall
 “ from henceforth be and remain seized and resumed into the King’s Grace’s hands, until the
 “ said merchants of the Steelyard shall declare and prove better and more sufficient matter for
 “ their claim in the premises. Saving, however, to the said merchants all such liberty of
 “ coming into this realm and trafficking, in as ample manner as any merchant-strangers have
 “ within the same.”

Rapin adds, that the Parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the merchandize exported and imported by the Steelyard society; and the Hanseatic historian, Werdenhagen, vol. ii. part 5. seems to think, that the high duty of twenty per cent. (instead of one per cent. their ancient duty, ever since King Henry the Third’s reign) was not laid on them till the beginning of Queen Mary’s reign, “ at a time too,” he adds, “ when almost all the commerce of the
 “ Hans-towns was reduced to the port of London alone; their other comptoirs, viz. Novo-
 “ grod, Bergen, and Bruges, being almost deserted and very little frequented by them.”

This is the substance of the whole business during King Edward the Sixth’s reign, of reversing the privileges of the Steelyard merchants, taken from our histories, but more particularly from J. Wheeler’s Treatise of Commerce, published in quarto, in the year 1601; and, as he was then Secretary to the Merchant Adventurers Company, it may be supposed to be in general, a true account, and is surely an useful part of commercial history. Wheeler adds, that by reversing these privileges, our own merchants shipped off in this year forty thousand cloths for Flanders. Rapin, in his History of England, observes, that the Regent of Flanders, as well as the city of Hamburgh, earnestly solicited to have the Steelyard merchants re-instated; but to no purpose.

The ministry also, at this time, had a project laid before them for the benefit of commerce, viz. for opening two free ports or mart-towns, viz. Hull and Southampton: but this was not put in execution. Those two ports indeed seem extremely well situated for such a scheme if at all practicable.

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By a statute of the said fifth and sixth of King Edward VI. cap. v. for promoting of tillage, and preventing the increase of inclosures for pasture, amongst several kinds of lands excepted out of the prohibitory act, are lands set with Saffron and with Hops. This is the first mention of hops growing in England in the English statute book, and is a clear proof that hops began to be cultivated in England before this time, as has been before observed under the year 1524.

Under the same year, Hakluyt's second volume, p. 8 and 9, acquaints us, that three ships from Bristol sailed to Asafi and Santa Cruz in South Barbary; their ladings being linen and woollen cloth, coral, amber, and jet; and their returns from thence were sugar, dates, almonds, and melasses. In p. 7. Hakluyt observes, that till the preceding year 1551, England had no mercantile correspondence with Barbary.

By a statute of the seventh and last year of King Edward VI. cap. v. "I. The prices of
" wines are fixed thus: Gascony and Guienne wines at eight pence per gallon, and Rochelle
" wines at four pence per gallon: nor should any other wines be sold at an higher price than
" twelve pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. This statute is said in the preamble
" to be enacted for the avoiding of many inconveniencies, much evil rule, and common re-
" sort of mis-ruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns of late newly set up, in
" back lanes, corners, and suspicious places, both in London, and other towns and vil-
" lages."

"II. The next clause enacts, that none but such as can spend one hundred marks of yearly
" rent, or else is worth one thousand marks, or else, lastly, shall be the son of a Duke, Mar-
" quis, Earl, Viscount, or Baron of the realm, shall have or keep in his house any vessel
" of the said wines for his family's use exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of ten pounds."

"III. "None shall keep a tavern for retailing of the said wines, unless licensed; and that
" only in cities, towns corporate, burghs, port towns, or market towns; or in the towns
" of Gravesend, Sittingborn, Tuxford, and Bagshot, on forfeiture of ten pounds. And
" there shall only be two taverns for retailing of wine in every city or town, except in London,
" which may have forty taverns; in York, eight taverns; in Norwich, four; in Westmin-
" ster, three; in Bristol, six; in Lincoln, three; in Hull, four; in Shrewsbury, three; in
" Exeter, four; in Salisbury, three; in Gloucester, four; in West Chester, four; in Here-
" ford, three; in Worcester, three; in Southampton, three; in Canterbury, four; in Ips-
" wich, three; in Winchester, three; in Oxford, three; in Cambridge, four; in Colchef-
" ter, three; in Newcastle upon Tyne, four."—By this limitation, it may be thought that a
pretty near guess may be made of the magnitude of cities and towns, allowance being
made for towns situated on very public roads; yet, this matter is nevertheless, still very un-
certain.

"IV. None of the said taverns shall retail wines, to be spent or drank within their respec-
" tive houses.

"V. Merchants may use in their own houses, but not to sell, such wines as they shall im-
" port: also high sheriffs, magistrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns,
" may keep vessels of wines for their own consumption only."

As extraordinary as several parts of this statute may possibly appear to some of us at this time, they may be pretty well accounted for, not only from the sobriety, poverty, and simplicity of that age compared with ours, but also from the unsettled and tumultuous disposition of a great part of the people; those especially who adhered to the old religion, and those also who excit-

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1552 ed commotions in most counties against inclosures. Yet, with respect to the limited number of taverns in several of the cities and towns already mentioned, we cannot now perhaps altogether clearly judge or determine the proportion of the magnitude of those places therefrom. For instance, why Cambridge is allowed four, and Oxford but three taverns; nor some other points relating to this same act.

"Hitherto," says Sir John Davis, already quoted "it is manifest, that since the last transfretation of King Richard II. into Ireland, the crown of England never sent over either numbers of men, or quantities of treasure, sufficient to defend the small territory of the Pale, much less to reduce that which was lost, or to finish the conquest of the whole island." He then shews, that in Edward the Sixth's reign, the border was extended beyond the limits of the English pale, after breaking the O'Moors and O'Connors, and building the forts of Leix and Offaly, rooting out those two rebellious sects, or clans, and planting English colonies in their room, in the reign of Queen Mary.

That incomparable young prince, King Edward VI. died in July 1553, having just before his death endowed three of the great London hospitals, viz. Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell.

The annual expence of his household was, according to Strype, vol. ii. p. 454-5, viz.

1st year	40,187 £.
2d	46,902
3d	46,100

4th	100,578	{ Why this year so far exceeds the rest we know not, nor why other years differ so much; unless it be from the great debasing of his silver coins in every year of his reign but the last.
5th	62,863	
6th	65,923	

1553 In this year, (says Sir John Boroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, in his Treatise of the Sovereignty of the British Seas, first written in the year 1633, and published in 1651, p. 80) "Philip II. King of Spain, obtained license for his subjects to fish upon the north coast of Ireland for the term of twenty-one years, paying yearly for the same one thousand pounds, which was accordingly brought into the Exchequer of Ireland, and received of Sir Henry Fitton, being then Treasurer there, as his son Sir Edward Fitton hath often testified."

The physician in ordinary of Queen Mary had, as appears by vol. xv. p. 341, of the *Fœdera*, a salary of one hundred pounds per annum settled on him for life, beside his diet at court, and his allowance of wine, wax candles, &c. So that this physician, Dr. Thomas Huis, must have been much in that Queen's favour.

Yet, (p. 351, *ibid.*) she, this same year, grants only a salary of twenty marks yearly to the keeper of the Royal Library at Westminster.

And the following year, (*ibid.* p. 359) she granted a salary of forty marks per annum, during life, to John Soda, her apothecary.

Under the preceding year, we have related the grounds upon which King Edward the Sixth's council abrogated the great privileges and immunities which the Hanseatic Steelyard society in London had enjoyed ever since the reign of King Henry III. "Whereupon," Rapin adds, "the Parliament of that time had laid a heavy duty" (twenty per cent.) "upon their exports and imports," instead of their ancient duty of only one per cent. He further adds, "that
" this

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“ this act was renewed in Queen Mary’s first Parliament: but in the beginning of the year 1554, the Queen, to gratify the Hans-towns, suspended the execution of those acts for three years, and discharged them from the payment of that heavy duty, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding. And this,” he observes, “ was the first effect of this Queen’s alliance with the Emperor;” she having just been married to his eldest son Philip.

Now, although Rapin here expressly mentions that there were two acts of Parliament, viz. one of the last year of King Edward VI. and another of the first of Queen Mary, for laying on that high duty on the imports and exports of the Steel-yard merchants, yet, in the printed statute-book, there is not so much as the title of either of those supposed statutes; which may make it doubtful, whether both those transactions were any other than orders or determinations of the council-boards of those times; which, in those days, when the bounds of the prerogative were more extensive, frequently assumed a very great latitude: at least, if they were really statutes, we might have had their titles in the printed statute-book.

Two of the other three comptoirs of the Hans-league were now also become of little consequence to them, says Werdenhagen: “ For, first, Novogrod, by reason of the Czar’s arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings; who, without any just grounds, assumed a power to imprison the German merchants, and to seize on their effects, was now quite abandoned; the merchants having removed to Revel, and afterwards to Narva.

“ Secondly, Bergen in Norway was also deserted by the Hansatics, by reason of similar arbitrary proceedings of the King of Denmark: for whereas the ancient toll for passing the Sound had been only a golden rose-noble on every *fail*, which was always understood to be meant on every ship; the court of Denmark had, for some time past, put a new and arbitrary construction on the word *fail*, by obliging all ships to pay a rose-noble for every fail in or belonging to each ship. Moreover, not content with this imposition, they proceeded to lay a duty on the corn and other merchandize, per last or ton, distinct from that on the fails; which burthens obliged the Vandalic Hans-towns” (that is, those towns on the German shore situated within the Sound) “ to desert the Norway trade: and as they had vast dealings in transporting the corn of Poland and Livonia to other parts of Europe, those high tolls so discouraged them, that they also gradually left off that commerce, to which the Hollanders succeeded, and have continued therein ever since, greatly to their advantage. Their third comptoir, which was at Bruges, had, by the decay of that once most opulent city, been removed first to Dort, and afterwards to Antwerp;” where, indeed, it continued to prosper for some time after.

Thuanus, lib. 51. assigns another good reason for the declension of the commerce of the Hans-towns at Bergen; where, says he, the marks of their ancient commerce are more plainly to be traced than any where else: viz. The Danish gentry, allured by the hope of gain, did, in the reign of King Frederick II. adopt the practice of merchandize and factorage themselves, as also manufactures and societies of commerce, which the Hans-towns in vain laboured to get that King to abolish.

The same year, 1553, we find by Hakluyt, vol. ii. that Anthony Jenkinson, being at Aleppo, obtained privileges from the Turkish Sultan, Selim II. then at that place with an army of three hundred thousand men, going against the Persians; by which he was to pay no more custom than the French or Venetians; and he had liberty, without being disturbed by their consuls, to trade with his ship or ships to the Turkish ports. This is the first account of any British trade to Aleppo, or any other part of the continent of Turkey.

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1553 In this same year 1553, a very great cosmographical as well as mercantile discovery is made by the enterprising genius of certain English, who, whether from reading Othier's account, if easily to be found, of the situation of the lands and seas about Norway, &c. delivered to the great King Alfred, in 887, as we have related under that year, or whether from any information lately received from the people of Norway, with whom we now constantly traded, now found a passage by sea to Russia, along the north end of Norway and Russian Lapland, and down into the sea, or rather great bay, since termed the White Sea, where now stands the famous port of Archangel. Sir Hugh Willoughby, as commander in chief, with three ships, had begun this voyage just before the death of King Edward VI. being supported by a society or company of gentlemen and merchants, for the discovery of unknown countries. It seems to have been the scheme of the famous Sebastian Cabot, who was chosen governor of that company, and who well deserved the pension already mentioned to have been settled on him by King Edward VI. and that the wars of Sweden with Russia had so far obstructed the English traffic with Russia, by the way of Narva, that the English were, in some degree, obliged to attempt this new passage to Russia by the northern ocean. This undertaking was supported by a subscription of six thousand pounds, divided into two hundred and forty shares, of twenty-five pounds each share. With those ships went letters from King Edward VI. to all Kings, Princes, &c. for their protection. It was intended chiefly as a shorter and easier passage, as they imagined, to Cathay, as they then called the country since named China. Sir Hugh Willoughby, being tossed up and down, for a long time, as far as seventy-two degrees of north latitude, was compelled, by the sudden approach of winter, to run into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, called Arcina Keca, where he, and the crews of two of his three ships, seventy in number, were frozen to death; and where some Russian fishermen, in the summer following, found him sitting in his cabin, with his diary and other papers before him; it being the custom of those Laplanders to frequent the sea-coasts in summer, for the benefit of the fishery; but when winter approaches, to withdraw into the calmer inland parts, which occasions those stormy shores to be desolate in winter. Richard Chancellor, however, in the third ship, accidentally fell into the Bay of St. Nicholas, or White Sea, on the Russian coast, where no European, nor any other ship, had ever been seen before. Here he landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, then only a castle, determining to wait on the Czar, John Basilowitz, at that time engaged in the Livonian war; which war having greatly interrupted the Eastland trade, that Prince was the more inclinable, by Chancellor's interposition, to grant the English considerable privileges at Archangel, &c. The Russians, before those times, having no sea-ports nor shipping on the Baltic shores, their rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried to other parts of Europe from the ports of Livonia, lately possessed by the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. Thus, as observed generally in our Introduction, although we failed in our principal aim of arriving at China by this supposed north-east passage, we however made an useful and profitable discovery of a trade by sea to Russia; and this same discovery, moreover, pointed out also to the English the way to the whale-fishery of Spitzbergen, soon after put in practice.

Chancellor, from Archangel, by the governor's leave and assistance, travelled on sledges to the Czar, at Moscow, of whom, overjoyed at the prospect of opening a maritime commerce with Europe, he obtained privileges for the English merchants, and letters to King Edward VI. though he was dead before that time.

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We must here remark, that although Othier had, almost seven hundred years before, as we have shewn, justly and clearly delineated to the great King Alfred, the coasts, windings, &c. of Norway, yet, through the negligence and ignorance of succeeding times, those coasts were now become so little known, that the famous Sebastian Munster's *Geographia Vetus et Nova*, printed in folio at Basil, in the year 1540, in a map of the most northern parts of Europe, joins the country of Groenland, commonly called Old Greenland, now generally believed to be a part of the great continent of North America, to the north part of Norway Lapland, thereby making the great northern ocean to be merely a great bay, entirely shut in by those two countries. Possibly, however, the Norwegians themselves might, before then, have some knowledge from the Laplanders, that the sea was really open that way eastward, and south-eastward, after doubling the now famous North Cape, at the isle of Wardhouse. This ignorance, however, of so eminent an author as Munster, plainly shews, that those far northern shores were then utterly unknown, with any tolerable degree of exactness, to the middle and south parts of Europe; though possibly the English shipping, who traded from Hull, Scarborough, &c. to Norway, might, long before this time, have been sometimes driven so far northwards, as to have gained a clearer knowledge of those stormy coasts. But, as already observed, the grand incitement to this present voyage was, without doubt, the hope of a passage that way to Cathay, or China, and India, in emulation of the Portuguese, who now brought home from India great riches to Lisbon, round by the Cape of Good Hope; which passage they pretended, in those early times, to shut up from all other nations. And it must be allowed, that if this now proposed north-east passage could have been practicable by an open sea, free from ice, it would certainly have been a much shorter voyage to China than that by the only way still in use among all the nations of Europe.

We find three ships from Portsmouth trading for gold along the coast of Guinea; though but one of those ships returned home safe from this adventure. In some following years, we find by Hakluyt, &c. that the English made voyages to Guinea, and brought home from thence considerable quantities of gold and elephants teeth: yet, till the negro trade became necessary for the West India colonies, how unjustifiable soever it may be deemed by many in a moral sense, it is scarcely probable that any considerable trade to the Guinea coast could have been long carried on to much advantage, in a country producing so few articles of commerce, and being able to take off so little of the produce of other nations.

In this same year, the *Chronicon Preciosum* makes the prices of wheat to be eight shillings per quarter, and malt five shillings.

And by a statute of the first and second of Philip and Mary, cap. 5. it was enacted, "That when the common price of wheat shall not exceed six shillings and eightpence per quarter, rye four shillings, and barley three shillings per quarter, then these three kinds of corn may be exported any where but to the King and Queen's enemies." This shews that these prices were then esteemed low, or at least moderate. Now, as the price of corn is by far the best rule, of any one necessary whatever, to judge of the dearness or cheapness of living, we may here conclude, that living was still about or near five times cheaper than in our days.

Wine, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, was also five pounds per ton; a quart of Malmsey fivepence; and of red wine threepence: and as the purity and weight of the silver coins was now the very same as in our days, we may conclude, all these prices being duly considered, that the rate of living was now still near about five times as cheap as in these times.

In

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In the fifteenth volume, p. 364, of the *Fœdera*, "The ambassadors of the free cities of the Hanseatic League having applied to Queen Mary of England," (who, as we have seen, had on her marriage with the Emperor's son, suspended the abrogation of their privileges for three years) "in behalf of the German merchants residing in the Steel-yard at London, complaining, that by an act of the first year of her reign, touching the payment of certain customs or subsidies, called tonnage and poundage, the said merchants of the Steel-yard be otherwise burthened than heretofore; contrary to the effect of such charters and privileges as by fundry of her predecessors, Kings of England, have heretofore been granted to them. And the Queen being informed that the said declaration or complaint contains truth, and she being also desirous to observe and continue in equitable and reasonable sort the ancient amity and intercourse which hath been betwixt her, her realms and dominions, and the said free cities of the Hans-league, commands her treasurers and barons of the Exchequer, her customs, comptrollers, searchers, &c. in London, and other ports, freely to permit the said merchants of the Steel-yard to import and export all merchandize not prohibited, without requiring any greater subsidy or custom than in the time of her father or brother."

"The Queen also grants them a licence to export woollen cloths made in England of the value of six pounds sterling, or under, unrowed, unbarbed, and unshorn; without any penalty or forfeiture on account of certain statutes of the twenty-seventh and thirty-third years of King Henry VIII." (prohibiting the said exportation) "the said merchants of the Steel-yard now representing to the Queen, that the present price of cloths is so exceedingly enhanced, that they can send over none at all, without incurring the penalties of those acts."

Notwithstanding all which, Wheeler, in his *Treatise of Commerce*, printed in the year 1601, affirms, p. 100, that Queen Mary afterwards revoked these privileges; "for that the Hanseatics had broken promises with her, in continuing an unlawful trade in the Low Countries, whereby she lost, in eleven months, in her customs, more than nine thousand three hundred and sixty pounds, besides great damage to her subjects in their trade." Yet, although by Queen Elizabeth's answers to the Hanseatics, it seems probable that this account of Wheeler is a true one, it does not, however, appear to be so by any thing in the *Fœdera*, nor in the statute-book.

In this same year, we find that twenty marks was a sufficient maintenance for a single gentleman, even after so much treasure had been poured into Europe from the mines of Spanish America. It is Queen Mary of England's "Grant," in the fifteenth volume, p. 368, of the *Fœdera*, "to Thomas Hufse, gentleman, of twenty marks," or thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence, "per annum, for his competent exhibition and support in the study of the temporal laws of our kingdom of England."—A further proof that the necessities of life were then about five times cheaper than in our days.

By an English record, in vol. xv. p. 371, of the *Fœdera*, we learn, "That the famous Thomas," afterwards Sir Thomas, "Gresham, the most eminent merchant of those times, had been much employed by King Edward VI. as well as by Queen Mary, in transacting their bills of exchange at Antwerp, and for purchasing of ammunition, artillery, &c. for their use; for which services, his daily allowance was twenty shillings sterling. And Queen Mary, in this same year, appoints certain commissioners to audit and pass his accounts, and to adjust the balance thereof."

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Sir Thomas Gresham's good and prudent conduct in the discharge of King Edward the Sixth's debts to the Antwerpens, is much commended, by reason of his wisely conducting the exchange between London and Antwerp, so as to save that Prince a considerable sum of money, by his proper regulations of it.

In the same first and second of Philip and Mary, already mentioned, cap. 7. a statute was made "to prohibit linen drapers, woollen-draperies, haberdashers, grocers, and mercers, not free of any city, burgh, or corporation town, and living in the open country, out of the said cities and towns, from vending their wares by retail in the said cities and towns, excepting in open fairs, and by wholesale." The plausible pretence for this restriction is, in the preamble of this statute, much the same as in other monopolizing ones, viz. for enabling those cities and towns corporate to employ their people, to pay their fee-farms and taxes, and to prevent their utter decay, &c.

The following sumptuary law was made for restraining the extravagance and vanity of the lower classes of the people and servants in England, and also for encouraging our own woollen, &c. manufactures, viz. the first and second of Philip and Mary, cap. 2. "Whosoever shall wear silk in or upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes, or spur-leather, shall be imprisoned for three months, and forfeit ten pounds, excepting magistrates of corporations, and persons of higher rank. And if any person knowing his servant to offend against this law, do not put him forth of his service within fourteen days, or shall retain him again, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds." This statute was repealed in the first year of King James I. cap. 25. such sumptuary or restrictive statutes being generally found to be cramps upon industry, and destructive of the freedom of commerce.

By the encouragement of King Edward VI. and others, the first voyage of discoveries northward, was made, as we have seen, in that Prince's last year of his life, and a beginning made for a trade to Russia; but that excellent young Monarch dying before he had executed a very ample charter to those adventurers, it was in the said first and second year of Philip and Mary, (the sixth of February) that the first charter of incorporation was granted to the Russia company, as it has since been usually called, but was then known by the name of The Merchant-Adventurers-for the Discovery of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English. The preamble to this charter, and the substance of the whole it set forth is, "That the Marquis of Winchester, then Lord High Treasurer: the Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward of the Queen's household; the Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal: the Earl of Pembroke; the Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral, &c. had already fitted out ships for discoveries northward, north-eastward, and north-westward, not as yet frequented by any other Christian monarchs in friendship with us. To have one governor, (the first to be Sebastian Cabot, during his life) and twenty-eight of the most sad," (that is, sedate) "discreet, and honest of the said fellowships, four of whom to be called consuls, and the other twenty-four to be called assistants; the governor and two consuls, or three consuls in the governor's absence, and twelve assistants, to be the quorum of a court. This corporation might purchase lands to the yearly value of sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, to have perpetual succession; a common seal; may plead and be impleaded; may impose mulcts, forfeitures, &c. on offenders against the company's privileges, and may admit persons from time to time to be free of the company:—May make conquests of lands of infidels so to be discovered by them. And whereas one of the said ships (*i. e.* Chancellor's) set forth last year, 1553, arrived safe and wintered in the dominions of our cousin
†
"and

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1554 " and brother Lord John Basilowitz, Emperor of all Russia, who entertained them honourably, &c. and granted them letters patents, with licence freely to traffic in his country, with other privileges under his signet. Wherefore we grant this corporation liberty to resort not only to all parts of that Emperor's dominions, but to all other parts not known to our subjects. None of whom but such as shall be free of, or licenced by this company, shall frequent the parts aforesaid, under forfeiture of ships and merchandize; one half to the crown, and one half to the company."

It seems the Bristol merchants had engaged in the Russia trade, soon after its discovery, being encouraged therein by Sir Sebastian Cabot.

The Czar of Russia, John Basilowitz, made a very considerable acquisition of territory by his conquest of the country called Nagaian Tartary, more especially of the city and kingdom of Astracan; whereby he became master of all the country on both sides the vast river Volga, down to its falling into the Caspian sea: a communication was also thereby opened from Russia into that sea, and from thence cross it into Persia, whither they have since carried on a considerable commerce, and made some conquests therein.

The said John Basilowitz had, three years before, subdued the Tartars of Casan, to whom the Dukes of Russia had themselves but lately been tributary: so great an increase of dominion did this same Czar effect in a few years.

1555 That the Hollanders have ever been particularly addicted to maritime commerce, and even long before their revolt from Spain, were eminent for maritime skill and prowess, is beyond controversy. We have one instance of it in the year 1555, when twenty-two Dutch merchant ships, homeward-bound from Spain, and laden with Indian spices, &c. were attacked by nineteen French ships of war, and six smaller ones, well armed, who stopped the Hollanders ships with hooks and chains, so that the ships being closely compacted together, the fight resembled one on dry land. After six hours combat, the French lost one thousand men, and the Dutch but three hundred: but a fire happening amongst the ships, which consumed six on each side, the rest on both sides retired in confusion. This is the Dutch account, from Metetrani *Historia Belgica*, lib. i. p. 14, printed in the year 1597. But Thuanus, lib. 26. varies the story somewhat in favour of his countrymen the French, who, he says, lost but four hundred men, and the Dutch one thousand; and that in the confusion occasioned by the fire, which made the men of both nations run from ship to ship, it happened in five Dutch ships that the majority were French, who having mastered the Dutch in them, carried those five ships into Dieppe, from whence they (the French fleet) had come; which port, adds this great author, had ever been a principal one for naval exploits. Thuanus, in effect, will have the victory to be on the side of the French, yet he owns it was a lamentable victory, and greatly to their King's loss. Both those authors admit the French to have been superior in number of ships, men and artillery, this fleet had then a considerable part of the whole naval force of France; but the ships of the Hollanders happened to be larger and stronger than those of the French.

Much the same complaints, in relation to the English woollen manufacturers, as have been made in the present time, were made above two hundred years ago, as appears by a statute of the second and third of Philip and Mary, cap. 11. entitled, *Who shall use the Trade of Weaving*, viz. " That whereas the rich clothiers do oppress the weavers, some by setting up and keeping in their houses divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and persons unskilful; some by engrossing of looms into their hands, and letting them out at such unreasonable

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- 1555 “rents, as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves by, and much less their
 “wives and families;—some again, by giving much less wages for the workmanship of cloths
 “than in times past, whereby they are forced utterly to forsake their occupations, &c.
 “Wherefore it is hereby enacted,
 “I. That no clothier, living out of a city, borough, or market town, shall keep above one
 “loom in his house, nor let out any loom for hire.
 “II. That no woollen weaver, living out of a city, burgh, or market town, shall keep
 “more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices.
 “III. No weaver (whilst such) shall have a tucking mill, nor be a tucker, fuller, or dyer.
 “IV. No tucker nor fuller (whilst such) shall keep any loom in his house.
 “V. No person, who has not heretofore been a clothmaker, shall hereafter make or weave
 “any kind of broad white woollen cloths, but only in a city, burgh, town corporate, or mar-
 “ket town, or else in such places where such cloths have been used to be commonly made for
 “ten years preceding this act.” This clause was probably then well intended, that the
 “searchers might be the better enabled to see to the goodness of this manufacture.
 “VI. No person shall set up as a weaver, unless he has previously served an apprenticeship
 “of seven years to that business.
 “Lastly, nothing in this act is to extend or be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the coun-
 “ties of York, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland; but they may keep
 “looms in their houses, and do every other matter relating to spinning, weaving, and cloth-
 “making in the said counties, as before the making of this statute.”

We have seen that, under the year 1285, the first statute made in England for widening the roads between market towns, was made purely for the prevention of robberies, without the least hint therein of the benefit to arise thereby to carriages on account of commerce, of which there was so little at that period.

From that time we meet with nothing relating to this subject (except the paving of the suburbs about London, &c.) till King Henry Eighth's reign, in which there are four statutes, viz. two for the altering or removing of certain roads, in the fourteenth and fifteenth years, cap. vi. in the Weald of Kent, and the twenty-sixth year, cap. vii. in the deep ways of Sussex; both which have been already taken notice of under the year 1524. A third for mending a lane near the city of Chester; and the fourth for the repair of bridges, and of highways at the end of bridges; neither of which two did we judge worth our animadversion. But commerce beginning to increase considerably in the reign of his daughter Mary, whereby the old roads became much more frequented by heavy carriages, an act of the second and third of Philip and Mary, in the year 1555, cap. viii. takes notice, “That the highways were then very
 “noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all passengers and carriages; wherefore
 “it was now enacted,” and is still in force, “that every parish should annually elect two
 “surveyors of the highways, to see that the parishioners according to their lands, abilities,
 “farms, &c. send their carts, horses, men, tools, &c. four days in every year for mending
 “the roads.”—So that this is properly the first general statute made for mending the roads, extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expence of each respective parish alone; and on that bottom alone we find, in all, six statutes relating to this subject in Queen Mary's reign, and about nineteen in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and one in King James First's reign; after which there were none of this sort, till King Charles Second's restoration. These parochial means, for keeping the roads in repair, were found, in most cases, tolerably effec-
 tual,

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tual, until after the restoration of King Charles II. when the vast increase of the nation's commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increase of luxury, brought in such numbers of heavy wheel carriages on our roads, as rendered it by degrees impracticable, in most cases, for parishes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in a tolerable condition, more especially in the counties lying nearer London, and in manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls, payable at numberless toll-gates, (called turnpikes) by the identical wearers out of those roads alone: and many subsequent local statutes have been made for those ends; and also several general ones for limiting the weight of waggon loads, the breadth of wheel rims, called fellies, the number of horses, &c. And thus much we thought sufficient to serve for a summary history of the laws relating to the roads of England; so as not to have much occasion to name them any more in this work.

What we have here said concerning a summary history of the keeping of the roads or highways of England in repair, may also be partly applied to the subject of deepening of rivers, and meliorating of havens or harbours on the sea coasts. With respect to the former, we have seen, that the first instance thereof in the statute book, is that of the third of King Henry VI. cap. v. for deepening the river Lea from the town of Ware to London, in the year 1424; and that in his ninth year, cap. ix. for the same end. After which, we find none, either for rivers or for havens, till the reign of King Henry VIII. who repaired and fortified several harbours. For that of the fourth of King Henry VII. for preserving the river Thames, relates merely to the fishing therein; and that of the eleventh of the same King, for removing weirs and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the same end. But we find no more statutes of either kind till Queen Elizabeth's reign; some of which, as also some subsequent ones, we may, perhaps, think it necessary to take a more particular notice of, in their respective places; as also for bridges over rivers.

It must needs be a most affecting consideration, to read what a Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico relates (if strictly true) concerning the inexpressible cruel destruction of the native Indians of America by the Spaniards. In that humane prelate's account of their first voyage to, and discoveries in the new world, which country, he asserts, was granted to Spain by the Papal See, upon the express condition alone, of their instructing the native Indians in the Christian religion; whereas, instead of converting their minds to the faith, they, by unparalleled cruelty, first tortured and then butchered their bodies, merely for the purpose of obliging them to discover their treasures; so that in the early times only of the Emperor Charles V. the Spaniards had butchered upwards of forty millions of those poor Indians!

The goldsmiths of Scotland having so far debased their silver plate, as to be no more than six or seven penny fine, an act of the Scots Parliament, in this year 1555, fixed the standard of that nation's silver plate at eleven penny fine, and their gold plate at twenty-two carrats fine, both upon pain of death. By eleven penny fine here, must be understood eleven ounces fine to a pound troy, and not eleven penny weights to an ounce; since the other supposition must not only leave their silver plate very base, but it would also be greatly disproportioned to the above-named fineness of their gold plate.

Under this year, John Bodin of Angers, the famous civilian and historian, makes the number of souls in the city of Venice to amount to one hundred and eighty thousand four hundred and forty, which is about ten thousand more than they are at this time by many reckoned to contain. If Bodin's account be true, the decrease is not improbably owing to the
great

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1555 great decay of that city's commerce, since the Portuguese, by their discovery of a way by sea to India, have deprived Venice of the vast advantage of supplying most part of Europe with the merchandize of the East.

In this year, the Russia Company sent out their second adventure to that country, with their agents and factors; also letters from King Philip and Queen Mary to the Czar, John Basilowitz. They, in two ships, sailed up the river Dwina to Vologda, and from thence Mr. Chancellor and his attendants travelled in sledges to Moscow, where they were entertained at the Czar's expence, who now granted them and their successors for ever the following privileges, viz.

" I. Freedom to resort, at all times, with their ships, merchandize, servants, &c. into any part of his dominions, without any safe conduct or licence being required of them.

" II. Neither their persons nor goods shall be arrested, but only for their proper and personal debts, &c.

" III. Power is given them to chuse their own brokers, skippers, packers, weighers, measurers, waggons, &c. to administer an oath to them, and to punish them for misdemeanors.

" IV. The chief factor, recommended by the Company to the Czar, to have full power to govern all the English in his dominions, and to administer justice between them in all causes, quarrels, &c. and to make such acts and ordinances, with his assistants, as he shall think meet, for the good government of the merchants, and all other English there, and to fine and imprison them.

" V. The Czar's officers and ministers shall aid and assist the said factors against the rebellious English, and lend them prisons and instruments of punishment, &c.

" VI. Justice shall be duly administered in any complaints of the English against Russians, and the English shall be first heard, and may, in case of absence, appoint an attorney.

" VII. In case any English be wounded or killed, due punishment shall be inflicted; and in case the English shall wound or kill any, neither their nor the Company's goods shall be forfeited on that account.

" VIII. The English, arrested for debt, shall not be imprisoned if they can give bail.

" IX. If English ships shall be robbed or damaged in or near Russia by pirates, &c. the Czar will do his utmost to procure satisfaction.

" X. The Czar promises, for him and his successors, to perform, maintain, and observe all the aforesaid privileges, &c. and for that purpose has put his signet thereto."

" Another ineffectual law was made in this year, the second and third of Philip and Mary, cap. v. for confirming former ineffectual ones of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. whereby the former method was confirmed, of gathering weekly relief for the aged and impotent poor of every parish, by the charitable devotion of the inhabitants, &c. and that a poor man, licensed to beg, shall wear a badge on his breast and back openly."

In p. 447 and 454 of the third volume of Hakluyt's voyages, we find, that one Thomson, an Englishman, who had now sailed from Cadiz to New Spain, found at the Canaries, the factors of some London merchants already settled there.

1556 He relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1556, there were not above one thousand five hundred families of Spaniards in that great city; but that in the suburbs there were computed to be at least three hundred thousand Indian inhabitants.

In the fifteenth volume, p. 433, of the *Fœdera*, King Philip and Queen Mary of England grant unto Nicholas Lysarde, their serjeant-painter, for the good services he had done to them,

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1556 them, and to King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. the said office for his life, with a salary of ten pounds per annum, worth about fifty pounds of our money, in point of expence of living.

Captain Stephen Burrough, in the Russia Company's service, sails northward towards Nova Zembla, in order to discover the great river Oby, in the Tartarian Sea; but he was unable to pass the Streights of Waigats, because of the huge quantity of ice, and therefore returned unsuccessful.

The Russia Company send two ships thither, who returned the same year with the two ships which had been frozen up in Lapland, in 1553, in one of which was Sir Hugh Willoughby's body. They also brought over an ambassador from Russia to Queen Mary; but he being shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, lost almost all the fine presents he had brought for the King and Queen. Yet, being on his return, he received several rich presents for the Czar, and also for himself.

The city and country of Sienna having been reduced by the Emperor Charles V. to the subjection of Spain; and that Emperor having, in this year, resigned both the empire and Spain; and the latter crown devolving to his son Philip II. "this Prince," says Keyssler's Travels, vol. I. p. 495, English translation, "for a large sum of money, and a promise that they should not take part with the French, ceded the country of Sienna to Cosmo I. Duke of Florence: however, he (Philip) preserved to himself certain maritime towns, as Piombino, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto-Ercole, Porto St. Stephano, and Portolongone, together with the isle of Elba, all together making what is called, at this day, the *Stato degli* *Presidii*; so called from the Spaniards keeping garrisons in those towns."

1557 The Russia Company send four ships thither, (called their fourth voyage) of which we have nothing memorable, unless we may reckon their carrying home the Czar's ambassador, and with him Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, who, the next year, made very useful discoveries towards Persia, for the benefit of the Company's commerce.

"It was in this year," according to the ingenious author of the Present State of England, in the year 1683, part. iii. p. 94, "that glasses were first begun to be made in England. The finer sort was made in the place called Crutched Fryers, in London. The fine flint glass," says our author, "little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house in the Strand, London; but the first glass plates, for looking glasses and coach windows, were made about the year 1673, at Lambeth, by the encouragement of the Duke of Buckingham." Had this author lived to our day, he would have said we out did the world in almost every branch of this beautiful manufacture.

Bishop Fleetwood, in his Chronicon Preciosum, from Stowe, relates, that, in this year, wheat, before harvest, was two pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, peas two pounds six shillings and eight-pence, malt two pounds four shillings, beans and rye two pounds per quarter; but wheat fell, after harvest, so low as eight shillings, and the next year the same; rye eight shillings, a good sheep two shillings and ten-pence. But it is to be once more observed, that our silver coins were, by this time, of the same weight as at present.

1558 After England had held the town and port of Calais, with its dependent garrisons of Guisnès and Hamme, for two hundred and eleven years, the only part of the continent of France now held by England, during which time it was not only a door always open for the invasion of France, over which, for that reason, England had no small influence, but, which is more to our purpose, was extremely well situated for a staple port to disperse, in more early times,

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1558 times, the wool, lead, and tin, and, in later times, the woollen manufactures of England into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany; the loss of this most important place, in the year 1558, to the French, most shamefully and negligently, and in the midst of winter, was undoubtedly a considerable prejudice to the commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. These considerations so affected Queen Mary, that she said; if, when after her death, she should be opened, Calais would be found at her heart. Hereupon, the staple for wool, &c. was removed to Bruges, to the great benefit of that city, which, in other respects, had, for some time, very much declined from its ancient opulence and grandeur.

The Russians having, in this year, mastered Narva in Livonia, and thereby gained an opening into the Baltic Sea, they thereupon erected it into an emporium or staple port for the trade of Russia with most of the rest of Europe. The Hanseatic merchants hereupon removed their comptoir from Revel, where it had been fixed, since the Muscovites had barbarously driven them from Novogrod. Thuanus, lib. li. only observes, that the Russians removed the staple to Narva, which, as far as related to their own trade, was, in a great measure, in their own power to do: yet the great master of the Teutonic Knights of Livonia, (for there was still such a title in Livonia, though he of Prussia was long since secularized) and also the Archbishop of Riga, made grievous complaints to the Emperor Ferdinand of the great injury done to the empire, says Thuanus, under the year 1572, (for Livonia, as well as Prussia, was, even so lately as that time, deemed a fief of the German empire) by drawing the trade from Revel to Narva; for, at the same time, the English, Dutch, and French merchants removed also from Revel to Narva. Werdenhagen assigns two other reasons for the removal of the Hanseatics from Revel to Narva, viz.

I. The selfishness of the Revelians, who vain would have monopolized the entire commerce to their own citizens alone.

II. Their other motive for removing to Narva, was chiefly with a view to be nearer to Novogrod, their anciently beloved residence, where they much longed to settle again, and whither, it seems, they sent envoys, in the year 1603, for that end, and where, in 1620, the Czar Demetrius gave them leave to erect a house for their commerce; though, by reason of the great declension of the general commerce of the Hanseatics, little good came of it. This removal of the staple to Narva was the handle which Eric XIV. King of Sweden, soon after made use of, violently to seize on the ships of Lubeck returning from Narva, says our Hanseatic historian, and to carry them to Revel and Stockholm, which produced a war, that lasted eight years, between the Hans-towns and Sweden, to which a period was put by a treaty at Stetin, in the year 1571. Yet the Hans-league was still considerable enough, for the Emperor Ferdinand to recommend to them, in this very year, the quieting of Livonia, then greatly agitated.

We have already observed, that, under the year 1553, the comptoir of the Hans-towns at Bergen in Norway began, about that time, to be deserted, chiefly owing, says the Hanseatic writers, to the arbitrary and extravagant increase of the toll in the Sound by Christian III. King of Denmark, which produced much altercation; so that, in this year 1558, when this King died, that comptoir was almost sunk to nothing, after having greatly flourished for about three hundred years. Yet others assign the true cause of that declension to have proceeded from the Danes themselves, having, about this time, begun to traffic on their own bottoms, in consequence of which that court, like England, saw the expediency of abridging those

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1558 Hanseatics of their ancient and almost unaccountable privileges and prerogatives at Bergen, which, they alleged, had been granted to them by former Danish Kings. Nevertheless, at a dyet of the States, in the year 1560, in the reign of King Frederic II. the pretended Hanseatic privileges and great immunities were considerably abridged.

That most diligent agent for the Russia Company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, now first set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for raw silk, &c. He sailed down the great river Volga to Nisi-Novogrod, Casan, and Astracan, and thence cross the Caspian Sea to Persia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay, *i. e.* China, from which last-named country it was a nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmogro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, in the year 1560, and so home the same year to England. On his return, he published the first map of Russia that had ever been made. This voyage, it seems, he performed seven different times : yet so promising a prospect for that Company was dropped some few years after, and remained as if it had never been thought of, until the reign of King George II. in the year 1741, when it was revived by an act of Parliament, enabling the Russia Company to trade into Persia ; upon which, considerable quantities of raw silk were brought home by the very same way that Jenkinson took from Persia to Russia, and from thence to England. Yet the continual troubles and ravages in Persia have since suspended the good effects of that law.

In this last year of Queen Mary 1558, says Stowe's Chronicle, p. 632, " a prest" (*i. e.* loan) " was granted to the Queen by the citizens of London, of twenty thousand pounds, which " was levied of the companies ; for the which sum, to be repaid again, the Queen bound certain lands, and also allowed for interest of the money twelve pounds of every hundred for a " year."

Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna !

We are now arrived, November 17, 1558, at the commencement of the most illustrious female reign, and of the longest duration, which probably ever existed in the world, *viz.* that of the truly great Elizabeth, Queen of England. It is not our present province nor intention to draw her complete character at full length, so often already done by foreign as well as English historians. We shall therefore, at this entrance on her truly glorious government, confine ourselves to this one brief remark, *viz.* that, to her immortal honour, and her kingdom's immense benefit, her reign has supplied more important articles for commercial history, and more beneficial to the kingdom, even while she was surrounded with foreign and domestic foes, than perhaps all the preceding reigns conjoined, since the time of her great predecessor, King Edward III. We shall here only in general remark, that as, on her now succeeding to the crown, she found the balance of power and wealth had already got into the hands of the commons or people, she prudently conducted her measures accordingly ; though, now and then, she would exert the prerogative as far as some of her less wise successors, though with more prudence.

We must, however, remark, that in this first year of her reign, her Parliament, by a statute, cap. xiii. though under certain wise modifications and restrictions, repealed the former laws, prohibiting the importation and exportation of merchandize in any but English ships alone. This repeal, clogged as it is with restrictions, would not perhaps be approved of in our days ; yet there might probably be good grounds for its being then done ; at least the then

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1558 legislature thought the following a sufficient reason for it, viz. "That since the making of the said statutes, other sovereign princes, finding themselves aggrieved with the said acts, as thinking that the same were made to the hurt and prejudice of their country and navy, have made like penal laws against such as should ship out of their countries, in any other vessels than of their several countries and dominions; by reason whereof, there hath not only grown great displeasure betwixt the foreign princes and kings of this realm, but also the merchants have been sore grieved and endamaged.—Yet, whereas sundry of the Queen's subjects do frequently enter the merchandize of aliens" (liable to double duties) "in their own names, whereby the Queen is defrauded in her revenue—wherefore it was now enacted, that whoever shall, in time of peace, and when there is no restraint made of English ships, either embark or unlade any merchandize (masts, raffe, pitch, tar, and corn only excepted) out of, or into any foreign bottom or ship, and whereof the master and the major part of the sailors are not English subjects, shall answer and pay for the said merchandize the like custom and subsidy as aliens do." This judicious clause does, in a great measure, answer the end proposed by the navigation acts, now to be repealed.—Another clause was inserted in favour of the two societies of Merchant-Adventurers, and of the Merchants of the Staple, at their several fleets or shippings of cloth and wool from the river Thames alone, made, at most, twice in every year, "That those two societies may lade the said merchandize on foreigners ships, provided there be not English ships sufficient in number for such embarkations, without being, for that cause, subject to aliens duties."

Lastly, the merchants of Bristol having of late sustained great losses at sea from enemies, who have taken all their best ships and much substance, so as they are unable to provide sufficient ships of their own within the time limited for the duration of this act, viz. five years, if there be no English shipping sufficient within forty miles of Bristol, they may lade their merchandize on foreign ships, without being liable to aliens duties."

Several other wise and judicious regulations and laws were made in this same first year of her reign; as statute xiv. for regulating the making of cloth and kersey in certain towns in Essex.—Cap. xv. For preventing the destruction of timber in the making of iron.—Cap. xvii. For preventing the taking the spawn of salmon, trouts, &c. at undue seasons, &c. Which five last named statutes, like many more of her reign, were so judiciously framed, that they remain in force at this day, though with some few improvements and alterations.

1559 In vol. xv. p. 505, &c. of the *Fœdera*, we have the treaty of peace and amity of Chateau-Cambresis, between Queen Elizabeth and Henry II. of France, whereby the latter, "I. Stipulates to deliver up Calais to England at the end of eight years, for which four hostages were left with Queen Elizabeth, under the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns." Neither of which stipulations were ever so much as intended to be performed.

"II. All armed ships from either country were, as in former treaties, to give the usual security not to injure the ships or subjects of the other party."

"III. No letters of marque or reprisals were to be granted on either side, but only against principals, who are or shall be delinquents, and their goods, factors, and agents; and even this not till justice has been manifestly denied."

In the same vol. xv, p. 532, we find Queen Elizabeth's physician in ordinary, Dr. Rickard Master, has a salary settled on him of one hundred pounds yearly, beside his allowance of diet, wine, wax, &c. as usual.

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1559 *Ibid.* p. 548, she grants to her bowstring-maker, within the Tower of London, the daily pay of sixteen pence for life, equal, in point of living, to near about six shillings and eight pence.

The salaries of the professorships in both Universities, which had been settled by King Henry VIII. at forty pounds per annum, remained so still; and yet the silver money was now made of the same weight and fineness as in our days. Moreover, the immense importations of money into Europe, since the beginning of this century, had, without doubt, increased the rate or expence of living, or, which is the same thing, decreased the value of money: yet, as by the *Chronicon Preciosum*, wheat was this and some following years at eight shillings per quarter, and a load of hay at twelve shillings and sixpence in the following year; and the next year, claret wine at two pounds ten shillings per hoghead; it seems therefore reasonable to conclude, that living, at that time, was near or about five times as cheap as in our days; so that the royal physician was very well rewarded for his attendance at court.

Mezerai acquaints us, "That King Henry II. of France was the first who now wore silk stockings, at his sister's wedding to the Duke of Savoy: yet," adds he, "till the troubles under Charles IX. and Henry III. the courtiers did not use much silk; but after that, the very citizens began to wear it frequently. For," continues Mezerai, "it is an infallible observation, that pride and luxury are most predominant during public calamities."

1560 The manufacture of fine woollen cloth in the Spanish Netherlands must have been immensely great in former years, before the English fell so much into it. Louis Guicciardini, their historian, affirms, that, in those former times, upwards of forty thousand packs of Spanish wool had been annually imported thither; but, adds he, as the Spaniards have, of late years, made more cloth at home than formerly, they do not now (in this year 1560, that I am writing this work) export to the Netherlands above twenty-five thousand packs of Spanish wool yearly. The decrease of the woollen manufacture of the Netherlands was, undoubtedly, the true cause of their importing a smaller quantity of Spanish wool than formerly, though Guicciardini did not chuse to assign the true cause.

According to the famous John Milton, (author of the incomparable poem, intitled *Paradise Lost*) in his *Brief History of Muscovia*, published in the year 1682, in twelves, "the English began this year first to trade to Narva in Livonia, the Lubeckers, and Dantzickers," says this author, "having till then concealed that trade from other nations." Although Milton does not mention the true reason of this circumstance, as having perhaps forgot it, we conceive it to proceed from the Russians having mastered Narva, as we have seen two years before this time.

Queen Elizabeth, according to Camden, finding the Popish princes of Europe extremely jealous of her supporting Protestants both abroad and at home, wisely provided for her own security against future disasters, by filling her magazines with ammunition, military and naval stores. She soon after first made gunpowder in England, and caused brass and iron ordnance to be cast: she also built a considerable number of ships for war, and thus formed the most important fleet that England had ever before seen; and for the safeguard thereof she crested a fortress on the banks of the river Medway, called Upnor Castle, (so named from a neighbouring village :) she, moreover, considerably increased the pay of her naval officers and seamen; "so that," says Camden, "foreigners stiled her, the Restorer of Naval Glory, and Queen of the Northern Seas."

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She also, about this time, restored the silver coin more to its sterling purity than had been for two hundred years before; her father, more especially, having, towards the close of his reign, shamefully debased it by mixing it with copper, for his own particular profit, though greatly to the detriment of the public.

Louis Guicciardini, in his Description of the Netherlands, now testifies the very considerable commerce of the ports of the province of Holland, even before their revolt from Spain. He relates, that the Hollanders then brought annually from Denmark, Eastland, Livonia, and Poland, sixty thousand lasts of grain, chiefly rye, then worth one million six hundred and eighty thousand crowns of gold, or five hundred and sixty thousand pounds Flemish, reckoning three of those crowns to one pound Flemish—that the single province of Holland alone had above eight hundred good ships, from two hundred to seven hundred tons burden each, beside above six hundred busses for fishing, from one to two hundred tons each—that at Amsterdam, even then, great numbers of vessels were daily seen going in and out; and that, twice in every year, fleets of three hundred ships together come in from Dantzick and Livonia—that five hundred ships were often seen lying together before that city, and mostly their own; so that, for the greatness of its commerce, Amsterdam was even then next to Antwerp of all the towns of the Netherlands. This authentic testimony of Amsterdam's greatness at this time, is sufficient to confute what too many have ignorantly written to the contrary.

The same Guicciardini, speaking of the vastness of the commerce between the Netherlands and England, says, they then imported upwards of one thousand two hundred sacks of English wool to Bruges, worth two hundred and fifty thousand crowns; but, adds he, it is astonishing to think of the vast quantity of drapery imported by the English into the Netherlands, being, undoubtedly, one year with another, above two hundred thousand pieces of all kinds, which, at the most moderate rate of twenty-five crowns per piece, is five millions of crowns, or ten millions of Dutch guilders, or about one million of pounds sterling. So that, says he, these and other merchandize brought to us by the English, and carried from us to them, may make the annual amount to be more than twelve millions of crowns, or twenty-four millions of guilders, or about two million four hundred thousand pounds sterling, to the great gain and benefit of both countries; neither of which countries could possibly, or without the greatest damage, dispense with this their vast mutual commerce; of which, continues he, the merchants on both sides are so sensible, that they have fallen into a way of insuring their merchandize from losses at sea by a joint contribution.

This is the first instance we have met with, of *Insurance from Losses at Sea*, though probably in use before this time, and first practised in Lombard-street in the city of London, as will be seen under the year 1601.

As the famous city of Antwerp was, in this year, in its zenith of prosperity, we imagine that a general view of its commerce, at this period, with all foreign nations, (as exhibited by Guicciardini, *ibid.*) in which the then existing state of manufactures, product, &c. of different countries may be seen, will not be unacceptable to our curious readers: many useful inferences may also be drawn from thence.

“ I. Beside the natives and the French, who are here very numerous, there are six principal foreign nations who reside at Antwerp, both in war and peace, making above one thousand merchants, including factors and servants, viz. 1. Germans, 2. Danes and Easterlings,” (by the Easterlings are always meant the ports on the south shores of the Baltic, from Denmark to Livonia) “ 3. the Italians, 4. the Spaniards, 5. the English, and, 6. the Portuguese
“ —That

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“ —That the Spaniards are the most numerous there of any of these six nations.—That one of those foreign merchants” (whom he styles the Prince of Merchants, and was the famous Fugger of Augsbourg) “ died worth above six millions of crowns ; but that there are many natives there worth from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand crowns.”

“ II. That their manner was to meet twice every day, viz. mornings and evenings, one hour each time, at the English bourse ; where, by their interpreters and brokers, they treated of buying and selling of all kinds of merchandize. From thence they went to the new Bourse or principal Exchange, where, for another hour each time, they transacted all matters relating to bills of exchange with the said six nations and with France ; and also for what he calls Deposit, *i. e.* the loan of money at interest, which he says was usually twelve per cent. per annum, for it seems, both the Emperor Charles V. and his son King Philip II. in their wars, &c. allowed so high an interest to the merchants here, which high interest,” says Guicciardini, “ brought the nobility to lend their money secretly, the laws of nobility forbidding that practice, and made many lazy merchants likewise deal in that way, though such high interest was a great grievance to the poor, as well as a great obstruction to commerce.

“ III. That with regard to their commerce with Italy, he says,

“ They sent to Rome a great variety of woollen drapery, linen, tapestry, and many other things ; but brought nothing from thence except money, or bills of exchange.

“ To Ancona they sent great quantities of English and Netherland cloth and stuffs, linen, tapestry, cochineal, &c. and brought back such spices and drugs, as they (the merchants of Ancona) brought from the Levant ; also silk, cottons, carpets, turkey leather, &c.

“ To Bologna they sent serges and other stuffs, tapestries, linens, merceries, &c. and brought from thence wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, crapes, caps, &c.

“ To Venice they sent jewels and pearls, cloth and wool of England, in great quantities, draperies of the Netherlands, tapestry, linen, cochineal, and many kinds of mercery, sometimes also sugar and pepper ; and brought back from Venice (before the Portuguese found the way to the Spice Islands) all sorts of India spices and drugs ; and even so late as the year 1518, there arrived five Venetian galleasses at Antwerp, laden with spices and drugs for the fair there.—But they still bring from Venice the finest and richest wrought silks, camblets, grograins, carpets, cottons, and great variety of merceries ; also colours both for dyers and painters.

“ To Naples, Antwerp sent Netherland and English cloths and stuffs in abundance, tapestry, linen in vast quantities, and several sorts of merceries, as well of metal as of other materials.” (This description of merceries, as it was then understood, and another, where he says, ‘ merceries, as well of silk as of other materials,’ seems to include toys as well as what we now call small haberdashery wares. Mercery, says this author in another place, comprehends all things sold by retail, or by the little balance or small scales.) “ From Naples, Antwerp brought back wrought silks, raw silk, thrown silk, some fine furs, or skins, saffron of Aquila, and excellent manna.

“ To Sicily they sent cloth and serges in great quantities, linen, tapestries, and innumerable sorts of mercery, as well of metals as of many other kinds. And from Sicily, Antwerp brought galls in great quantities, cummin, oranges, cotton, silk, and sometimes wines of various sorts.

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" To Milan, Antwerp sent pepper, sugar, jewels, musk, and other perfumes, great quantities of English and Netherland cloths and ferges, tapestries, vast quantities of linen, English and Spanish wool, and cochineal. From Milan Antwerp brought great quantities of gold and silver thread, various wrought silks, gold stuffs, fustians, and dainties of many fine sorts, scarlets, tannies, and other fine and curious draperies, great quantities of fine rice, musquets, and other fine armory, various sorts of high priced mercery, even to Parmesan cheese, which last is a considerable commodity.

" To Florence, Antwerp sends many sorts of woollen stuffs, English wool, linens, fans, frises; even although by sea," says our author, " the Florentines and Venetians are better provided with English wool on the spot itself. From Florence they bring back many sorts of very fine wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, and thread, fine shalloons, then called raffles, and fine furs.

" Antwerp sends to Genoa English and Netherland cloth and ferges, tapestry, linen, mercery, utensils, and household furniture. And from Genoa Antwerp brings back vast quantities of velvets of all prices, the best in the world, sattins and other wrought silks, the best of coral, mithridate and treacle. By Genoa also, Antwerp sends to Mantua, Verona, Brescia, Vicenza, Modena, Lucca, &c. the same sorts of merchandize, and brings back the same returns as from Genoa. From Italy also they bring by sea to the Netherlands the alum of Civita Vecchia, the oils of Apulia, Genoa, and Pisa, various gums, Senna in the leaf, sulphur, oipiment, &c. and by sea also Italy receives from the Netherlands, tin, lead, madder, brasil wood, wax, leather, flax, tallow, salt fish, timber, and sometimes corn and pulse." Our author adds, " That Antwerp's imports from Italy of silks, gold and silver thread, camblets, programs, and other stuffs, (exclusive of other wares) amounted to three millions of crowns yearly," each crown being equal to two Dutch guilders, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

" Antwerp sends to Germany precious stones and pearls, spices, drugs, saffron, sugars, English cloths, as a rare and curious thing, and of high price: also a good deal of Netherland cloth and ferges," this article shews that English cloth was then esteemed finer than Netherland cloth, " tapestry, an infinite quantity of linen, and mercery of all sorts. And Antwerp receives from Germany, by land carriage, silver in bullion, quicksilver, immense quantities of copper, fine wool of Hesse, glafs, fustians of an high price, to the value of above six hundred thousand crowns yearly, wood, madder, and other dyers wares, saltpetre, vast quantities of mercery, and household goods, very fine and good; all kinds of metals to an inestimable value, and also of arms; Rhenish wines, of great importance in commerce, of exquisite taste, profitable for health, and proper for digestion, and so safe, that one may drink twice as much of it as of any other wine, without affecting either head or stomach." He says, " they brought from thence annually above forty thousand tons, which, at thirty-six crowns per ton, amounted to one million four hundred and forty thousand crowns." This was, indeed, an almost incredible quantity of Rhenish wine for one year's importation!

Wheeler, who wrote in the year 1601, says, " That a little before the troubles in the Low Countries, the Antwerpians were become the greatest dealers to Italy in English and other foreign merchandize, and also to Alexandria, Cyprus, and Tripoli in Syria; beating the Italians, English, and Germans almost entirely out of that trade, as they also soon did the Germans at the fairs and marts of their own country. That those of Amsterdam, and other but new upstart towns of Holland, with their great hulks and other ships, began to diminish

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“diminish the trade of the Easterlings at Antwerp; and the Antwerp merchants, having great wealth, were the best able to supply Spain and her Indies at long days of payment, by which means they set their own prices on their merchandize. Antwerp also now supplied Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Eastland with the wares which France was used to supply them. It is not more than eighty years ago,” *i. e.* about the year 1520, “since there were not in London above twelve or sixteen Low Country merchants, whose merchandize imported from thence were stone pots, brushes, toys for children, and other pedlar’s wares; but in less than forty years after, there were in London at least an hundred Netherland merchants, who brought thither all the commodities which the merchants of Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and Eastland,” of all which nations there were, before that time, divers famous and notable rich merchants and companies, “used to bring into England out of their own country directly, to the great damage of those strangers, and of the natural born English merchants.”

“Antwerp sends by sea to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Eastland, Livonia, and Poland, vast quantities of spices, drugs, saffron, sugar, salt, English and Netherland cloth and stuffs, fustians, linens, wrought silks, gold stuffs, grograms, camblets, tapestries, precious stones, Spanish and other wines, alum, Brasil wood, mercery and household goods in abundance. And Antwerp received from those parts,” *i. e.* from Eastland and Poland, “an inestimable quantity of the most necessary merchandize, viz. wheat and rye to a vast value, iron, copper, brass, saltpetre, woad, madder, vitriol, flax, honey, wax, pitch and tar, sulphur, pot ashes, (of great importance in commerce) fine skins and furs of various kinds, leather, timber, (both for shipwrights and house carpenters) in vast abundance; great quantities of beer, of high price and esteem; salt flesh; salted, dried, and smoked fish, yellow amber in great quantities, and numberless other particulars.”

We may here briefly interrupt our author’s narrative, by observing, that most of those northern ports being frozen up in winter, and finding it, in early times, more difficult than now to make far southward voyages down the Mediterranean, &c. so as to insure their return home before winter; and finding also, that they could be supplied from Antwerp with whatever the whole earth produced, they therefore made that city their grand staple for their own merchandize, as also for their returns, as we have also remarked in another place.

“Antwerp sent to France precious stones, quicksilver, silver in bullion, copper and brass wrought and unwrought, lead, tin, vermilion, azure blue and crimson, sulphur, saltpetre, vitriol, camblets, and grograms of Turkey, English and Netherland cloths and serges, great quantities of fine linen, tapestry, leather, peltry, wax, madder, tallow, dried flesh, and much salt fish, &c. And France sent back to Antwerp, by sea, salt of Brouage to the value of one hundred and eighty thousand crowns; forty thousand bales of fine woad of Tholouse, which, at seven and a half crowns per bale, amounts to three hundred thousand crowns; canvas, and other strong linen of Bretagne and Normandy, in immense quantities; about forty thousand tons of excellent red and white wines, at about twenty-five crowns per ton, amounting to one million of crowns, or two millions of Holland guilders; saffron, syrup of sugar, turpentine, pitch, paper of all kinds to a great value, prunes, (a considerable article in commerce) Brasil wood,” the French having then a settlement in Brasil. “By land also France sends many fine and curious things in gilding,” (*deuvres*) “some very fine cloths of Paris, Rouen, Tours, and Champagne, much thread of Lyons, &c. which are highly prized;” but not one word as yet of silk manufactures, that time

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being not yet come, “ excellent verdigrease of Montpelier; and lastly, many sorts of merceries to a great value.

“ To England, Antwerp sent jewels and precious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, galls, linen both fine and coarse, ferges, *demy oflades*, (Quære if not worsteds?) tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities,” our own are now much better, “ glass, salt fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts, to a great value; arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes, and other things of that kind, to a great value; the finest wool, excellent saffron, but in small quantities; a great quantity of lead and tin; sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather; beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions in great quantities; also Malmsey wines, which the English import from Candia.

“ To Scotland, Antwerp sends but little, as that country is chiefly supplied from England and France. Antwerp, however, sends thither some spicery, sugars, madder, wrought silks, camblets, ferges, linen, and mercery. And Scotland sends to Antwerp vast quantities of peltry of many kinds, leather, wool, and indifferent cloth, fine large pearls, though not of quite so good a water as the oriental ones.

“ To Ireland, Antwerp sends much the same commodities and quantities as to Scotland. and Antwerp takes from Ireland, skins and leather of divers sorts, some low priced cloths, and other gross things of little value.

“ To Spain, Antwerp sends copper, brads, and latten, wrought and unwrought; tin, lead, and much woollen cloth of various kinds made in the Netherlands, as also some made in England; ferges of all prices; *oflades et demy oflades*,” names of woollen goods then in use, but now almost lost, unless worsteds be meant thereby, which the affinity of the name may possibly countenance, “ tapestry, fine and coarse linen to a great value, camblets, flax thread, wax, pitch, madder, tallow, sulphur, and frequently wheat and rye, salted flesh and fish, butter and cheese, all sorts of mercery,” mercery, as has already been observed, in those times, meant almost all kinds of small wares, “ metals, silk, thread, &c. for very great sums; silver in bullion, and worked up into silversmith’s work; arms of all sorts, and ammunition; household furniture, and tools of all kinds; and every thing else produced by human industry and labour, to which,” says our author, “ the meaner people of Spain have an utter aversion. Of Spain, Antwerp takes jewels and pearls, gold and silver in great quantities, cochineal, saraparilla, guaiacum, saffron, silk raw and thrown, and worked up into various stuffs, velvets, taffeties, salt, alum, orchil, fine wool, iron, cordovan leather, wines of various kinds, oils, vinegar, honey, melasses, Arabian gums, soap, fruits both moist and dried, in vast quantities; wines and sugars from the Canaries,” no sugars as yet coming from the Spanish West Indies.

“ To Portugal, Antwerp sends silver bullion, quicksilver, vermilion, copper, brads, and latten, lead, tin, arms, artillery, and ammunition, gold and silver thread, and such other wares before-named as they send to Spain. From Portugal, Antwerp brings pearls and precious stones, gold, spices to above the value of one million of crowns annually, drugs, amber, musk, civet, ivory in great quantities, aloes, rhubarb, anil, cotton, China root, and many other precious things from India, with which the greatest part of Europe are supplied by Antwerp; also sugars from the isle of St. Thomas, under the equinoctial line, and

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“ Lastly, to Barbary, Antwerp sends woollen cloth, serges, linen, merceries innumerable, metals, &c. And Antwerp brings from Barbary, sugars, azure or anil,” as the Portuguese call it, “ gums, coloquintida, leather, peltry, and fine feathers.”

Thus we have a summary view of the exports and imports of and from Antwerp, the most eminent city for commerce then in Europe. The port of Armuyden, on the isle of Walcheren, the principal isle of the province of Zealand, was, in Guicciardini's days, the place of rendezvous for the shipping of Antwerp, where, says he, there have been often seen five hundred large ships together, some bound to, and others returning from many distant parts of the world. Armuyden, at that period, possessed an excellent port, and well situated for that purpose, though now an inconsiderable place, its harbour being choaked up with mud and sand.

Yet after all that can be said of the greatness of Antwerp, it must, however, be admitted, that the two later grand emporiums of London and Amsterdam have, since that time, exceeded Antwerp in various respects ; such as their greater number of large and stout ships, their acquisitions of several great branches of commerce, not then known to Antwerp, viz. the Turkey trade, the whale fishery, the Russia trade, the negro Guinea trade, that of both Indies, as also the Madeira and Canary trades : yet, if Guicciardini has not exaggerated, Antwerp, in the height of its prosperity, about this time, is said to have shewn at once two thousand five hundred ships or vessels lying in the Scheld before the city, (though possibly many of those might have been such as, at London in our days, are called small craft and coasters.) And our author adds, “ That it was usual for five hundred ships to come and go in one day, and four hundred to come up the Scheld in one tide ; that ten thousand carts were constantly employed in carrying merchandize to and from the neighbouring countries, beside many hundreds of waggons daily coming and going with passengers ; and five hundred coaches used by people of distinction :” all which possibly must be read with some grains of allowance. Guicciardini adds, “ that Antwerp had then one hundred and sixty-nine bakers, seventy-eight butchers, ninety-two fishmongers, one hundred and ten barbers and surgeons, five hundred and ninety-four taylors, one hundred and twenty-four goldsmiths, beside a great number of lapidaries and jewellers, three hundred master painters, gravers, and carvers, mercers,” *i. e.* retailers and pedlars, “ &c. without number. That the city of Antwerp contained thirteen thousand five hundred houses.—That lodgings there were extravagantly dear, (occasioned by its great commerce) so as, except Lisbon, to surpass any city of Europe ; a set of lodgings of five or six chambers, with a hall and garrets, not letting for less than two hundred crowns,” *i. e.* four hundred Holland guilders, “ yearly ; and the greater lodgings and smaller houses were usually at five hundred crowns and upwards. Lastly, that by the great concourse of strangers at Antwerp, advice of all that passes in every other part of the world is brought thither.”

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Having sufficiently enlarged on that once noble city of Antwerp, Guicciardini gives us a sketch of the then herring fishery of the maritime provinces of Friesland, (Groningen was then a part of Friesland) Holland, Zealand, and Flanders. He says, "the number of fishermen and vessels, especially of those four provinces, and of the French, with some few English, fishing first on the coast of Scotland, and next on that of England, are," in his way of expressing it, "almost infinite." But, confining himself only to the Netherlands, concerning which he had made a very strict enquiry, he says, "that, in peaceable times, they employed seven hundred busses and boats," *busses et botes* he calls them in his French, "which make each three voyages in the season, during which whole season, each vessel, on an average, is computed to take seventy lasts of herrings, each last containing twelve barrels of nine hundred or one thousand herrings each barrel; and as a last commonly yields ten pounds Flemish," or about six pounds sterling, "the total amount of one year's herring fishery, in those four provinces, is four hundred and ninety thousand pounds Flemish, or two hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds sterling."—How vastly does this account fall short of Sir Walter Raleigh's, about sixty years later. "That the cod and ling fishery of those four provinces amounts yearly to a million of guilders, or one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as then reckoned;—their salmon fishing in Holland and Zealand to four hundred thousand guilders, or forty thousand pounds sterling yearly.

"That, notwithstanding the great ground which England had gained on the Netherlands in the preceding century, their woollen manufacture was still very great, although their own wool be very coarse, compared to that of England and of Spain, as at Boisleduc, Delft, Haarlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam, they then made above twelve thousand pieces of cloth and serges, &c. at each place; also at Ypres, where was the very fine and ancient hall for woollen cloth; at St. Winnoberg, Courtray, Menin, Tiel, and Lisle," which last city he esteemed the next in commerce after Antwerp and Amsterdam, "Tournay, Mons, Valenciennes," where, beside woollen cloths, they make great quantities of taffeties, &c. Maubeuge, Enghien, &c. make fine tapestries.

"Linen cloth, according to Guicciardini, was made at Boisleduc, at the rate of twenty thousand pieces yearly, worth two hundred thousand crowns; also at Nivelles, five leagues from Brussels, they make great quantities of very fine cambric; as also at Cambray, which originally gave name to that fine manufacture." And we may add a probable conjecture, that diaper took its name from Ypres, *i. e. Toile d'Ypres*.—"At Courtray they made fine linen for the table.—At Tiel linen cloth and buckrams.—At Ghent, the cloth named from that time, Ghenting, in immense quantities; also fine linen of many sorts, woollen also, and tapestries, fustians, buckrams, &c.—At Boisleduc great quantities of knives, fine pins, mercery, &c."

At the same time, speaking again of the commerce of Amsterdam, he says, "that ships are constantly seen in great numbers coming in and going out, not only to and from other parts of the Netherlands, but of France, England, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Livonia, Norway, Sweden, &c." He observes, "that Veer, (named also Campveer, or Terveer) in Zealand, owes its principal commerce to its being the staple port for all the Scottish shipping, and so has been for a long series of years." And Guicciardini, in conclusion, pays the province of Holland the following fine compliment, viz. "it has no wine growing in it, yet they have great plenty of that liquor;—nor flax of their own growth," this is not the case at present, "yet make the finest linen of any in the universe.—They have no wool,

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1560 “ (either in good quality or quantity) yet make infinite quantities of good cloth.—They grow
 “ no timber, yet they use more for ships, dykes, &c. than perhaps all the rest of Europe to-
 “ gether.” And here let us add what Sir William Temple says further by way of encomium
 on Holland, above one hundred years later, viz. “ never any country traded so much, and
 “ consumed so little. They buy infinitely, but it is to sell again.—They are the great mas-
 “ ters of the Indian spices and Persian silks, yet wear plain woollen, and feed upon their own
 “ fish and roots.—They sell the finest of their own cloth to France, and buy coarse cloth out
 “ of England for their own wear.—They send abroad the best of their own butter, and buy
 “ the cheapest out of Ireland, or the north of England, for their own use.—In short, they
 “ furnish infinite luxury, which they never practice, and traffic in pleasures which they never
 “ taste.”

“ Thus,” says their own great De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, “ are diligence, vi-
 “ gilance, valour, and frugality not only natural to the Hollanders themselves, but, by the
 “ nature of their country, are communicated to all foreigners who inhabit amongst them.”

In the late learned Mr. Thomas Ruddiman’s preface to Anderson’s *Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*, p. 73, we find that, in this year 1560, one pound of English silver coin, or money, was equal to five Scottish pounds; and he adds, *mirandum vero est quantis ab eo tempore auctibus, et quam precipiti gradu monetæ apud nos valor percreverit, i. e.* “ and it is
 “ truly strange or wonderful to observe, after this time, how quick the progress was of the
 “ enhancement of the nominal value of our money; for, five years after, in the year 1565,
 “ the proportion between the value of the nominal pounds of the two nations was become as
 “ six is to one.”

In this same year, according to the judicious Misselden, in his *Circle of Commerce*, p. 55, printed in 1623, in quarto, Queen Elizabeth, (it being the second year of her reign) by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of the Merchant-adventurers of England. This author affirms, “ that he took special pains in the perusal of all
 “ charters and grants to this company.” Moreover, Wheeler, in the book often already quoted, confirmed this, and adds, “ that Queen Elizabeth granted them two other ample
 “ charters, viz. one in the sixth and another in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, in the
 “ former of which (viz. her sixth year) they first had the designation of merchant-adven-
 “ turers given them.”

The same year, the Queen granted by charter to the merchants of Exeter, by the title of The Governor, Consuls, and Society of Merchant-adventurers of Exeter, an exclusive trade to France; which privilege was confirmed by an act of Parliament of the fourth year of King James I. cap. ix. in the year 1606, which extended only to their own city.

Sigismund, King of Poland, being at war with Russia, wrote, in this year to Queen Elizabeth, exhorting her, not to permit her subjects to trade to Russia by the way of Narva, as they thereby furnished his enemies with arts, arms, and other necessities; and he threatened such ships as should so trade with his utmost resentment. But his threatenings on this and another famous occasion, hereafter to be exhibited, were very little regarded by her.

Eric XIV. King of Sweden, taking advantage of the fore depression of the German Knights of the Cross by the Russians, accepted of the request of the town of Revel and of the country adjacent, to take them under his protection, whereby Sweden first got footing in Livonia; and by the acquisition of that fine country, which Sweden held till the former part of the present eighteenth century, its commerce, wealth, and power were considerably increased.

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In the very next year, the Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Muscovites having, in their turns, gradually depressed the power, and greatly lessened the dominions of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, so as not to be able longer to withstand their more powerful enemies, the Great Master of that order, Gottard Ketler, resigned that part of Livonia which remained to them into the hands of the Poles, after that order had held it three hundred and fifty-seven years, according to Thuanus, lib. 28. who adds, "That the resigning of the records, the great cross of the Order, the archives, the keys of the gates and castle of Riga, and all other prerogatives into the hands of the Poles by the said Grand-Master was a sad spectacle, and could not be seen by any lovers of the German name without tears." On this resignation of Ketler, he was, instead of Livonia, invested by King Sigismund with the sovereignty of Courland and Semigallia, under the title of duke, to him and his heirs, holding the same of the crown of Poland; or, in other words, Ketler finding he could no longer hold the whole, was glad to capitulate with King Sigismund for only part of it, with a hereditary title, in imitation of what Albert of Brandenburg had done in relation to Prussia, in the year 1525; and also with the liberty of the Protestant religion, then already generally professed there, and which Ketler himself had before embraced. And thus the Germanic empire lost its remaining fief in Livonia, as, thirty-six years before, it had supinely lost that of Prussia; and all that now testifies those two provinces to have been German fiefs, is, beside records, the prevalence of the German language, which continues to this day.

The Hamburgers still maintaining their claim to an exclusive jurisdiction or sovereignty on the river Elbe, had, in support of it, seized on a Danish ship, and denied to King Frederick II. of Denmark the restitution of the vessel; that King therefore, in the year 1561, seized on all Hamburg ships in the Danish ports, and, after much dispute, obliged that city to pay him forty thousand guilders for satisfaction.

Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, vol. ii. p. 222, relates, "That Queen Elizabeth, in this third year of her reign, was presented with a pair of black knit silk stockings by her silk-woman, Mrs. Mountague, and thenceforth she never wore cloth ones any more." This eminent author adds, "That King Henry VIII. that magnificent and expensive Prince, wore ordinarily cloth hose, except there came from Spain, by great chance, a pair of silk stockings; for Spain very early abounded in silk. His son, King Edward VI. was presented with a pair of long Spanish silk stockings by his merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, and the present was then much taken notice of." Thus it is plain, that the invention of knit silk stockings originally came from Spain. Others relate, that one William Rider, an apprentice on London-bridge, seeing, at the house of an Italian merchant, a pair of knit worsted stockings from Mantua, made, with great skill, a pair exactly like them, which he presented, in the year 1564, to William Earl of Pembroke, and were the first of that kind worn in England.

Rapin and others relate, that there was happily discovered in England, in the county of Cumberland, near Keswick, a mine of pure copper, which had been neglected many ages, says Camden. And at the same time there was found, in great abundance, the stone called *lapis calaminaris*, or calamy stone, so necessary for brass works, that is, for turning copper into brass. "Neither had Queen Elizabeth now any need, as her father and predecessors had, to hire ships for her use from Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzick, Genoa, and Venice, she having provided the best appointed navy that ever Britain had seen. Her wealthiest subjects also built ships for
" war,

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1561 "war, in imitation of her, with great alacrity; insomuch, that her own navy, joined with her subjects shipping, was able to send out twenty thousand fighting men for sea-service."

Camden adds, "That the country people, since licence was granted for exporting of grain, began to ply their husbandry more diligently than formerly, by breaking up grounds which had remained untilld beyond all memory of man."

According to Gerard Malynes's *Center of the Circle of Commerce*, p. 93, printed in quarto, in 1623, "Queen Elizabeth granted, in the third year of her reign, a new charter of confirmation to the Corporation of the Mayor and Constables of the Staple of England, of all such privileges and liberties as they did, might, or ought to have enjoyed, one year before the loss of Calais, by grant, charter, law, prescription, or custom, notwithstanding any non-user, abuser, &c." This treatise was written against Misselden's *Circle of Commerce*, which defended the Merchant-adventurers Company against Malynes.—Those disputes are long since become obsolete.

The French seem to have traded very early to the coast of Guinea and its neighbourhood; for in the second volume p. 187, part ii. of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, the writer of an English voyage to Guinea, in the year 1591, says, that about thirty years before that time, the French traded from the ports of Normandy to the river Gambia with four or five ships annually.

1562 Some French also, assisted by the Admiral Chastillon, (or Coligny) made an attempt in 1562, to settle and fortify in Florida: but not being supported from home, they were forced to abandon that enterprize, being almost famished for want of provisions, in the year 1564, after remaining in Florida two summers and one winter. They again attempted, as will be more fully seen, to settle in Florida in the years 1564-5, and 1567; but being mostly Protestants, designed by that admiral to get a footing there, they were in part cruelly destroyed by the Spaniards, and partly also through intestine divisions, and not being well supported from France, by reason of the civil war in that kingdom; all which circumstances tended to put an end to that design.

"The same year, the French Admiral Coligny encouraged a project for a settlement on the south-east coast of Africa," says Mezerai, "near Mozambique or Melinda, to serve as a retreat for the French, in carrying on the trade of Africa and East India, as was practised by the Portuguese. For that end three ships, with twelve hundred soldiers, were sent out: but they were shipwrecked on the isle of Madeira; and after a scuffle with the Portuguese there, they returned to France, without further pursuing their original design."

Mr. John Hawkins, assisted by the subscriptions of several gentlemen, now fitted out three ships, the largest being of one hundred and twenty tons, and the smallest but forty tons, and having learned that negroes were a very good commodity in Hispaniola, he sailed to the coast of Guinea, and took in negroes, and sailed with them for Hispaniola, where he sold his negroes and English commodities, and loaded home his three vessels with hides, sugar, and ginger, and also many pearls; returning in the year 1563, after making a prosperous voyage.—This seems to have been the very first attempt from England for any negro trade.

1563 The Russia Company did not as yet lose sight of their trade into Persia by the way of Russia; for, in this year, they sent three of their agents to the Persian court at Casbin, on the business of their traffic.

In vol. xv. p. 631, &c. of the *Fœdera*, we have a truce, in this same year, between England and Scotland, somewhat in the Scottish dialect, for the punishment of thefts, robberies, &c.

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1563 on the borders of the two kingdoms, whereby the following valuations or prices for stolen cattle were settled, viz.

Every ox, above four years old, to be valued at 40*s.* sterling.

Every cow - - - - - at 30

Every ox above two years old, - - - at 30

Every young ~~cow~~ ^{taw}, above two years old, - - - at 20

Every other beast, above two years old, - - - at 10

Every old sheep, - - - - - at 6

Every hog, - - - - - at 3 { N. B. A hog, in the old Scottish sense, is a young sheep of about a year old.

Every old swine, above a year old - - - at 6

Every young swine, - - - - - at 2

Every gact, (*i. e.* goat) above a year old, - - - at 5

Every young gact, or goat, - - - - - at 2

N. B. In this same truce there is mention made (*inter alia*) of a mulct of one penny Scots for every sheep found feeding without the bounds of either realm respectively; which shews, that at this time, there was still such a real coin as a penny Scots, though long since forgot.

By an ordinance of this same year, being the fifth of Elizabeth, when the price of wheat does not exceed ten shillings, rye, peas, and beans eight shillings, and malt six shillings and eight-pence per quarter, they may be exported by English shipping. This shews that those prices were then esteemed so moderate, that for the benefit of farmers, they might be exported. Thus we see, that the rates of provisions, and consequently of living, are considerably advanced, since the coins were reduced to the modern weight, &c.

In this fifth year of Elizabeth, cap. 3. was the first statute enacted in England for the relief of the poor, (See the year 1597.) For, whereas all the acts of Parliament hitherto, were only on the principle of voluntary contributions for the poor, resting or depending on the charitable devotion of the people, which method had not answered the intended purpose, nor prevented common beggars from multiplying every where; it was now therefore found necessary to go a step further. It is certain, that the suppression of the convents had not a little increased this disorder; those houses having been a great relief to the poor on their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens but their granaries were ever open, more especially in times of dearth. When therefore the church-lands were, by King Henry the Eighth, sold at such easy purchases, it was then declared to be for the charitable purpose of enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hospitality; which, however, they greatly neglected to do: yet still there was no compulsory law till the period now before us. This act, therefore, after "directing poor and impotent persons of every parish to be relieved, of that " which every person will, of their charity, give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and " distributed to the poor, so as none of them shall openly go or sit begging:" (now comes the compulsory clause) "and if any parishioner shall obstinately refuse to pay reasonably towards the relief of the said poor, or shall discourage others, then the justices of the peace, " at their quarter sessions, may tax him to a reasonable weekly sum, which, if he refuses to " pay, they may commit him to prison: yet, where the parishes have more poor than they " can relieve, the justices may licence so many of their poor as they shall think good, to beg " in

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1563 “ in one or more hundreds of the respective county. Lastly, beggars, in any other place than “ where legally licensed, were to be punished according to the laws against vagabonds.”

The next statute of this same session of Parliament, viz. cap. 4. entitled, A Repeal of so much of former Statutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of Servants, Labourers, &c. and a Declaration who shall be compellable to serve in Handicrafts, and who in Husbandry, and their several Duties, &c. gives the substance of many former laws, with their imperfections and contrariety; and remarks, “ That the wages ascertained in many “ of these acts of Parliament were now become insufficient, by reason of the advanced prices “ of all necessaries since those times.” Yet, as large and comprehensive as this act is, which, as to much of it, is still in force, there are several subsequent statutes, both in this and succeeding reigns, for the regulating of disputes between masters and their servants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law, cap. v. of that year, entitled, Constitutions for the Maintenance of the Navy, &c. contains many good clauses for the encouragement of our own shipping and mariners: as,

“ I. By permitting herrings, and other fish caught on our coasts, to be exported, duty “ free.

“ II. That no foreign ships shall carry any goods coast-wise from one English port to “ another.

“ III. Wines and wool shall be imported from France in English shipping alone,” with some inconsiderable exceptions.

“ IV. That, as well for the maintenance of shipping, the increase of fishermen and mariners, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the sparing and increase of the flesh victual “ of the realm, it shall not be lawful for any to eat flesh on Wednesdays and Saturdays, under “ the forfeiture of three pounds for each offence, excepting cases of sickness, and also those “ by special licences to be obtained.” (This purely political fasting from flesh-meat was partly altered by cap. 2. of the twenty-seventh year of this Queen, by leaving out Wednesdays; yet, by the same act, no victuallers were to utter flesh in Lent, nor on Fridays and Saturdays.) “ For which said licences, obtained by peers, they were to pay one pound six shillings and “ eight-pence to the poors-box of the parish; by knights and their wives, thirteen shillings “ and four-pence; and by others, six shillings and eight-pence each.—But no licence was to “ extend to the eating of beef, on those days, at any time of the year;” (this shews, that in those times, black cattle were deemed scarce) “ nor to the eating of veal, in any year, from “ Michaelmas to the first day of May. But because,” adds this statute, “ no person shall “ mis-judge the intent of this statute, be it enacted, That whoever shall, by preaching, teach- “ ing, writing, or open speech, notify, that any eating of fish, or forbearing of flesh, men- “ tioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the “ service of God, otherwise than as other politic laws are and be; then such persons shall be “ punished as spreaders of false news ought to be.”

The ingenious author of the Present State of England, printed in octavo, in the year 1683, p. 77, acquaints us, “ That the first making of knives in England was begun in this year “ 1563, by one Thomas Mathews on Fleet-bridge, in London.” How strangely are things altered since those times! for now London excels all the earth in this respect, and supplies many other nations with this useful article, in great quantities.

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1564

Many good laws had been lately made in England, especially since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, for the employment of its people, by improving the woollen manufacture, so as to prevent the importation of foreign manufactures from interfering with our own: this was effected by establishing several new manufactures, and improving many of the old ones; particularly an act of Parliament of this Queen's reign, cap. 7. strictly prohibiting the importation of any girdles, rapiers, knives, sheaths, hilts, pummels, lockets, chapes, scabbards, horse furniture of all kinds, gloves, points, stirrups, bits, leather, laces, and pins. These wise regulations and improvements greatly alarmed the Netherlanders; the city of Antwerp, in particular, became quite enraged to see the English taking such large strides towards an universally extended commerce. Moreover, the raising the custom on cloth exported to the Netherlands, and of merchandize imported from thence into England, had given great offence to the Netherlanders.—All which, and similar considerations, induced the Duchess of Parma, in the year 1563. then Governess of the Netherlands, (through the instigation of Cardinal Granvelle, who foreseeing a war was about to be kindled in the Netherlands, was desirous to remove the English, as being favourable to the Protestants, who already began to be numerous in those parts) to issue her proclamation for prohibiting the carrying into England any materials for the manufactures above-mentioned. That Princess also, by way of retaliation for the above prohibition of Queen Elizabeth, but under pretext of the plague, which at that time raged in England, prohibited the importation of English woollen goods into the Netherlands. In this year, therefore, the English company of Merchant-adventurers were compelled to carry their woollen cloths to Embden in East Friesland; where, for a while, they kept their staple, entirely deserting the Netherlands. Whereupon, King Philip II. of Spain absolutely prohibited all his subjects from trading with the English at Embden: yet, in the end, Queen Elizabeth's steadiness got the better of all opposition; for Philip, knowing that the true interest of his Netherland subjects required peace and commerce with England, found himself obliged to admit the English ambassadors to a treaty at Bruges, to revoke all his prohibitions to the contrary, and to re-admit the English to trade with the Netherlands as formerly, on the bottom of the *Intercursus Magnus*. Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, relates, that our general trade with the Netherlands was, at this time, so vast, as to amount to twelve millions of ducats; five millions of which was for English cloth alone.

In the fifteenth volume, p. 640, of the *Fœdera*, Queen Elizabeth concluded a general treaty of peace and commerce with Charles IX. of France; the commercial part of which treaty was exactly the same with that concluded in the year 1559.

And in the same fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 644, King Charles IX. of France, in the ratification of the last-named treaty, stipulates to pay to Queen Elizabeth, at Dover, sixty thousand French crowns of the sun, each weighing two pennyweights and fourteen grains of gold, of twenty-two and a half carats fine, each valued at fifty-one sols tournois; or else to pay an equivalent in English anglets, (that is, nobles of six shillings and eight-pence each) weighing three pennyweights twenty-two grains of gold; in consequence of which payment, the Queen was to release two of the four French noblemen then her prisoners; and six weeks after, she was to release the other two, upon King Charles paying another sum of sixty thousand gold crowns to her commissioners at Calais. These four French noblemen were hostages with Queen Elizabeth by the treaty of 1559 with King Henry II. of France, for his delivering up Calais to Queen Elizabeth in eight years time, as related under that year.

Baron

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1564

Baron Puffendorf, in his History of Sweden, relates, "That about this time," (for he is too regardless of chronology) "in a sea fight between the fleet of Eric XIV. King of Sweden, who reigned between the years 1559 and 1568, and that of King Frederick II. of Denmark, the Swedish fleet consisted of forty ships, their admiral ship mounting two hundred brass cannon; which huge ship being separated from the rest of that fleet by a storm, sustained alone the attack of the whole Danish fleet, joined by that of Lubeck, and sunk the admiral of the latter by her side. But being at length surrounded and overpowered by the enemy's fleet, she was set on fire, and totally destroyed." This is probably the first, and it is as likely will be the last vessel of such an enormous size. The Hollanders, in the zenith of their naval power and glory, seldom or never went beyond ninety cannon for their first-rate ships of war; and it seems more for the sake of show than for solid advantage, that both the English and French have run into an higher number of cannon. We may in this place remark, that in proportion as the northern crowns increased their correspondence with the nations of the more southern parts of Europe, they improved in their naval strength and commerce; and in nearly the same proportion did the Hanseatic towns decline in both respects, especially those within the Baltic Sea. Mr. Burchet, in his Naval History, observes, "That as Denmark possesses many islands, and a large extent of country along the ocean, the Danes have, for many ages, had a considerable naval force." Whereupon, he instances the above-named, which he calls signal victory over the Swedish fleet, and their admiral ship of two hundred cannon, which, he says, was called the *Nonfuch*. He adds, that, a little before, King Christian III. at the instances of the French King, Henry II. aided the Scots against England with a fleet of one hundred sail, manned with ten thousand men; which transaction is, however, very slightly touched by most English historians.

Sir William Monson, who wrote his Naval Tracts in the year 1635, has the following historical remark on that subject, viz. "Till of late, which, perhaps," says he, "few will believe, the greatest part of our ships of burthen was either bought or built out of the East Country," (*i. e.* the ports on the south-side of the Baltic Sea) "who likewise enjoyed the greatest trade of our merchants in their own vessels. And, to bid adieu to that trade, and those ships, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a vessel of great burthen and strength in those days, was the last ship bought by the Queen; which, in the year 1564, was cast away in the port of St. John de Ulva, in New Spain, under Sir John Hawkins."

The following charter was the first proper one granted to the Company of Merchant-adventurers of England, so as to constitute them a body-politic, or corporation at home or in England. It is dated on the eighth of July, in the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth; and she hereby grants them their first common-seal,—perpetual succession,—liberty to purchase lands,—and to exercise government in any part of England. "But," adds the Queen, "if any free-man of this company shall marry a wife born beyond sea, in a foreign country, or shall hold lands, tenements, or hereditaments in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, Germany, or other places near adjoining, he shall be, *ipso facto*, disfranchised of and from the said fellowship of Merchant-adventurers, and be utterly excluded from the privileges thereof." Wheeler, as already observed, under the year 1560, remarks, that this charter gave them first the name of Merchant-adventurers of England, that is, as an English corporation of that name; for in a charter or grant of privileges from King Henry VII. in the year 1505, we have seen them called by that name, though not then, nor till now, a proper corporation in England.

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1564 In an act of Parliament of the sixth year of Queen Anne, cap. 9. and in the year 1707, for the Exportation of white Woollen Cloths, it is therein said, "That in the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth," being the year of our Lord 1564, "a patent was granted to the Hamburg Company for ever, with liberty to export thirty thousand cloths, though not wrought or dressed; whereof twenty-five thousand to be above the value of three pounds, and under the value of six pounds per cloth; and the other five thousand to be above the value of four pounds per cloth."

1565 The French Admiral Coligny, again excites Charles IX. of France to renew two former attempts to settle a colony in Florida; for which end Laudonier was sent thither in three ships, with people and necessaries; and he there erected a fort at the mouth of the river May, which fort he named Caroline, from the name of his King. The next year Ribault was sent thither; but six large Spanish ships coming on that coast, purposely fitted out from Spain for destroying this infant French settlement, the French ships got to sea, and escaping the Spaniards, returned to their settlement, and prepared to attack the Spanish ships; but a sudden storm either destroying or dispersing all the French ships, encouraged the Spaniards to attack, and finally to destroy the fort, where Laudonier was left with a few men, whom the Spaniards mostly slew; although Laudonier found means, with a few more, to escape to France by the way of England.

It appears, that the maritime strength of the Turks was, at this time, very considerable; for although they failed in their attempt against Malta, which they besieged in the year 1565, being forced in that same year to raise the siege of it, they had, in that expedition, one hundred and sixty galleys, twenty great ships, such as we commonly call men of war, and a great number of smaller vessels.—Meterani Historia Belgica, lib. i.

The first new project in the reign of Queen Elizabeth which we meet with in the *Fœdera*, is in vol. xv. p. 650: it is her exclusive charter or grant to Armigill Wade, Esq. and William Herle, Gent. for the sole making of brimstone for thirty years, within the Queen's dominions; and also for the sole making or extracting from certain herbs, roots, and seeds, an oil proper to be used for wool, and for the making and dressing of woollen cloth; they having, with great labour and application, and not a little expence, found out these useful secrets.—These are the first new and exclusive projects hitherto to be found in the *Fœdera*; yet if none had been in the practice of either of them before in England, we cannot so properly term them monopolies, the proper definition of which is, an exclusion of all others from what they had been in the possession and practice of till that exclusion took place.

Sir John Hawkins, in his voyage to the Spanish West Indies, forces a traffic with the people of those parts, and did much mischief to the Spaniards.

In the same year, Queen Elizabeth, (after reciting, that she had heretofore granted licences to certain Dutch or Germans to dig for alum and copperas, as well as for gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver, in several counties, grants two exclusive patents to Humphreys and Shute, who had brought into England upwards of twenty foreign workmen, to dig and search for those metals, and also for tin and lead, and to refine the same in England, and within the English pale in Ireland. This is known to this day by the name of the Charter for the Mines-Royal, incorporated in 1568. She also, the same year, grants them the sole use of the calamy stone, or *lapis calaminaris*, for the composition of a mixed metal called latten, and all sorts of battery works, cast-work, and wire.

And

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1565 And in the tenth of Queen Elizabeth, 1568, that Queen incorporated Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great-seal, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and others, jointly with the said Humphreys and Shute, by the name and designation of the Governors, Assistants, and Society of the Mineral and Battery Works:—Which charter of incorporation was made an undue use of, in a copper bubble of the famous year 1720.

Before this undertaking, it seems, that all English iron wire was made and drawn by human strength alone, in the forest of Dean, and elsewhere, until those foreigners introduced the manner of drawing by a mill: wherefore, till then, they neither could make any great quantity of such wire, nor so good in quality. The greatest part, therefore, of the iron wire used in England, and also of ready-made wool-cards, and such other things, were, till now, imported from foreign parts.

1566 We have seen that King Henry VIII. erected a marine corporation, which has been of singular utility to the navigation of England, both with respect to the royal navy, and to the ships and sailors in the merchant service, entitled, The Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Trinity House at Deptford-strond. And by a statute of the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 13. “ They were impowered, at their own costs, from time to time, to erect
“ such and so many beacons, marks, and signs for the sea, in such places of the sea-shores
“ and uplands near the sea-coasts, for sea-marks, as to them should seem requisite, and to be
“ continued and renewed at their own costs.”

By an acquittance of Queen Elizabeth to Cosmo de Medicis, Duke of Florence, in the fifteenth volume, p. 654, of the *Fœdera*, for sixty thousand gold ducats or florins, formerly engaged to be due to King Henry VIII. (the original ground of which debt does not herein appear, though possibly it might be on account of that King's transactions in Italy against the Emperor Charles V.) we find this sum of money was then equal to fifteen thousand pounds sterling; so that a ducat or florin was equal to five shillings sterling.

The English Russia Company having, in the preceding year, sent several of their factors with English cloth, &c. from Russia into Persia, they found that the Venetians from Aleppo, usually bartered their woollen cloths and kerseys for raw silk, spices, drugs, &c. and that much
“ Venetian cloth was worn in Persia. They also obtained for our company, of the Sophy, in this year, 1566, an immunity from any toll or custom on their merchandize, and full protection for their persons and goods.

This said Russia Company, which had been incorporated in the first and second of Philip and Mary, in the year 1554, as has been related at large, had now the noble sanction of an act of Parliament, which, though not in the modern printed statute-books, we find at large in the first volume, p. 369, of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, first edition, 1598, in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The grounds for granting this act of Parliament were, in substance,

“ I. That sundry subjects of the realm, perceiving that divers Russian wares and merchandize are now imported by the said fellowship, after all their great charge and travel, some of
“ which be within this realm of good estimation, minding, for their peculiar gain, utterly to
“ decay the trade of the said fellowship,” (here the margin says, This is meant by Alderman Bond the elder) “ have, contrary to the said letters-patent, in great disorder, traded into the
“ dominions of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this commonwealth,” being such irregular or separate traders as had afterwards the Dutch name of interlopers given them.

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1566

“ II. And, for that the name by which the said fellowship is incorporated by the letters-patent of Queen Mary is long, and consisteth of very many words :

“ Therefore be it enacted,—That the said fellowship, company, society, and corporation shall henceforth be incorporated, named, and called only by the name of the Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of new Trades ; by that name alone to continue a corporation for ever, with all the powers and privileges of their said charter, or of any other corporation ; particularly, they may purchase lands not exceeding one hundred marks yearly, &c.—And that no part of the continent, isles, ports, or arms of the sea of any Emperor, King, Prince, Ruler, or Governor, before the said first enterprize, not known or frequented by the subjects of this realm, and lying from the city of London northwards, north-westwards, or north-eastwards, nor any parts now subject to the Czar, John Basilowitz, or to his successors, sovereigns of Russia, nor the countries of Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian Sea, nor any part of them, shall be sailed or trafficked into, nor frequented by any subject of England, either by themselves or their factors, &c. directly nor indirectly, other than by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the governor, consuls, and assistants of the said fellowship, or the more part of them and their successors,—upon pain, for every offence, to forfeit all such ships, with their appurtenances, goods, and merchandizes,—one moiety to the Queen, the other to the company.

“ I. Provided, however, that it shall be lawful for any subject of this realm to sail to the port, town, territory, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coasts of Norway, for trade of fishing, or any other trade there used by English subjects.

“ II. Provided, that, for the better maintenance of the navy and mariners of this realm, it shall not be lawful to the said company to transport any commodity of this realm to their new trade but only in English ships, and with a majority of English mariners ; and the like in bringing into this realm, and into Flanders, any merchandize from their new trade ; on pain, for every offence, of forfeiting two hundred pounds, one moiety to be the Queen's, the other moiety shall go to any English port town, having a decayed harbour, that will sue for it.

“ III. Provided, that no woollen cloths nor kerseys, unless they be all dressed, and for the most part dyed within this realm, shall be exported to Russia, &c. by the said company, under forfeiture of five pounds for every such cloth ; moiety to the Queen, moiety to the clothworkers company of London.

“ IV. Provided, that if, in time of peace, the said society shall discontinue wholly, for the space of three years, the discharging their merchandize at the road of St. Nicholas Bay in Russia, or at some other port lying on that north coast of Russia, &c. then, during the time of any such discontinuance, it shall be lawful for all the subjects of this realm to trade to Narva, only in English bottoms.

“ V. Provided also, that every of the Queen's subjects inhabiting the city of York, and the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne, Hull, and Boston, who have, for the space of ten years, continually traded the course of merchandize, and who, before the twenty-fifth of December, 1567, shall contribute, join, and put in stock to, with, and amongst the said company, such sum and sums of money as any of the said company, which hath thoroughly continued and contributed to the said new trade from the year 1552, hath done, and before the said twenty-fifth of December, 1567, shall do, for the furniture of one ordinary, full, and entire portion or share, and do in all things behave himself as others of the society

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1566 “ are bound to do, shall, from the said twenty-fifth of December, 1567, be accounted free, “ as one of the said society and company in all respects.”

This last clause, in favour of those northern ports, was occasioned by their having been early contributors to the first attempt for a north east passage.

We need only further to remark on this statute, that it was the first which established an exclusive mercantile corporation.

By a statute of this same eighth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. vii. for regulating the draper's company in the town of Shrewsbury, we learn, that the buying and selling of Welsh woollen cloth and lining, commonly called Welsh cottons, frises, and plains, was, and for a long time had been considerable in that town; their draper's company alone employing above six hundred persons, as shearmen or frisers.

Till the eighth year of that Queen, there was but one sheriff for Surrey and Sussex,—for Essex and Hertfordshire,—for Somerset and Dorset,—for Warwick and Leicestershire,—for Nottingham and Derbyshire, and for Oxford and Berkshire; “ occasioned,” says an act of this year, cap. xvi. “ in the beginning,” as it should seem, “ for that every of the said counties were not then so well inhabited with gentlemen of good ability to serve in the said office, “ as (thanks to God!) they be at present. And forasmuch as the services and charges of the “ office of the sheriffwick of the said counties is more than in times past it hath been, and is “ now commonly greater than one sheriff is able to serve and supply: wherefore, &c. each of “ those counties are hereafter to have a distinct sheriff.” Thus our increase of commerce and people rendered this alteration in the said counties absolutely requisite.

The Turks having failed in their siege of Malta, in the year 1565, after losing fifteen thousand soldiers, and eight thousand sailors before it, they, in the year 1566, seized on the isle of Chios, in the Archipelago, which had been long possessed by the Justiniani, a Genoese family.

The court of Spain and the Netherlands, considering that their true interest was to preserve mutual commerce between England and the Netherlands, now re-admitted the English society of the merchant-adventurers, who accordingly removed from Embden to Antwerp, whose magistrates and people received the English again with much rejoicing.

1567 The commotions were now beginning in the Netherlands, when the petition of four hundred persons was presented to the governors; and the court of Spain rashly determining to proceed to extremities with a people who highly prized their liberty, great and terrible were the consequences thereof: “ for,” as Sir William Temple observes, “ upon the first report of “ the Duke D'Alva's coming into the Netherlands, in 1567, with so great a force as ten “ thousand veteran soldiers, the trading people of the towns and country began, in vast numbers, to retire out of the provinces, so as the Dukes of Parma, the governors, wrote to “ Philip II. that, in a few days, above one hundred thousand men had left the country, and “ had withdrawn both their money and goods, and that more were following every day; so “ great an antipathy,” says our said famous author, “ there ever appears between merchants “ and soldiers. The governors, foreseeing the ills that were coming, desired leave to resign, “ and was succeeded by the Duke D'Alva, whose severe and cruel proceedings, on account “ of the late insurrections, and in support of the newly introduced inquisition, gave those “ motions a beginning which cost Europe so much blood, and Spain a great part of the Low “ Country provinces.”

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For, after the seizure, this year, of the Counts Egmont and Horne, such numbers of Netherlanders were persecuted by D'Alva, that Germany, the East Country, Cleves, Embden, France, and England, were filled with those industrious people, although the prisons in the Netherlands were likewise crowded with such as the cruel governor could detain; many of these, however, escaped out of prison. "Hence," says Meterani *Historia Belgica*, lib. iii. "after D'Alva had hanged, beheaded, and burned such numbers, yet so many more had fled to find shelter and bread for their families in foreign parts, carrying thither arts and manufactures, before only known in the Netherlands, that, in England, the decayed cities and towns of Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Southampton, and many other towns, were filled with manufacturers of woollen, linen, silk, &c." such as many wealthy weavers, dyers, cloth dressers, linen makers, silk throwsters, &c. whose posterity have, at this day, a considerable share of the landed interest in Kent, Essex, &c. and enjoy the honours hereditary, as baronets, &c. "Just so," says this author, "above two hundred years before," *i. e.* a little before and about the year 1360, "the Belgians and Flemings, by frequent inundations driven from home, first taught the English the art of making woollen cloth, of which they were before ignorant; being, till then, only skilled in husbandry, keeping of sheep, and war; for the Belgians and Flemings then supplied the whole world," he means, or should have meant, on this side the Mediterranean sea, "with cloth.—It was now," continues Meteranus, "that the fugitive Netherlanders taught the English the making of bayes, sayes, and other slight stuffs, as also linen, and made their country very populous. So likewise," continues he, "the Hollanders, Zealanders, Brabanters, &c. taught not only England but Germany, and other countries, the art of fishing, and many other manual arts, whereby those countries greatly increased in riches and people."

Hereby, say also our own authors, the city of Norwich, which, by Ket's rebellion, in the year 1549, had been rendered almost desolate, learned the making of those fine and light stuffs, which have ever since gone by its name, and have rendered that city not only opulent, but famous all over Europe. At and about Norwich also, the Flemings first planted many choice flowers, before unknown in England: the latest they brought were gilly flowers, carnations, the province rose, &c. The bay makers settled chiefly at Colchester and its neighbourhood in the county of Essex, which has ever since been famous for so useful and profitable a manufacture, so much in request in the warmer climates of Europe and America. This manufacture of bayes, together with those of sayes, and other slight woollen goods, are what is usually called the new drapery, as being introduced so much later into England than the old drapery of broad cloth, kerfies, &c. It is almost needless to remark, that those wise measures of Queen Elizabeth necessarily brought great accessions of wealth, people, and trade to her kingdom.

Martin, afterwards Sir Martin Frobisher, made now his first voyage for finding a north-west passage to the East Indies. Captain Luke Fox, in his own book, in quarto, styled the *North-west Fox*, printed in the year 1635, says, "That Mr. Frobisher was fifteen years in noting and bringing up the adventure before he did attempt the same, which was brought to pass by the help of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. He set out with two barks of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace of ten tons, and entered the strait going into the great bay (since named) of Hudson, which he named Frobisher's Strait; he also gave the following names to places there, *viz.* Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's Island, Prior's Sound, and sundry other isles, capes, and bays;" by which names the same places

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1567 places are known on our sea charts and maps to this day. “ He brought home one of the “ savages, and also a kind of bright stone, which being tried by the London goldsmiths, it “ was given out by them, that it held gold in it very richly, and are said to have promised “ great matters, if any quantity thereof could be had ;” which flattering hopes produced a second voyage ten years after, although no north-west passage was found.

Sir Thomas Gresham, an eminent merchant of London, who, in the style of those times, was called the Queen’s merchant, because he had the management of all her remittances, and her other money concerns with foreign states, and with her own armies beyond sea, now erected a building in London, then esteemed a fine one, for the daily public resort of merchants, for transacting their concerns with each other. The Queen would not have that place called, as in other countries, the Bourse, but gave it the name of the Royal Exchange. Its figure is to be seen in several books, consisting, like the present one, of a square piazza, with a building over it much like that at Gresham College, which was Sir Thomas’s own dwelling house. Upon its being finished, the Queen went in person, and proclaimed its name with the heralds-at-arms, trumpets founding, &c. It was burned down in the great conflagration, in the year 1666, and soon rebuilt in its present much greater splendor. There was, before this time, a place in Lombard-street for the meeting of merchants, but it was now become too small for that purpose, since commerce had so greatly increased.

We have seen, under the year 1564 to 1566, the ill success of the French in their former attempts to settle in Florida; the Spaniards having destroyed their colony, and most of their men, Laudonier, their leader, narrowly escaping with a few of his people, by the way of England. Yet, to be revenged on the Spaniards for their cruelty, one more attempt was made by France on Florida, in this year 1567, by Captain Gourgues, with three ships. Landing in Florida, he there took the Spanish forts, putting all the Spaniards therein to the sword; but not having stores sufficient for his remaining there, he re-embarked, promising the Indians to return the following year, and arrived in France in the year 1568. It was thought that the prudent measure taken by Laudonier the preceding year, by means of his alliances, &c. with the natives, promised good success, had he been seconded from home. It was conjectured, that the Admiral Coligny intended Florida as a last refuge for those of his own persuasion, the Protestants of France, foreseeing that probably, sooner or later, they would be overpowered by the Catholics; yet no further attempts were made for their re-settling in Florida.

We must here observe, that in all those voyages to, and discoveries of Florida, there were many plausible accounts given of gold and silver mines, pearls, and precious stones, which the more complete discoveries of later times have found to be entirely fabulous. And this remark may be applied to almost all the first attempts of the English for settlements in both the islands and continent of America.

568 It happened in this year, that some ships of Biscay were, by the French, chased into the ports of Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton; whereupon, Queen Elizabeth detained a large sum of money found in those ships, to the amount of two hundred thousand pistoles, upon a presumption of its belonging to Spaniards; yet it being afterwards found to be the property of certain Genoese, who intended to form a bank in the Netherlands, she restored the same to them: nevertheless, the Duke D’Alva took this occasion to seize on the effects of the English merchant-adventurers at Antwerp, to the value of about one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as our Queen, by way of reprisals, did on the Netherlanders and Spanish ships and effects in England, to the value of about two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

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1568 sterling; for, in those times, the Netherlanders and Spaniards had more ships and effects in England than the English had in those countries, how different soever the case may be in these days. This obliged our merchant-adventurers company to remove from Antwerp to Hamburg, from whence, through the influence of the Emperor, they were obliged to remove to Staden; where they remained till the year 1597, though much disturbed by the Hanseatic-league, (because Queen Elizabeth had put the merchants of the Steelyard on an equal footing with her own subjects, in respect to the custom on cloth, &c. exported.) When the English merchant-adventurers first came to settle at Staden, it was so unmercantile a town, that there were then no other merchants found there; but, during the time that company remained there, Staden wonderfully increased in wealth and buildings.

On the subject of the above seizure of money, Meteranus observes, that the Genoese merchants in England requested Queen Elizabeth to detain the same, because the King of Spain had, without leave, taken that money to his own use, and was sending it thus by sea to the Duke D'Alva for his own occasions in Flanders. And, according to Meteranus, a treaty was set on foot at Bristol, (*Bristonæ in Anglia*), in the year 1574, for discussing those difficulties, which were adjusted, and commerce on both sides renewed, on the ancient footing, at Bruges, in 1576.

King Charles IX. of France, continued to distress and persecute his Protestant subjects, notwithstanding the manifest prejudice of such conduct to the true interest of himself and his kingdom, by driving great numbers of his most industrious subjects into foreign countries; concerning which hardship of his people, of her own persuasion, Queen Elizabeth, by her ambassador Norris, frequently and earnestly remonstrated; and particularly in this year, Camden, in her history, acquaints us, "That she exhorted him not to incense his good people, " (the Protestants) by trying arbitrary and dangerous experiments; but rather to beware of " those bad ministers, who, by driving out his best subjects, did but weaken the power of " France to such a degree, as to leave it an easy prey to such as desired to disturb it." But not being listened to, she thereupon found herself obliged to assist those distressed people, by generously sending them one hundred thousand angels, (says Camden) with warlike ammunition, as they now religiously protested, that they took up arms against their King merely or solely for their own defence. Queen Elizabeth therefore received and entertained courteously all such French Protestants as fled into England from persecution at home, by which wise proceeding she contributed to the increase of the riches and populousness of her own kingdom.

The English Russia company's fresh adventure through Russia into Persia began in this year, and lasted to 1573, according to Hakluyt, and would have proved exceeding profitable, had they not, on their return in crossing the Caspian Sea, laden with Persian raw silk, wrought silks of many kinds, galls, carpets, Indian spices, turquois stones, &c.) been robbed by Cossack pirates, to the value of about forty thousand pounds sterling; some small part of which, however, they recovered by vessels sent out from Astracan.

In the same year, Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Randolph her ambassador to Russia. He landed at St. Nicholas, in the White Sea, which he describes to be only an abbey, with three or four houses beside, and a house built by the English company. Seventy-five miles up the river Dwina stood the town of Colmogro, and seven hundred and fifty miles from the sea stood Vologda, a town of great trade; from thence he travelled over land five hundred English miles to Moscow, through a country well inhabited.—That after much waiting and ceremony,

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1568 mony, he obtained of the Czar his whole demands in favour of the company in the year following, as will be seen under that year.

The tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Moors, who still remained in great numbers in the countries of Granada and Murcia, occasioned, in the year 1568, a terrible insurrection of those people, which lasted almost two years. For although King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had (as has been related under the year 1492) conquered Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, and had then driven vast numbers of Moors out of Spain, yet there still remained a great number in Granada and Murcia, who, to keep their estates there, outwardly made profession of Christianity, though really, in their hearts, were still Mahometans, notwithstanding their complying to go to mass, &c. The bigoted Romish clergy had, before this time, frequently promoted persecutions on that score against those miserable people, and particularly against those of the Albaizin, a quarter in the city of Granada, where great numbers of very rich Moorish merchants inhabited, as did also some of their nobility, and of the blood of their ancient Moorish kings, reckoned to amount to ten thousand men fit for war. In other towns also of the late kingdom of Granada, particularly on the mountainous parts, there were above one hundred thousand families of Moors, most of whom were shepherds and farmers. All these were the descendants of those Moors, to whom King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had, at their conquest of Granada, promised that they and their posterity should remain there with all safety and liberty, without being compelled to change their religion, so long as they observed the laws, and paid the same taxes as other subjects. But that had been long before broken through, after a stout resistance by the Moors of Alpuxarra, who, in the end, were forced to submit to an agreement, “that all the Moors who would not turn Christians, should depart out of Spain;” these removing to the opposite shores of Barbary, their posterity had to this day retained an implacable hatred against the persecutors of their ancestors. Such as remained in Spain, and conformed outwardly to the established religion of that country, were termed by the Spaniards, New Christians; and they had been often grievously harrassed by the clergy and the inquisition, and now at length were compelled to send all their children to schools, wherein they were to be taught the Castilian tongue only.—They were, moreover, forbid to keep any Arabic books in their houses, the doors whereof were to be kept open on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, that any might enter and see what they did.—They were now also to leave their Moorish drefs, and to wear a Spanish one.—To leave off the use of baths.—To assist at mass on all Sundays, festivals, &c.—All which was to be done under severe penalties; wherefore they lived in continual vexation.—It can therefore be little wondered at, that the Moors, whose religion, language, garb, and manners were now no longer to be tolerated, should rebel, as thinking themselves, what they in truth were, in a worse condition than slaves. In their first fury they murdered all the Spaniards they could find in the country of Alpuxarra, especially the clergy, robbing and burning of churches, &c. They elected a King, and at first had many followers all along the coast, even as far as Gibraltar. On the mountains, near the sea shore, they fortified themselves, in hope of succours from their brethren of Barbary, and from Constantinople, and kept up an army of many thousands: whereupon, Don John of Austria, was brought out of Italy for the suppression of so dangerous an insurrection. But those Moors were neither well armed nor disciplined; though bad as their condition was, they were able to seize and to maintain several towns, castles, and forts, and to do incredible mischief wherever they came. They were, however, at length disarmed, when King Philip II. promised that they should not be molested, provided they would behave peaceably,

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1568 and that they should remove from their inaccessible castles and precipices in the mountains of Andalusia and Murcia, and settle in level countries; for the same reason that the Emperor Trajan had removed the ancient Spaniards, viz. because they were accustomed frequently to rebel, relying on a similar situation.

To conclude;—this intestine war is said to have cost King Philip five millions of crowns, and the lives of thirty thousand Spaniards; on the side of the Moors so great a multitude of all ages and of both sexes was destroyed as is almost incredible! How much wiser and happier had it been for Spain to have gradually gained over those poor people by gentleness and kindness to their religion and interests, than by blood and violence: which not only tended to increase their obstinacy and abhorrence of their oppressors, but to impoverish and depopulate the country. This was the opinion of the famous President De Thou, (Thuanus, lib. xlviii.) though he lived in a country that very much pursued the like pernicious methods with respect to the French protestants, the best and most industrious part of the people of France. (Vide also De Mayerne's general History of Spain, lib. xxix.)

1569 Every thing, in this century, gradually tended to improvement in a mercantile sense. The author has in his possession the first work ever published in England on the art of Italian merchants-accounts, or Book-keeping by Double-entry; it is a folio, printed at London, in the year 1569, in a black letter, the author James Peele. The style is obsolete; (for instance, on the left-hand page of the ledger, making instead of *A Dr.* it is *A oweth*, and on the right-hand page or credit side, *A* is due to have) yet he has sufficiently testified, that he understood the true grounds and principles of doubly-entry accounts full as well as some who have written much later. In his preface, he says, “That many merchants themselves were fond of learning of him, and of getting their apprentices to be taught by him; and that although the art be in a manner new in England, yet it had been long used by merchants in foreign parts.”

In all probability, this art of double-entry accounts had its rise, or at least its revival, amongst the mercantile cities of Italy; possibly, it might be first known at Venice, about the time that numeral algebra was taught there, from the principles of which science double-entry, or what we call merchants accounts seems to have been deduced, viz. about the middle of the fifteenth century, though it did not reach England until commerce (about this time) began to be considerable. It is said, that Lucas de Burgo, a friar, was the first European author, who published his algebraic work at Venice, in the year 1494.

The very judicious and ingenious Simon Stevin, of Bruges, published a small folio in French at Leyden, in the year 1602, intitled, ‘*Livre de Compte de Prince à la Maniere d’Italie: En Domaine et Finance extraordinaire.—Contenant ce en quoi s’est exercé le tres-illustre, tres-excellent Prince and Seigneur, Maurice, Prince d’Orange, &c.*’ If Prince Maurice practised this art, with respect to all his principalities, domains, and finances, it is not improbable that he was the first sovereign Prince that ever did, and possibly the last that ever will descend to so frugal, or merchant-like, a piece of œconomy.

This Simon Stevin, said by some to have been the inventor of Decimal Arithmetic, (and to whom particularly Mr. Wotton, in his fine Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Learning, cap. xxx. expressly ascribes that very useful invention) had, it seems, amongst other parts of mixed mathematics, taught the famous Maurice, Prince of Orange, this art of book-keeping, much to his honour. At the conclusion of that work, Stevin subjoins his reasons for conjecturing, that this ingenious art was not first invented in Italy so lately as somewhat above

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1569 two or near three hundred years ago, as many have conjectured; but that the very same art, or at least something nearly resembling it, was known at Rome in Julius Cæsar's time, more especially from the very near resemblance of the names of the mercantile books then in use to those of modern times, viz.

MODERN BOOKS.

1. The Ledger (*Grand Livre*)
2. Debit and Credit -
3. Articles posted into the Ledger
4. An Article not posted -
5. Waste Book, or, perhaps, the Journal Book

ANCIENT BOOKS.

Tabulæ accepti et expensi.
Acceptum et Expensum.
Nomina translata in Tabulas.
Nomen jacens.
Adversaria.

"Which terms" says Stevin, "may be found in many Latin authors;" and he tells us, "that one side of the ancient Romans great book (or ledger) served for a debit-side, and the other for a credit-side, as appears plainly from a passage of Pliny's Natural History, lib. ii. cap. 7, where, speaking of fortune, he says, *Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta, et in tota ratione mortalium sola utramque paginam facit.*" He concludes with further conjecturing, "that not only the ancient Romans had this art of doubly-entry book-keeping long amongst them, but that they originally received it, as they did the greatest part of all their knowledge, from the Greeks." Be that as it may, we must surely admit this to be a very curious piece of history and mercantile criticism.

In a treatise, first written in the year 1569, and dedicated to the famous Robert Earl of Leicester, intitled, A discourse upon Usury, by Dr. Thomas Wilson, second edition, 1572, there is mention made of the Orphans Fund of the city of London, out of which an annual interest was then payable to their use. We have before remarked, that the first time we find mention of this fund or bank, was under the year 1391.

Some difference arising, in this year, between the Czar of Muscovy and the English Russia merchants, or their factors, Queen Elizabeth dispatched thither Sir Thomas Randolph, who concluded a new treaty for them with the Czar, and again granted them an exemption from all customs, also, as formerly, leave to transport their merchandize to Persia, &c. though other foreign merchants were not allowed, says Camden, to trade beyond the city of Moscow. The practice of the English, in those times, was to transport their goods in vessels scooped out of one entire tree up the Dwina to Vologda, from thence over land, in seven days, to Jeroslaw, and so down the great river Volga, in thirty days, to Astracan, near its mouth; at which place they next crossed the Caspian Sea: and from thence passed through the vast deserts to Teverin and Casbin, cities of Persia, hoping at length to discover Cathay or China. But by reason of the war between the Turks and Persians, and the robberies of the Barbarians, "the Londoners, (*i. e.* the Company) were discouraged" according to Camden, "from pursuing this glorious enterprize."

It was no small mortification to our wise Queen Elizabeth, that, having no military stores of her own production, she was still necessitated to buy all her gunpowder and naval stores from the German Steelyard merchants at their own prices, there being as yet but few English merchants dealing in that way; and this was one of her greatest inducements for encouraging this and other commercial companies of her own merchants; and in consequence of her favour, her own merchants of Russia, and of the two elder companies named of the Staple, and of the Merchants-Adventurers, were considerably increasing in trade; the former in the exportation of our wool, which was not as yet legally prohibited, and the latter of our cloth; both of

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1569 them to the advancement of the Queen's revenue. This made the Hanseatics labour to render those companies obnoxious to other nations by various calumnies; yet, in spite of their malice, an universal spirit of adventuring to foreign parts for discovery and traffic, as well as for improving of manufactures at home, daily increased in England; so that the English soon became an overmatch for the declining Hanseatics, in naval strength, commerce, and riches; whose threatenings, therefore, the Queen began to disregard; so that even Joannes Angelius a Werdenhagen, their historian, acknowledges, (but a few years later than this year) that England, in all those three respects, excelled both the Hans-towns and other nations, as also in the bravery of their commanders and sailors. And Hamburg, though a potent Hans-town, which had formerly rejected the English merchants, now began to court their residence there, so that they accordingly removed thither in the year 1569, from Embden; and from whence they soon extended their commerce all over Saxony, and into Prussia and Russia, to the no small jealousy also of the court of Denmark.

The Florentines had continued in their republican state, though with much faction and strife, ever since their rejection of Peter de Medicis, their Prince, for his making a private treaty with King Charles VIII. of France, until the year 1511; when, by the assistance of the Spanish King, Ferdinand the Catholic, the Medici family was restored. They were, however, once more expelled in 1529; but the next year the Emperor Charles V. having married his natural daughter Margaret, to Alexander de Medicis, he seized on the city of Florence, appointing the said Alexander to be their Governor; but he being slain, the people elected his kinsman Cosmo de Medicis, who, in the year 1569, was, by Pope Pius V. declared King of Tuscany. However, the Emperor Maximilian II. greatly opposing that too lofty title, Cosmo thereupon assumed the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany and Florence, which title remains annexed to the sovereignty of that fine country to this day.

1570 The Turkish Sultan, Selim II. after two years resistance, becomes master of the most famous, fair, and fertile isle of Cyprus, which the Venetians had held ninety-five years; in the possessing themselves of which island much slaughter and cruelty was committed by the Turks, after the two principal fortresses, Nicosia and Famagosta, had sustained desperate sieges; the principal succours intended to be sent not being got ready in time, although the confederate fleet consisted of one hundred and eighty-one light galleys, viz. one hundred and twenty-four of Venice, forty-five of Spain, and twelve of the Pope's, beside twelve great Venetian galleys, and fourteen Venetian large ships of war, and a great number of transport vessels. There were, in this intended fleet, fifteen thousand hired foot soldiers, besides many gentlemen volunteers. But it is said that the Spanish Admiral, Doria, hearing that Nicosia, the principal city, was taken by the Turks before he could reach Cyprus, and being also afraid of the strength of the Turkish fleet, which consisted of above two hundred sail, withdrew from the rest, not much to his credit, and so they all returned. The Turks having, four years before, seized on the isle of Chios from the Genoese, the English forbore trading thither for some time.

After the many conquests made by the Turks in the Levant, more especially that of Rhodes, it is no wonder that the Venetians could hold Cyprus no longer:—it came into their hands by the Senate's adopting of Catherine Carnaro, its last Queen, for their daughter, her husband being dead without issue, and she being the daughter of a noble Venetian of that name.

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The Prince of Orange having withdrawn into Germany, for the purpose of raising an army to oppose the Duke d'Alva, Governor of the Netherlands, certain ships commissioned from that Prince, after capturing and destroying all Spanish ships near the Netherlands, landed on the isle of Voorne, assaulted and carried the town of Briel, pulling down the Popish images in the churches, and making open profession of the Protestant religion: they likewise protested against the taxes and the tyranny of the Spanish government. Whereupon they were immediately seconded by the revolt of most part of the cities and towns of Holland, Zealand, and West Friesland, who expelled the Spanish garrisons, and renouncing their fidelity to King Philip II. swore allegiance to William Prince of Orange, as their Stadtholder. It is unnecessary, in this place, to tire the reader with a tedious detail of what may be found in all the histories of Europe, viz. the Prince of Orange's returning with a fresh army from Germany, by which he was, after many difficulties, enabled effectually to support the revolters, so as to have been the principal instrument of establishing the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

How greatly the rates or expence of living, and of national and public, as well as private, expences are changed and enhanced, since the time we are now considering, we have a specimen from the authority of that great and judicious Antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton, (in a tract of his, written in the year 1609, intitled, *The Manner and Means how the Kings of England have, from Time to Time, supported and repaired their Estates*,—and printed in an octavo book in 1651, intitled *Cottoni Posthuma*) who relates, “That in this twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth, the yearly profits of the kingdom, beside the wards and dutchy of Lancaster, was one hundred and eighty-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-seven pounds four shillings; and, on the other hand, the yearly payments and assignments amounted to one hundred and ten thousand six hundred and twelve pounds thirteen shillings of which the household was forty thousand pounds; the privy purse, two thousand pounds; the admiralty, thirty thousand pounds; which,” says he, “by an estimate in May 1604, was forty thousand pounds, and is now” (that is, in 1609) “swolne to near fifty thousand pounds yearly, by the error and abuse of officers!”

By the “profit of the kingdom,” as thus described, was then meant all the Queen's annual income from her manors and lands, her customs, her escheats, &c. for she raised no taxes on her people in times of peace. This annual profit therefore, though not precisely alike in every year, was pretty nearly the same, *communibus annis*, one year with another.

The first of those fowls, called by the English, Turkeys, and the French, *Poules d'Indes*, were said to have been brought from Mexico; and were, in this year 1570, served up as a great rarity at the nuptial feast of King Charles IX. of France. Possibly, our first traders to Turkey, seeing those fowls at Aleppo, &c. might occasion the name which they now have, of Turkey fowls, to have been given them.

1571

The loss of so important an island as Cyprus, taken last year from Venice by the Turks, had so far alarmed Christendom, or rather indeed those Christian states bordering on the Mediterranean Sea (and therefore more immediately exposed to future danger) that, in the year 1571, King Philip II. of Spain, Pope Pius V. and the State of Venice, concluded a league offensive against the Sultan Selim II. It had been so long in agitation, and in adjusting all the punctilios and cautious conditions of three wary and jealous courts, that, in the mean time, Cyprus was lost. At length, however, after various motions, the combined fleet, consisting of

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1571 two hundred and five gallies, encountered the Turkish one of two hundred and seventy vessels of all sorts. The Christian fleet was commanded in chief by Don John of Austria, which, in the Gulph of Lepanto, obtained a most signal and complete victory, though a very bloody one; for the Christians had seven thousand six hundred and fifty-six men killed, and the Turks about thirty thousand, besides the loss of much money and other rich booty. The division of the ships, artillery, and prisoners, was as follows, viz.

1. To the Venetians, forty-four gallies, one hundred and thirty-one cannon, and one thousand one hundred and sixty-two prisoners.

2. To the Pope, twenty-one galleys, fifty-four cannon, and eight hundred and eighty-one prisoners.

But I find no mention of any Turkish booty taken or claimed by Spain. Notwithstanding this great overthrow, the Ottomans soon recovered their former strength at sea, so as to be able gradually to gain from Venice almost all the rest of their Levantine territories, to which the Sultans pretended a plausible title, in right of their conquest of the Greek empire, from which those very territories and isles had been, with equal justice, ravished by Venice.

After this successful naval victory, Venice laboured incessantly, the year following, to bring the confederates again to unite their fleets against the common enemy, on which, however, they did not succeed; so that they were forced to manage matters as well as they could, by making peace with the Turks.

In this same thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, an act of Parliament passed, cap. iii. "That, for the increase of tillage, and the maintenance and increase of the navy and mariners of the realm, corn of all kinds may be exported, when the prices at home are so low, as that no proclamation to the contrary shall be issued; yet, even in this case, the Queen reserves the customs due thereon to her, as therein specified." This is the third law made purposely for the benefit of the farmers, in the business of the exportation of corn.

In the said thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, an act of Parliament, cap. xiv. directs, "That all the statutes made in the twelfth year of King Edward IV. concerning the bringing in of a certain number of bow-staves," (viz. four for every ton of merchandize) "and, according to the weight or value of other wares, shall from henceforth be duly put in execution: and further enacts, that all merchant-strangers, importing wares into this realm from the east parts, as well as from the seventy-two Hans-towns, be comprized and meant under the name of, and bound, as the merchants mentioned and bound by the said statutes."

We mention this obsolete law, purely to shew that, in those times, they were not always scrupulously exact in the penning of their laws; which, consequently, are not absolutely to be depended on; since it is certain, that, at the time of making this law, there were not near so many as seventy-two towns in the general Hanseatic confederacy, as several of those towns had, before this time, deserted that league. Yet it may possibly be said, in justification of the penners of this statute, that the entire seventy-two towns might still have been meant or intended to be included therein, although they were not all members of that confederacy at this time.

We have seen, under the year 885, upon what judicious account King Alfred divided the streams, and thereby spoiled the navigation of the river Ley, or Lea, running from the town of Ware through part of Hertfordshire, till at length, dividing Essex from Middlesex, it falls into the Thames near Blackwall. That small river remained almost in the same unnavigable condi-

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1571 condition until the reign of King Henry VI. 1424, when an act of Parliament passed (being the third year of his reign) cap. v. and another in 1430, being the ninth of the same King, cap. ix. both which appointed commissioners to retain persons to scour and amend that river; neither of which statutes, however, produced any great effect. Wherefore, in this thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, an act passed, cap. xviii. "directing a new cut or trench to be made "within ten years, (at the charge of the Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London) whereby that river was to be made to convey all victuals, corn, and other necessities, "from the town of Ware to the city of London, and from London to Ware." By this act that river was restored to its ancient channel, and made more commodious than perhaps it had ever before been, for the conveyance of meal, malt, corn, &c. out of Hertfordshire to London, so that a very considerable expence of land carriage has been saved ever since to the Londoners, as well as to the countries near Ware for London goods.

Camden, in his *Britannia*, observes, that this great benefit was principally owing to the Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth, by which the town of Ware became considerable. It is, indeed, probable, that Ware had no existence as a town in King Alfred's time, nor perhaps a considerable time after. It is, however, mentioned in the above named act of the year 1424, and, even by means of that act, and that of 1430, small flat-bottomed boats might probably have navigated between London and Ware, although large laden barges could not pass till this period.

The Cappers, or Knit-Capmakers of England, observing the great increase of the wear of hats made of felt, had, before this time, obtained an act of Parliament, for preventing any foreign materials from being worked up into hats. But that not answering fully, they, in this thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, obtain a second law, cap. xix. purporting, "That every "person above seven years of age, should wear, on Sundays and Holidays, a cap of wool, "knit, made, thicked, and dressed in England, and dressed only and finished by some of the "trade of cappers, on the forfeiture of three shillings and four pence for every day so neglected to be worn: excepting, however, out of this act, maids, ladies, and gentlewomen, and "every lord, knight, and gentleman, of twenty marks in land, and their heirs; and also such "as have born office of worship in any city, town, or shire, and also the wardens of the London companies." Nevertheless, the fashion of felt hats prevailing so strongly, as the very penning of that act seemed to portend it would, as well by reason of their superior strength, lightness, and beauty, as also of their being much better adapted to screen from and keep out sun and rain, the knit caps are long since driven out, and are only to be seen in some of the poorest and more remote parts of the kingdom.

In this same year, the streets to Whitechapel Bars and its neighbourhood, in the eastern suburbs of London, were, by a law, cap. xxiii. directed to be paved. And, cap. xxiv. also all the streets of the town of Ipswich.

We have seen the blind zeal of a Parliament of the fifth and sixth years of King Edward VI. in 1552, in their law against usury, or of use or interest for money, cap. xx. But our legislators were now become more enlightened, in the reign of a most penetrating Monarch and Ministry; for the immense quantities of money or bullion now constantly brought into Europe from America, and shipping, commerce, and manufactures also greatly increasing, whilst but very little, if any, of our silver was as yet carried to the East Indies; from all such considerations, it appeared, that there were now considerable sums of money ready to be lent out by such as were not immediately engaged in commerce, nor had laid their money out in the

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1571 purchase of lands, &c. Money, moreover, beginning now to be considered as much a commodity as other things, and that therefore it was reasonable its possessors should improve it as much as those did who were possessed of lands, houses, or merchandize; for where is the difference between taking ten pounds at the year's end for the use of one hundred pounds in money lent for that time, and a merchant's selling goods, which he had just bought for one hundred pounds ready money, for which the buyer agrees to pay him one hundred and ten pounds at the year's end?—In this thirteenth year, therefore, of Queen Elizabeth, an act of Parliament passed, cap. viii. reviving that of the thirty-seventh year of King Henry VIII. cap. ix. for establishing the rate of interest at ten per cent per annum. The preamble sets forth, “that the prohibition act of King Edward VI. had not done so much good as was hoped for; but that rather the said vice of usury, and especially by sale of wares and shifts of interest, hath much more exceedingly abounded, to the utter undoing of many gentlemen, merchants, occupiers, and others, and to the importable hurt of the Commonwealth; as well, for that, in the said late act, there is no provision against such corrupt shifts and sales of wares, as also for that there is no difference of punishment upon the greater or lesser exactions or oppressions, by reason of loans upon usury. It was therefore now enacted, that the said law of the thirty-seventh of King Henry VIII. be revived; and that all bonds, contracts, and assurances, collateral or other, to be made for payment of any principal money to be lent, or covenant to be performed, upon or for any usury, in lending or doing of any thing against the said act now revived, upon or by which loan or doing there shall be reserved or taken above the rate of ten pounds for the hundred for one year, shall be utterly void.”

Nevertheless, when, after reading this last clause, so plainly allowing of usury, that is to say interest of money, (for the word, as already elsewhere related, had then no other import than the word interest has in modern times) to go at ten per cent. we come to read the next following paragraph, it does not convey the most advantageous idea of those Protestant (and one would think better enlightened) lawgivers, thus to juggle with mankind, viz.

“And so far as all usury, being forbidden by the law of God, is sin and detestable; be it enacted, that all usury, loan, and forbearing of money, or giving days for forbearing of money, by way of loan, chevifance, shifts, sale of wares, contract, or other doings whatsoever for gain,—whereupon is reserved or taken, or covenanted to be reserved, paid, or given to the lender, contractor, shifter, forbearer, or deliverer, above the sum of ten pounds for the loan or forbearing of one hundred pounds for one year,—shall forfeit so much as shall be reserved by way of usury above the principal, for any money so to be lent or forbourn, &c.”

Thus, although the legislature knew, that every one who had occasion, did either give or take interest for money, yet the old prepossessions against the lawfulness of usury or interest, were then still so strong and universal, that somewhat was thought necessary to be said against the very thing they now found themselves compelled to re-establish for the welfare of the nation.

N. B. By an act of the thirty-ninth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. xviii. this act was made perpetual.

Although the silver coins of England, was, before this time, reduced to the very same weight and fineness as in our days, yet the salaries of many royal officers were still so small, as to make it reasonably be conjectured, that the rate or expence of living was about four times as

cheap

1571 cheap as at present. Thus, in the fifteenth volume, p. 694, of the *Fœdera*, the salary of the master gunner of the city of Carlisle was but one shilling per day, or eighteen pounds five shillings yearly; wheat being then at eight shillings per quarter; so that his salary would then go as far as seventy-three pounds or more, in our times.

Although it must be allowed, that the Czar, or Great Duke of Russia, John Basilowitz, or Vasilowitz, was properly the first of the Russian Princes who raised his country from obscurity, by the great conquests he made of large provinces; conquering Plescow and Great Novogrod from the Lithuanians, as well as the two Tartar kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, &c. Yet his savage fierceness and cruelties raised such hatred against him, that his nobles, though Christians, were provoked so far, as to call in the Khan of Crim Tartary, a Mahometan, in or nearly about this same year 1571, who not only ravaged a great part of Russia, but burned down the capital city of Moscow, (in which city, according to Puffendorf, there were then one hundred and eighty thousand houses, though almost all of timber) by which cruel event, the English company lost above one hundred thousand roubles, the whole of which the Czar promised to make good to them, but did not keep his word.

In the same year, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, who had before made three voyages to Russia, was appointed ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to this Grand-Duke, John Basilowitz; but at his arrival, he found the Czar had suspended the Company's privileges, through the bad conduct of some of their servants, the envy of some irregular English traders, and the misrepresentations of the Russian ambassador returned from England, who could not bring Queen Elizabeth into all his master's views. The company had also many losses, by shipwrecks, by the Polish pirates at sea, and by bad debts, &c. and were now, in other respects, in a bad situation: yet Jenkinson had so much address, as to obtain a restoration of their privileges from the Czar, and satisfaction for some part of their losses, although the greatest part was never made good to them.

1572 Ever since the year 1553, the English had, at various times, traded to the coast of Guinea, notwithstanding the claim of the Portuguese court to an exclusive right to that coast, as the first discoverers. They had, for that reason, frequently disturbed the English and other nations in their trade for gold dust, Guinea grains, and ivory; yet, in the year 1572, the Portuguese, finding they could not hold all that coast solely to themselves, made a treaty of peace with England, by which all former disputes were adjusted, and freedom of trade thither was stipulated with England.

In p. 711, of the fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have Queen Elizabeth's yearly salary to William Herne, her serjeant-painter, which was but ten pounds, being the same as it had been to several of his predecessors therein named.

In p. 715, of the same volume, we see that Queen's manumission of a villain, or the making a freeman of a man born in her manor and lordship of Taunton Dean, in Somersetshire; being the same in form as that mentioned under the year 1514.

The Hanseatic Society, relying on the many privileges and immunities they enjoyed or claimed engaged in a fresh quarrel with the neighbouring Princes, on the following occasion.

It seems that, in the preceding year, the city of Lubeck having concluded a peace at Stetin with John King of Sweden, after a war of eight years; one of the articles thereof was, that the Lubeckers might freely trade with Livonian Narva, then in the hands of Russia; yet now the

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1572 Swedish monarch, finding himself more powerful, under the pretext of his war with Russia, prohibited the Lybeckers, &c. from resorting to Narva, and even seized on their ships trading thither. Hereupon, the Hans-towns held, this year, a grand assembly of their deputies, for deliberating on this and other points. Thuanus, in lib. 51. of his octavo edition at Frankfurt, in 1614, says, "That some of the points they agreed on related to their internal government; but that other resolutions related to foreign states and princes, most part of which last proved of no effect." Which shews that the Hanseatics were, at this time greatly declining in power and influence.

According to Meteranus, in lib. 3. Queen Elizabeth, for the quieting of her subjects uneasiness, because of the seizure of their effects, in the year 1568, in the Netherlands, concluded a treaty of commerce with King Charles IX. of France at Blois, wherein, he says, the English obtained ample privileges for the vent of their merchandize. But this author adds, that the horrid massacre of the French Protestants at Paris, &c. perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day, this year, rendered this treaty ineffectual, by reason of the terror it struck into the English merchants. The Admiral Coligny, and the rest of the Protestants, were decoyed to Paris, under pretence of the nuptials of the then King of Navarre, and were most inhumanly butchered. The French Papists gloried so greatly therein, that medals were struck in its commemoration, of which Father Daniel has exhibited a print in his French history.

That treaty is not in the *Fœdera*, but is printed in the second volume of the General Collection of Treaties, &c. in English, printed in octavo, second edition, 1732. Thereby, (article 24.) the English were to be allowed in France a magazine or storehouse, for repositing the English cloth, wool, &c. as they were accustomed to have at Antwerp, Bergen-op-zoom, and Bruges; and also (article 25.) a place for assembling themselves, in order to chuse their governors and other officers, &c.

The Queen being, at this time, on bad terms both with Spain and the Emperor, (the latter partly on account of the Hans-towns) those two articles seem to have been chiefly framed for bringing Spain and the Emperor to be more favourable to the English commerce; for, in the sixteenth article, the French King stipulates, that in case any Prince shall hereafter molest the English in their trade and merchandize in the Netherlands, or in Germany or Prussia, then the French King shall interpose for their relief: and by the seventeenth article, he shall, in case of refusal and delay, arrest the persons and goods of the merchants of such Prince, being in his territories, until the English and Irish so arrested be restored. And in article 20. the Queen obliges herself to perform the same services for the subjects of the French King in similar cases. Yet some think that neither of those monarchs were sincere in this treaty; Charles's aim being to hoodwink Elizabeth whilst he was perpetrating that horrid massacre; and that the object of Elizabeth, by this treaty, was to render Spain and the Emperor more tractable.

From Hakluyt's second volume we learn, that, in this year, 1572, there resided at Constantinople consuls from the French, Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines, but none from England; the trade into the Levant having, it seems, been quite discontinued from the year 1553 to the year 1575.

The same indefatigable Hakluyt gives the public an Englishman's Letter to him from New Spain, signifying,

I. That seven years before this time, the Spaniards first found out the voyage from Acapulco to the Philippine isles.

II. That

1572 II. That the city of Mexico contained fifty thousand families, six thousand of which were Spaniards.

III. That the city of Tlascala contained sixteen thousand families, at or near which last-named place all the cochineal grows.

IV. That the best silver mines were north of the city of Mexico.

V. And that the refining of silver with quicksilver was then but a late discovery, it having before been done with lead.

By an expired act of Parliament of the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 5. entitled, *How Vagabonds shall be punished, and the Poor relieved*, all that related to the honest poor therein was, "That assessments should be made of the parishioners of every parish, for the relief of the poor of the same parish." And this was the first legal and effectual parochial assessment for the poor in England.

1573 In the fifteenth volume, p. 717, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that in the year 1573, Queen Elizabeth created the Earl of Shrewsbury Earl Marshal of England during life, with a salary of only twenty pounds per annum. Yet, from the slenderness of the stated nominal salaries of this and other great officers, having large perquisites, no certain inferences can be drawn for forming a just judgment either of the rate of living, or of the scarcity of money.

In the same volume, p. 721, there seems to have been much injury done by the Portuguese, as well on land as on the seas, to the English about this time: for, in this very year, Queen Elizabeth issued a commission to her high-admiral, and several lords, gentlemen, and merchants, to enquire into the same. Against whom, that is, the Portuguese, she herein observes, that there had been, for a long time, loud complaints; and that the ships, merchandize, and money of her merchants were seized, and the debts due to them detained, in the dominions of her dear brother Sebastian, King of Portugal, and on the seas by his fleets, under his authority, contrary to the strict friendship that has so long subsisted between the two crowns.—Wherefore, the Queen impowers the said commissioners to enquire into the effects of that King's subjects detained by her subjects.

Under this same year also, Sir James Ware, in his *Annals of Ireland*, has the following remarkable note, concerning the burthen which Ireland was then to England, by reason of the very unsettled state of the former, viz. "The money which the Queen had sent to Ireland since her accession to the crown to this time, being computed, came to four hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine pounds seven shillings and six-pence half-penny; whereas, the whole produce of the revenue of Ireland, during all that time," (viz. for fifteen years) "amounted but to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds." How happy is the change, in these respects, since those times, in Ireland!

In this same year, 1573, Don John of Austria reduced the city of Tunis, in Barbary, to the obedience of Spain, from which it had revolted. Nevertheless, in the following year, the Turks, with a powerful army, retook Tunis, and also possessed themselves of the Goletta, which Spain has never since been able to repossess.

As Mr. Burchet's *Complete History of the most remarkable Transactions at Sea*, from the earliest Accounts of Time down to the Conclusion of Queen Anne's War, is a work which may, in general be reasonably depended on, he having been secretary to the board of admiralty for a long series of years, we shall here, from his preface, exhibit the entire navy of Queen Elizabeth, as it stood in the year 1573, viz.

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1573

No. of ships.	No. of cannon.
1 of	100
9 from	88 to 60
49 from	58 to 40

—
Total, 59 ships of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in those days.

58 from 38 to 20

29 from 18 to 6

—
Total, 146 ships.

Nevertheless, the said author, in the ninth chapter of his first book, p. 20 and 21, says, “ That the merchant-ships of England were then esteemed the principal part of our maritime power; of which, in the twenty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1582, there were reckoned one hundred and thirty-five, many of them of five hundred tons each; and in the beginning of King James the First’s reign, it was computed there were four hundred, but these not of so great burthen. As to the ships of war belonging to the crown in the time of Queen Elizabeth, their number was thirteen; to which eleven were added by King James I.” So that even King James I. had but twenty-four ships of his own: and all, or most of the above-named number of one hundred and forty-six ships, called Queen Elizabeth’s naval power, consisted of merchant-ships, occasionally hired by her, excepting the thirteen ships which were her own; and it is highly probable, that the ten largest ships in the above list, composed a part of the thirteen.

In a treatise in Sir Robert Cotton’s Remains, p. 196, published in 1651, being an essay first written in 1609, he observes, “ That in the year 1573, there was brought in an immeasurable use of luxurious commodities in England, as wines, spices, silk, and fine linen: for, of the latter sort, of above ten groats the ell, there is above three hundred and sixty thousand pounds yearly spent, which is half the value of our woollen cloths exported; and maketh the state to buy more than they do sell: whereas a good father of a family ought to be *vendacem*, a seller, not *emacem*, a buyer.” Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1574, says, the people (by which he meant the rich) wore silks glittering with gold and silver, either embroidered or laced; which, it seems, the Queen in vain endeavoured by her proclamation to restrain, and to oblige people to conform to a prescribed rule. Feasting also was much in fashion at this time; also great improvements were made in buildings, and more noblemen’s and gentlemen’s country-seats were re-edified, in greater beauty and largeness than had ever before been known. “ And certainly,” says he, “ to the great ornament of the kingdom, though to the decay of hospitality.” All which, however, when rightly considered, was no other than the natural effects of our increasing riches and commerce.

“ The Protestants in France,” says Mr. Burchet, in his Naval History, “ were become so powerful in a numerous shipping, that in the year 1573, they committed spoil, without distinction, on all they met, and plundered several English ships. Whereupon Queen Elizabeth sent out Holstock, comptroller of the navy, with a squadron; who retook several English ships, seized on some of those cruizers, and dispersed the rest,”

1574 Bondage was not as yet quite worn out in England; as we find in vol. xv. p. 731, of the *Fœdera*; where, in the year 1574, we see Queen Elizabeth’s commission to her Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and Sir William Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, “ for enquiring into the
“ lands,

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1574 “lands, tenements, and other goods, of all her bond-men and bond-women in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, viz. such as were by blood (*i. e.* birth) in a slavish condition, by being born in any of her manors; and to compound with all or any such bond-men or bond-women in those four counties, for their manumission or freedom; and for their enjoying their said lands, tenements, and goods, as freemen.” By this commission, probably, considerable sums of money were raised for that Queen’s use; the commonalty continually growing richer by the gradual increase of the national commerce.

The Chronicon Preciosum gives us an account of so great a dearth at London, that wheat rose to two pounds sixteen shillings per quarter, and beef at Lammas to one pound ten shillings per stone: yet after harvest, wheat fell to one pound four shillings per quarter, that is, three shillings per bushel; which was still dear for the time.

Poland, says Baron Holberg, was, in 1574, blest with her best monarch, Stephen Bathori, Prince of Transylvania; who not only made many excellent laws, but by keeping a body of horse continually stationed on the frontiers of Tartary, proved the means of bringing the Ukraine to be cultivated, after having lain so long untilld; and almost unpeopled, on account of the frequent incursions of the Tartars; in consequence of which wise measures, that country began thence to be adorned with cities and towns. That wise King likewise humanized the Cossacks, till then a barbarous people.

It was in the reign of the Sultan Amurath III. who reigned between 1574 and 1595, that Crim Tartary was first reduced to be tributary to the Turks; which conquest has very often been made of great service to the Sultans against the neighbouring nations of Russia, Poland, and Hungary.

1575 We have before observed, under the year 1548, that the Emperor Charles V. for political ends, had allowed a large rate of interest on the great sums he had borrowed of the republic of Genoa, which was also for some time continued by his son, King Philip II. and those loans further increased on the security of the revenues of Spain, and of Spanish America; and although, upon King Philip’s afterward reducing the rate of interest on those debts to Genoa, he had given assurances that the reduced interest should afterward be punctually paid, yet we find, that at several times after, and particularly in the year 1575, King Philip again put a stop to the payment of their arrears of interest, at a time when divisions ran high at Genoa, between the old and new nobility. The interruptions of regular payment, were said to have been made purely for keeping the state of Genoa in a greater dependence upon Spain; though it be certain also that King Philip’s necessities, occasioned by his boundless views and immense expence, were a principal cause of them. On occasion of the present stoppage of the interest, that Monarch directed a revival of his accounts with the Genoese for fifteen years backward, which greatly alarmed them; as, according to their historian De Mailly, vol. ii. b. 12. “They had taken such advantage of that Prince’s necessities, as to have made eleven, twelve, and sometimes eighteen per cent. interest on their loans; so that the ancient nobles alone had drawn annually from Spain a revenue of fifteen millions of gold.” And this review of the court of Spain, is said to have produced a further reduction of interest on those debt due to Genoa.

Notwithstanding what is said under the year 1553, it is plain that hitherto the English were not fully acquainted with the whale-fishery: for, in the first volume of Hakluyt’s Voyages, London, printed in 1598, p. 413-14, we have the “request of an honest merchant, by letter to a friend of his, to be advised and directed in the course of killing the whale.” This was in the year 1575. The answer, in substance, was, That there should be a ship of two hundred

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1575 red tons burthen, with proper utensils and instruments. But what is most particularly to be observed, is, that all the necessary officers were then to be had from Biscay: which shews, what is also elsewhere remarked, that the Biscayans were the earliest whale-fishers of any nation in Europe, excepting, however, the people of Norway; who, we have seen, even as far back as our famous King Alfred's time, were employed in that trade.

1576 A law of the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, cap. xi. having revived a statute of the sixth of King Henry V. cap. iii. which made it high treason in any that should clip, round, wash, or file, the current coins of England; and whereas, since the enacting thereof, other new devices had been found out, for impairing, diminishing, scaling, and otherwise lightening the coins of England, or the coins of other realms allowed by proclamation to be current in England; all the said arts were, by an act of this eighteenth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. i. declared to be high treason.

By another statute of this same year, cap. xix. all the streets of the city of Chichester were first directed to be paved with stone.

An accommodation being, at length, patched up between the old and the new nobility of Genoa, after their quarrels had brought the very being of the republic into great danger, it was in this year 1576, stipulated, according to De Mailly's History of Genoa, vol. II. lib. xii. "That both old and new nobility should for ever after be deemed but one body; utterly abolishing the former distinction of old and new nobles. And as idleness is ever pernicious to the public, noblemen were now permitted to exercise certain arts or trades, and also to practise a wholesale trade or merchandize, without any dishonour to their nobility; provided, however, that they should not keep an open or retail shop."

In vol. XV. p. 756, of the *Fœdera*, Queen Elizabeth grants to Edward Bassano, one of her musicians, one shilling and eight-pence per day, during his life, or thirty pounds eight shillings and four-pence yearly; the same as his father had enjoyed in the same station.

Under this same year 1576, Hakluyt acquaints us, that although the Russia company had an exclusive charter, which, as we have seen, was confirmed by an act of Parliament, yet we find that Alderman Bond, once before mentioned, had disputes with that company, because of his trading without their leave to Narva in Livonia, and also to Kola, Keger, &c. in Russian Lapland; but Narva was then under the Swedes.

At this time, and some years before, the Russia company had been at a considerable expence in sending out ships for discovering a supposed passage through Waigats Streight, north-eastward to China and the East Indies. But they were absolutely obstructed by the ice, as well as by the intense cold of that miserable Streight.

In this year there happened in Antwerp a furious mutiny of the Spanish garrison, for want of their pay; wherein the citizens were grievously insulted, and compelled to give them four hundred thousand florins. They rifled the houses of the English merchants, and compelled them to pay them a great sum in gold for their ransom. A sad presage of what was so fatally to happen nine years after.

1577 The English genius was not to be discouraged by former unsuccessful attempts towards finding a passage to China and East India without interfering with the Portuguese, by the Cape of Good Hope, south-eastward, nor with Spain south-westward, by the streights of Magellan: and as a north-eastward passage had already been attempted in vain, there seemed now only the north-westward passage to be explored, which we have seen had been in part already attempted by Frobiher. The Portuguese and Spanish chart-makers, and cosmographers, were, it seems, expressly

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1577 expressly enjoined by their sovereigns not to give any kind of light to other nations in this respect; because they were justly apprehensive, if there were any such north-west passage, that it would prove a much shorter course to India and China than theirs, either by the south-east or south-west passage. For the purpose of encouraging the English to this attempt, several treatises were published by Sir Humphry Gilbert, Mr. Richard Willes, &c. which were mostly founded upon the romantic reports of certain ancient as well as of some more modern authors, without any solid probability. Yet, upon such grounds as these, and the encouragement of friends, Captain Frobisher made his second attempt, in the year 1577, with one of the Queen's own ships, two barks, and one hundred and forty persons, some of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the streights he had named after himself in his former attempt, where he found store of the glittering stones and sand he had seen in his last voyage, with which he now loaded his vessels: and as it is unnecessary to relate his adventures with the savages, so often already printed, we shall only add, that he returned home the same year with his imaginary treasure, which afterwards, upon a more solid trial, proved of no value.

In vol. XV. p. 769, of the *Fœdera*, we have a commission issued by Queen Elizabeth, for the restitution of ships and merchandize formerly taken from the Portuguese; which restitution was thereby declared to be in consequence of a treaty with the King of Portugal: yet this treaty itself is not in the *Fœdera*, unless it be that of 1572.

And in the seven hundred and seventieth page of the same volume, the very same commissioners are impowered to treat with those of the French King, concerning depredations and captures at sea, and of other injuries on both sides.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera* also, we see a similar commission to treat with the commissioners of Scotland, for redressing the grievances so long complained of by the council and merchants of King James VI. then a minor, being on account of depredations committed on the seas, &c. on the Scottish ships and merchandize.

Queen Elizabeth sends Mr. Edmund Hogan, as her envoy to Muley Abdelmelek, Emperor of Morocco; in which country there were already some English merchants resident; for whom were now obtained certain commercial privileges. Here he found also certain Spanish, Portuguese, and French merchants. Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, observes, "That, by degrees, the English have beaten the Portuguese out of that trade, though at first they laboured to do the like by us."

The ingenious author of the present State of England, in octavo, 1683, observes, that about this time, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. Nuremberg is usually assigned for the place where watches were first invented; though the time of their invention is very uncertain.

1578 The supposed gold ore which Frobisher brought home in former voyages from *Meta-incognita*, as Queen Elizabeth had named the countries about Frobisher's Streights, together with the hopes of a north-west passage to what they still called Cathai, *i. e.* China, encouraged the Queen to appoint commissioners for those ends; who at first making a supposed proof of that ore, and also assigning certain grounds for the probability of a passage, Frobisher was thereupon, in the year 1578, sent out the third and last time, with fifteen ships, and with miners for the ore, which they were to load homeward the same year, and to leave one hundred and twenty persons to inhabit the above named *Meta-incognita*, with three ships to attend them. They arrived at the entrance of Frobisher's Streights, (it may seem somewhat strange, they could not hit upon Davis's Streights, which was so near them, were it not that the supposed gold

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1578 gold ore led them eagerly thither again.) They lost one of their ships, consumed their provisions, and returned home, without leaving any persons, as they had intended, to settle in that country, or the making any useful discovery, or even so much as going into the Straights: they however loaded their ships with three hundred tons of the supposed treasure, and after much hazard by ice and storms, they returned home one by one.

N. B. In these old northern voyages, they frequently mention an island which they called Friesland, and, probably, was part of the main land of Labrador, or else of old Greenland, taken by them for a great island; and concerning which there were various romantic stories in those, and even later times. Their supposed gold ore, brought home in this and former voyages, was at length found to be of no value whatever, being nothing more than a glittering or shining sand. Dr. Heylin is the last author of eminence who mentions this non-entity of Friesland Isle; telling us the names of towns, and of its being well frequented by Europeans, for its plenty of fish, confounding it, most probably, with Iceland, or with old Greenland, &c. This is one instance, among many, of the inaccuracy of our earliest maps. In our old voyage books there is a romantic story of two Venetian brothers, named Zeni, who were shipwrecked on this supposed isle, about three hundred years ago; but the whole is so extravagant, that no one now pays any regard to it. This fable was, it seems, taken from the letters of one of these two brothers, and published by a Francisco Marcellino.

In this same year 1578, Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fishers from Europe in the preceding year, viz. "one hundred ships from Spain, fifty from Portugal, one hundred and fifty from France, and fifteen from England.—That the English had the best ships, and therefore gave the law to the rest, being in the bays the protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old, a custom to make them some sort of acknowledgment as Admirals; such as, a boat load of salt, for guarding them from pirates, and other violent intruders, who often drive them from a good harbour, &c." He says, "the fishery of the English at Iceland was the reason we had not then such numbers of ships at Newfoundland.—That the Spaniards had then, next to the English, the best ships there.—That there were also twenty or thirty ships from Biscay, to kill whales for train oil." But here is no mention as yet of whale-fins, or whale-bone, in our days of so great value; which shews its use for womens stays, &c. was not then known. His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earnest for the English to settle at the isle of Cape Breton for the benefit of the fishery, and in another isle at the mouth of the great river St. Laurence. Hakluyt was in those times a most indefatigable enquirer after new trades and discoveries, and was undoubtedly of great use to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of discoveries, and seems to have been a public blessing to England in those days.

In the fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 784, we have Queen Elizabeth's first public treaty with the States General of the then seemingly all United Netherlands, on their first revolt from Spain; dated at Brussels, seventh of January 1578. It is entitled, An offensive and defensive Treaty of Peace concluded with the Belgic States, herein stiled, the "prelates, nobles, deputies of cities, members of Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, Lisle, Douay, Orchies, Holland, Zealand, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht, Mechlin, Friesland, Overysse, and Groningen."

As this treaty was chiefly for the mutual support of each other, against the then exorbitant power of Spain, it is needless to be very particular in all its articles.

" I. The

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- " I. The first article confirms all the treaties made between England and the House of Burgundy, unless otherwise to be stipulated.
- " II. No transaction of importance, relating to peace or war in the Netherlands, shall be concluded without the Queen's participation; whose Ministers shall be present at all such deliberations.
- " III. Mutual general assistance to each other, with equal military forces.
- " IV. All controversies among the states shall be referred to her arbitration.
- " V. If the Queen shall find herself obliged to fit out a fleet for guard of the seas, the states, at her instance, shall join it with forty ships of theirs, with sailors, soldiers, and ammunition, to be under the Queen's command. None of which ships to be of less burden than forty tons.
- " VI. Rebels not to be protected on either side.
- " VII. The States to make no treaty nor alliance with any Prince or State whatever, without her consent.
- " VIII. The present and future governors in the Netherlands, shall ratify and confirm all the articles of this treaty, in the name, and by the authority of the Catholic King.
- " IX. Whenever a treaty of peace shall be concluded between the said States and the Catholic-King, the States shall oblige the said King of Spain to confirm and make perpetual all such of the said articles as the Queen shall then judge expedient and convenient."

Signed by { Francis Walsingham,
 { and Thomas Wyldon.

" Sealed with the Queen's seal, and with the seal of the dutchy of Brabant, in the name of all the States General."

Happy had it been for the general liberty and independence of Europe, (in all probability) had all the provinces and cities named in this treaty remained united to this day, so as to have been able to have defended their own barrier from the encroachments of France or Spain, and thereby to have saved so much English blood and treasure lavished in defence of a people at present disregards of their best friends, as well as of their once highly prized barrier.

Queen Elizabeth had for a long time kept the Hanseatics, or Steelyard German merchants, in suspense with relation to the expected renewal of their old commercial immunities, until by degrees her own subjects had considerably increased in foreign trade and shipping. The Hanseatics at length finding they could not shake her firmness, applied to the Emperor Rodolph II. as being his subjects, strongly pleading the necessity of obliging her to yield to their being reinstated in their said old and now most unreasonable immunities, viz. particularly for their paying only the ancient custom of one per cent. The Queen replied to that Emperor's remonstrances, that she had done the Hanseatics no kind of wrong, having treated them on the same footing in which she had found them at her accession to the crown; as it was her sister who had abolished that old duty, and laid on that now subsisting.

This answer was far from giving satisfaction; and the Hanseatics growing louder in their complaints all over Germany, they at length issued a prohibition of the English merchants to reside any longer at Hamburg.

Hereupon the Queen, being justly incensed, began to treat them more roughly; and in this same year 1578, she published a declaration, annulling all their ancient immunities, now only allowing them the same commercial privileges that other foreigners enjoyed. Soon after she issued her proclamation, prohibiting all foreigners, and particularly the Hans or Steelyard

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1578 merchants by name, from exporting English wool. This prohibition was said to be owing to the industrious Protestant Netherlanders, who had been lately driven out by the Spanish governors, and had settled in England, who advised the Queen to forbid the exportation of wool unmanufactured. (The royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* observes, that the manufacturers of Brandenburg had made no good cloth, till the French refugees came thither, in the year 1685, without a mixture of English wool; and that as soon as that wool was withheld, the manufacture declined. He also adds, that the Electors of Saxony, Augustus and Christian, followed Queen Elizabeth's example, by inviting Flemish artists; who put their manufacture into a flourishing condition.) This was a fresh blow to the Hanscatics; and in consequence of it, in the following year 1579, their General Assembly at Lunenburg laid a duty of seven and three-fourths per cent. on all goods imported into their territories by Englishmen, or exported by them. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, immediately laid an equal duty of seven and three-fourths per cent. on all merchandize either imported or exported by the German Steelyard merchants. Thus matters became more and more embroiled between England and the German Hans-towns, the magnanimous Queen being firmly determined never to yield to their unreasonable demands. And here we shall leave this point for the present.

According to Hakluyt, the English Russia company complained in this year of the Hollanders, for trading to Kola, a port in Russian Lapland, where, it seems, there was a very great trade for fish-oil, as also for salmon; from which place that company's ships sometimes brought home ten thousand of those fish.

1579 Although, as we have seen under the year 1561, the city of Hamburg had smarted for her old pretensions to a sovereignty on the river Elbe; yet she still kept up the same romantic claim. This provoked Frederick II. King of Denmark, (as had also formerly been done) to forbid them all his ports: which prohibition was found to be so prejudicial to their interests, that in order to be restored to that liberty, they were obliged to stipulate to pay that Prince four hundred thousand livres in five years time.

The Duke of Parma succeeding to the government of the Netherlands, upon the death of Don John of Austria, he began his government with the taking the strong town of Maestricht from the States, and next by reducing the Walloon provinces of Artois, Hainault, and Walloon Flanders, by capitulation, to the dominion of Spain: In consequence of which, and for other reasons, the Prince of Orange, duly considering the emulation amongst the great men, as well as that the difference of religion in the several provinces could hardly ever be reconciled; and being at the same time desirous to secure himself, and to establish as far as possible the Protestant religion, he procured the States of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to meet at the last-named city, in this year 1579: when they mutually and solemnly stipulated to defend one another, as one joint body, and with united consent to advise of peace, war, taxes, &c. and also to support liberty of conscience. And to compleat the number of seven provinces now of the United Netherlands, Overysse and Groningen were soon after admitted into the union; an union which in a few years formed the most potent republic which the world had seen since that of antient Rome; and of the greatest commerce and maritime power that (as a republic) ever was on earth. For that so small a state should, betwixt this year 1579, and the year 1609, not only preserve its independence against the then mightiest potentate in Europe, but likewise get footing in Flanders, by mastering the strong and important port and town of Sluys, with Hulst, &c.—to ruin the trade of the most famous city of Antwerp;—to conquer the strong forts of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and several other places

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1579 places on the Meuse and Rhine, &c.—also to attack and annoy so great a monarch in his own ports at home; and notwithstanding all the vast expence of such great exploits, to grow rich and opulent, as well as potent, will perhaps scarcely obtain an historical credit in another century; but with us it serves only to shew the immense effects of an universally extended commerce, and an indefatigable industry, joined to an unparalleled parsimony, and unremitting oeconomy.

Soon after this famous period, the industrious and parsimonious traders of those united provinces pushed into a considerable share of that commerce to several parts of Europe which till then England had solely enjoyed: yet the great and happy accession of the fugitive Walloons into England about the same time, by whose aid the old English drapery was so greatly improved, and many new and profitable manufactures introduced, more than counter-balanced the loss of some part of the English commerce to the Dutch traders. Nevertheless, the immenseness of the fishery of those Netherland provinces, with which they about this time supplied most part of the world, is almost incredible; and could only be described by so great a genius as Sir Walter Raleigh. Their East India trade soon after this time commenced, and, like all new trades, brought most profit in the beginning, frequently so much as twenty times the original capital. In short, the Hollanders soon thrust themselves into every corner of the universe for new means of commerce, and for vending their vastly improved manufactures: so that Amsterdam soon became (what it still is) the immense magazine or staple for almost all the commodities of the universe.

Many indeed were the grounds or causes of so great a change in the condition of those Netherland provinces, in about less than half a century: one very great one was what Sir William Temple observes, viz. “That the persecutions for matters of religion in Germany under Charles V.—in France, under Henry II.—and in England, under Queen Mary, had forced great numbers of people out of all those countries, to shelter themselves in the several towns of the seventeen provinces, where the antient liberties of the country, and the privileges of the cities, had been inviolate under so long a succession of Princes, and gave protection to those oppressed strangers, who filled their cities with people and trade. But when the seven provinces had united, and began to defend themselves with success, under the conduct of the Prince of Orange and the countenance of England and France, and when the persecution began to grow sharp, on account of religion, in the Spanish Netherland provinces, all the professors of the reformed religion, and haters of the Spanish dominion, retired into the strong cities of this new commonwealth, and gave the same date to the growth of trade there, and the decay of it at Antwerp.”

It would be too tedious to instance all other causes of the vast increase of the wealth and power of the United Netherlands, in those early times and afterwards: such as,

I. The long civil wars, first in France, next in Germany, and lastly in England; which drove thither all that were persecuted at home for their religion.

II. Moderation and toleration to all sorts of quiet and peaceable people naturally produce wealth, confidence and strength to such a country.

III. The natural strength of their country, improved by their many sluices for overflowing it, and rendering it inaccessible to land armies.

IV. The free constitution of their government. And,

V. The safety, security, and convenience of the bank of Amsterdam, for all men's property, &c.

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As we apprehend a proper provision for the poor in every well regulated country to be of considerable importance to the peace and welfare of society, we shall take notice of an act of the sixth of King James VI. in Scotland, in the year 1579; which was made “for the punishment of vagabonds and sturdy beggars and for confining all other beggars to their own proper parishes: also for taxing all the inhabitants of parishes to a weekly contribution for sustaining all their own beggars; and to give passes to the poor of other parishes. And in poorer parishes, the poor to have authentic licences to beg their meat from house to house in their own parish, so as to be sustained within the same, without being chargeable to others, or to strangers.” A very good law this, had it been duly executed. But although it was afterward ratified in the same and following reigns; and that in King Charles Second’s reign, work-houses, called houses of correction, were appointed for employing the poor in all burghs, and overseers were appointed in every parish for collecting contributions for that end; and that all former laws were ratified by laws of the late King William; yet this point is not, to this day, effectually provided for.

The laws made in this same year in Scotland, against the exportation of salted flesh and coals, seem to us, at this distance, not so well calculated for the benefit of that country; which, breeding an infinite number of black cattle, and producing coals in vast quantities, it should seem to have been more prudently devised, to have promoted the breeding of the former, and the digging of the latter, and thereby a greater exportation of both, for the benefit of that nation.

By another Scotch act of Parliament of this same year, “every one residing in the Netherlands for commerce, was to pay ten pounds Flemish, or about six pounds sterling, as entrance money, for leave to trade there.” Another law, of this same year, confiscates all the goods and merchandize of non-freemen, trading thither; of which confiscation, two-thirds were to go to the crown, and one-third to the Scottish conservator in the Netherlands: which last-named law was confirmed in the year 1597.

From both which laws it appears, that the Scots trod in the very same steps with the English, in relation to exclusive or restrictive laws in commercial matters, and also persisted therein long after England saw the inconveniences arising from them.

We have seen, in various periods of time, that the merchants of England had charters from the crown, for regulating their commerce into the East Country, a name of old, and still given by mercantile people, to the ports of the Baltic Sea; more especially those of Prussia and Livonia. But, in this twenty-first year of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1579, that Queen, agreeable to the genius of the age, granted them a charter, exclusive of all who should not take up their freedom in this new company, the name of which was, The Fellowship of East-land Merchants: their privileges were, “to enjoy the sole trade, through the Sound, into Norway, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, (excepting Narva, which was within the Russia company’s charter) Prussia, and also Pomerania, from the river Oder, eastward, Dantzick, Elbing, and Koningsberg; also to Copenhagen and Elsinore, and to Finland, (here called an isle) Gothland, Bornholm, and Oeland. They shall have a governor, deputy, or deputies, and twenty-four assistants; who may make bye-laws, and impose fines, imprisonment, &c. on all non-freemen trading to those parts.” It was principally designed by the Queen, for the encouragement of her own merchants in opposition to the Hanseatics.

This was what is called in England a regulated company, *i. e.* not a company trading in a joint stock, but every one on his separate bottom, under certain regulations. We shall see this

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1579 this charter further confirmed by one from King Charles I. in the year 629. Nevertheless, this company had been frequently complained of by the English merchants as a monopoly, and were therefore first curtailed by legal authority, as we shall see, in the year 1672. And finally, being, with all other monopolizing companies, (not confirmed by Parliament) deemed illegal in times of true liberty, after the revolution 1689, in consequence of the act called The Declaration of Rights, &c. they no more exist commercially, or otherwise, but in name only; which it seems they still keep up, by continuing to elect their annual officers: and having, like another company in similar circumstances, viz. that of the Merchants of the Staple, a little stock in our public funds, the interest whereof defrays the expences of their yearly meetings, for no end but to commemorate their former existence in a restrictive capacity; and at those meetings they still continue to elect their principal annual officers, though now merely nominal.

We cannot too much commend the indefatigable industry of the famous patriot, (for so he justly deserves to be stiled) Mr. Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple, London, in so earnestly promoting new discoveries and improvements for the benefit of England. We find in his second volume of voyages and discoveries, he directs Morgan Hubblethorne, a dyer, sent in the year 1579 into Persia, to learn the arts of dying there, and of making of carpets, &c. "There are," says he, "persons there who stain linen cloth; it hath been an old trade in England, whereof some excellent cloths yet remain; although the art be now lost in this realm."

In the same year, William Harburn, an English merchant, sent into Turkey by Queen Elizabeth, obtained of the Sultan Amurath III. that the English merchants might in all respects as freely resort and trade to Turkey, as was permitted at this time to the French, Venetians, Germans and Poles; by which concession a foundation was laid for the English Turkey company, which was soon after established.

1580 Sir Francis Drake was the happy undertaker of a voyage, which proved the second circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe. He began it in the year 1577; going through the Magellanic Streight, with ~~five ships~~, and one hundred and sixty-four men. Drake, at St. Jago of Chili, pillaged that place, and others on the coast, which was in fact the principal end of this voyage. In some of the harbours on this west coast of South America, he seized on ships which had no person in them, so secure then were the Spaniards in those seas, as not so much as to dream of any enemy there. He at length took the immensely rich prize named the Cacofogo, with twenty-six ton of silver, and eighty pounds weight of gold, besides jewels, &c.—Having now but one left of his five ships, in which all his treasure was embarked; and it being probable that the Spaniards would intercept him, should he return the way he came, (through the Magellanic Streight) he determined to sail to the Moluccas, and return home, as the Portuguese were accustomed to do, by the Cape of Good Hope. Being obliged to sail as far north, say the writers of those times, as forty-eight degrees, in order to get a good wind, he discovered the large peninsula of California, which he named New Albion, setting up a pillar and plate, on which Queen Elizabeth's name, title, &c. were engraved; the Spaniards having never as yet had footing here. At the Moluccas and at Java, Drake was well treated, in the year 1579, and arrived in England, by the Cape of Good Hope, in November 1580.

It would be to little purpose, in this general commercial history, to recount the many various depredations on the Spaniards in America, by the English, French, and Dutch, in those early

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1580 early times, before Spain had fortified its ports in those remote parts. But in our days we have seen and felt the difficulties attending such enterprizes, although they have sometimes proved successful. In the above circumnavigation, Drake having taken great quantities of treasure in Spanish America, the Queen, on the complaint of the Spanish Ambassador, caused the same, or at least a great part, to be sequestered for the King of Spain's use; but at the same time asserted her subjects absolute freedom to navigate the Indian seas, as much as any of that King's subjects; as will be elsewhere further related.

The managers of the Russia Company of England are, without doubt, highly to be commended for their various attempts to find a north-east passage by sea to China and the East Indies, how unsuccessful soever they proved, and how much soever their ultimate views might center in their own private interest. In this year 1580, they sent out Pett and Jackman, with two barks, to try a passage that way through the streights of Waigats. After many perils and difficulties from ice and intense cold, one of them returned home unsuccessful; but the other was never heard of more.

In this same year, King Philip II. of Spain found means to unite the kingdom of Portugal to that of Spain; a very important accession to the Spanish monarchy, had it been managed to the best advantage. It remained, however, in this united state for sixty years, viz. till the year 1640, when Portugal again shook off the Spanish yoke, by the means of John, Duke of Braganza, who assumed the title of King John IV.

We have seen, under the year 1250, that the city of Norwich was even then become a considerable place. In the following century, according to our learned and judicious Camden, it greatly increased, and abounded with wealthy citizens; "yet," adds our author, "it is partly indebted for its prosperity to the Netherlanders, who, (when they could no longer endure the tyranny of the Duke d'Alva, nor the bloody inquisition then establishing amongst them) flocked to England in great numbers, and particularly to Norwich," where they first introduced the manufacture of certain light stuffs. And," says Bishop Gibson's Continuation of Camden's Britannia, second edition, 1722, "according to tradition there, the ornaments of striping and flowering the stuffs, which have been wonderfully improved by the ingenuity of the weavers of late years, in the making of damasks, camblets, druggets, black and white crape, &c.—So that it is computed, stuffs to the amount of seven hundred thousand pounds have sometimes been manufactured here in one year. The Flemings and Walloons," says Camden, "were settled at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, &c. where they first introduced the manufactures of bays, says, and other new manufactures both in linen and woollen, to the great benefit of this kingdom." Yet with respect to bays, we have shewn that they were first brought among us before the year 1546.

The city, or rather the suburbs of London, being about this time considerably increased, Queen Elizabeth, in this year, published a proclamation, forbidding any buildings to be erected on new foundations within three miles of the city gates; and that only one family should inhabit each house. Here Mr. Rapin, in his History of England, subjoins, "It were to be wished for England, that this prohibition had been punctually executed even to this day, since the city is so enlarged, that it grows a monstrous head to a body of a moderate size, to which it bears no proportion." Notwithstanding which observation, there are many thinking persons in modern times, who do not view this increase in that bad light; and rather think it advantageous, and solely owing to the gradual increase of our wealth and commerce; and

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1580 and that even this great increase of the metropolis is attended with many visible advantages to the nation, especially in point of the annual supplies, and of the public credit, as well as to the greater consumption of the produce of the kingdom, so much for the benefit of the landed interest, as well as for the greater consumption of all kinds of our manufactures.

In this same year the use of coaches is said to have been first introduced into England, by Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundell.

1581 In the late learned Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's Preface to Anderson's very magnificent work, intituled, *Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*, p. 74 and 75, we find that the Scots, who, in the year 1577, debased their silver coins so low as only eight ounces fine, had, two years after, (in the seventh Parliament of King James VI.) brought it up again to eleven ounces fine;—which last regulation was confirmed in the year 1581, when, likewise, an ounce of silver of that standard, was coined into forty Scottish shillings, as in England it was into five English shillings. So that the proportion between the nominal shillings and pounds of the two kingdoms was now as eight is to one.

In the same year 1581, the Scottish Parliament made a sumptuary law, which laid heavy “ fines on all under the degree of Dukes, Earls, Lords of Parliament, Knights, and landed “ Gentlemen, not possessed of at least two thousand pounds yearly rent, (or, according to “ the above proportion, two hundred and fifty pounds sterling) who shall wear in their cloath- “ ing or lining any cloth of gold or silver, velvet, sattin, damask, taffaties, fringes, pass- “ ments, (*i. e.* lace) or embroidery of gold, silver, or silk; or any lawn, cambrick, or woollen “ cloth made in foreign parts; (with exception of certain officers and magistrates) and to the “ end that all others, thus debarred from foreign fineries, might be supplied with cloths and “ stuffs of home manufacture, whereby also the poor might be employed, no wool was thence- “ forth to be exported, under forfeiture, &c.”—By another sumptuary law of the said Parlia- “ ment this same year, all but the before-named degrees of men “ were forbid the use of “ confections, foreign drugs, and costly spices, which (it seems) were then grown so fre- “ quent, and so lavishly used at weddings, christenings, and other banquets, by persons of “ low estate.”

The city of Bristol had been, for many ages, a place of very considerable magnitude as well as traffic. In this same year 1581, Queen Elizabeth, it being the twenty-third of her reign, granted to that city a new and ample charter, with many immunities, wherein she calls it her city of Bristol, and terms it a large and populous city.

The author of this work has in his possession a most judicious pamphlet, published in this year 1581, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, which, in his opinion, merited this short mention, being intituled, *A compendious Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen in these our days.* (By W. S.) It is in the black letter. Therein, public spirit, or zeal for the community,—the point of inclosures for pasture, then so much clamoured against,—the dearth of provisions,—the decay of towns,—the multitude of sheep,—the coin's being worn out,—the true standard and intrinsic value of our money, compared with that of foreign nations,—wool, against its exportation,—our extravagant love of foreign wares,—and several other national points of great importance, are all handled in so masterly a manner, and in so pure a diction for the time he wrote, as to give room for conjecturing it might have been penned by the direction of that Queen's ministers, since scarcely any ordinary person, in those early days, could be furnished with so copious a fund of excellent matter.

That author, speaking of the arts to be cherished in cities and towns, admirably well observes, "that often even one minute manufacture, made peculiar to any one town, has enriched it. I have," says he, "heard say, that the chief trade of Coventry was heretofore in making of blue thread: and then that town was rich, even upon that trade, in a manner, only; and now our thread comes all from beyond sea; wherefore that trade of Coventry is decayed, and thereby the town likewise. So Bristow" (Bristol) "had a great trade by making of points, and that was the chief mystery, (*i. e.* manufacture) "that was exercised in the town." But here our author says nothing of Bristol's decay, for it was then quite otherwise with that city.

This author is perfectly just in his opinion of keeping up the purity, parity, and quantity or weight of the silver coin; also in pleading for the easy admission of foreign artificers into our cities and towns, &c.

In the same year 1581, Queen Elizabeth lent to Francis, Duke of Anjou, one hundred thousand gold crowns of the sun, to be repaid in six months, as appears by that Prince's obligation, in the fifteenth volume, p. 792, of the *Fœdera*, whereby each crown was valued at six shillings sterling, and consisted of sixty sols tournois, or three livres; so that a livre, at this time, was equal to two shillings sterling, though, in our days, less than one shilling in value: and the whole loan amounted to thirty thousand pounds sterling.

Several good laws were made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for the preservation of the timber of England, and more especially of the woods growing within a certain distance from London, or the river Thames, both for the use of shipping, and of buildings at land. We have a law for that purpose, made in this twenty-third year of her reign, cap. v. and as iron-mills or works near London were the great destroyers of timber and woods, it was now enacted, "That no new iron-work should be erected within twenty-two miles of London, nor within fourteen miles of the river Thames; nor in several parts of Sussex, near the sea, therein named; neither shall any wood, within the limits described, be converted to coal or other fuel for the making of iron."

By another law of the twenty-seventh of this Queen, cap. xix. and passed in the year 1585, "No new iron-works were to be made in Surry, Kent, or Sussex; nor shall the bodies of any timber trees, of one foot square from the stub, be employed for fuel to iron-works."

In the twenty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, 1581, we find, in Camden's *Annals* or *History* of that Queen, that Mr. Thomas Randolph, so much employed by her in affairs relating to Scotland, &c. was, at this time, in the office of Chief Post-master of England; but how it was managed does not so clearly appear: though, from King Charles the First's establishment of the posts, in the year 1635, it should seem there were but very few regular post carriages till then in England.

By an act of Parliament of this twenty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, cap. ix. For abolishing of certain deceitful Stuff used in dying of Cloth, &c. "Logwood, or Blackwood, of late years brought into this realm, is expressly prohibited to be used by dyers, the colours thereof being false and deceitful to the Queen's subjects at home, and discreditable beyond sea to our merchants and dyers." In the sequel, we shall see the reputation of logwood absolutely established.

Queen Elizabeth having settled preliminaries at Constantinople two years before, for her subjects to trade to Turkey, she now judged it reasonable to incorporate a number of eminent
"merchants

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1581 merchants for that end, viz. Sir Edward Osborn, an Alderman of London; Thomas Smith, Esq; Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants.—In which charter of incorporation, the Queen sets forth, “ That the said Sir Richard Osborn and Richard Staper had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore, in the memory of any man now living, known to be commonly used and frequented by way of merchandize, by any the merchants, or any subjects of us or our progenitors: whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendom,—relief of Christian slaves,—and good vent for the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of her honour and dignity,—the increase of her revenue,—and of the general wealth of the realm. Her Majesty therefore, grants unto those four merchants, their executors, and administrators, and to such other Englishmen, not exceeding twelve in number, as the said Sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper shall appoint to be joined to them and the other two before-named persons, and their factors, servants, or deputies; for the space of seven years, to trade to Turkey, in such manner as the said Company shall agree between themselves.—During which time they may make by-laws for their good government, (not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.)—Nothing to be transacted without the consent of the Governor for the time being, (Sir Edward Osborn being hereby appointed the first Governor.)—The trade to Turkey to be solely to them, their factors and servants during the said term; and any other subjects trading thither, either by sea or land, without this Company’s licence, to forfeit ships and goods, moiety to the Crown, moiety to this Company.—For the last six of the said seven years, this Company shall export so much goods to Turkey, as shall annually pay at least five hundred pounds custom to the crown, except in case of shipwreck, &c.

“ I. *Proviso*, That in case this exclusive grant shall hereafter appear to be inconvenient, the Queen may revoke the same, upon one year’s previous notice.

“ II. *Proviso*, The Queen, during the said term, may nominate two persons to be added to the said number of patentees, with the same privileges, &c. as the rest herein named. And,

Lastly, If, at the end of the said seven years, these grantees desire it, the Queen will grant other seven years to them; provided, as aforesaid, the said exclusive trade shall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom.”

Nothing can be more cautiously penned than this charter; and particularly we may observe, that by the first *proviso*, the Queen, in effect, kept it in her own power to dissolve them at any time, on giving one year’s notice.

Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, written in the year 1635, assigns the following reasons for England’s not sooner entering directly on the Turkey trade, for Persian and Indian merchandize; but suffering, till now, the Venetians to engross that trade entirely, viz.

“ I. Former times did not afford shipping sufficient for it.

“ II. We could not; because of the great danger of falling into the hands of the Turks,” (he means the Barbary Moors) “ who, in those days, were so ignorant of our nation, as to think England to be a town in the kingdom of London.

“ That the Venetians, in those times, sent their *Argosies*, or *Argosers*,” (the corrupt name for a certain kind of great ship, constructed after the make of those of Ragusa) “ yearly to Southampton, laden with Turkey, Persian, and Indian merchandize. The last *Argoser* that

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1581 " came thus from Venice was in the year 1587, and was unfortunately lost near the isle of Wight, with a rich cargo and many passengers.

1582 The Queen's letters to the Grand Seignior were received with much civility, being delivered to him by her Ambassador Harebone, in the year 1582, whom she empowered to settle Consuls in the several ports, and to establish laws or rules, to be observed by the English trading to Turkey. With the first factors, the indefatigable Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 164-5, sent excellent instructions, " for enquiring into the nature of dying stuffs in Turkey, and in-
 " to the art of dying : also what of those drugs might be produced in England, and how be-
 " neficial such new productions would have been to us ; which he instances in that of saffron,
 " first brought into England by a Pilgrim ; and also woad, originally from Toulouse in Lan-
 " guedoc. That the damask rose was first brought into England by Dr. Linacre, physician
 " to King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII.—Turkey fowls about fifty years past (viz.
 " about 1532,)—the artichoke in King Henry the Eighth's time,—and of later times, the
 " musk rose, and several sorts of plums, by the Lord Cromwell, out of Italy ;—the apricot by
 " King Henry the Eighth's French gardener." (But here is no mention as yet of peaches,
 nor of nectarines.) " And now, within these four years," (in the year 1578) " have been
 " brought into England, from Vienna in Austria, divers kinds of flowers, called tulipas,
 " and those and others procured thither a little before from Constantinople.—And it is said,
 " that since we traded to Zante," (this must have been but lately) " the plant that beareth
 " the currant is also brought into this realm ; and although it bring not fruit to perfection,
 " yet it it may serve for pleasure, and for some use." (This shews that it was then but just
 introduced.) " Many other things have been brought in, that have degenerated, by reason of
 " the cold climate : some things brought in have, through negligence, been lost : Arch-
 " bishop Grindall brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received
 " great health by this plant." On the commencement of the English trade to Turkey, the
 merchants having occasion to attend the Queen and Council, they had there great thanks and
 commendations for the ships they then built of so great burthen,—with many encouragements
 to go forward for the kingdom's sake, according to the author of " The Trade's Increase ;"
 who adds ; " that the ordinary returns of this trade, at the beginning, were three for one."

By England's entering, at this time, into a direct trade to Turkey, all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and India came home to us much cheaper. And, says Sir William Monson, when the Venetians served us with those rich eastern wares, by the way of the Red Sea, and down the Nile to Alexandria, and also by way of the caravans to Aleppo,—they (*i. e.* the Venetians) also were then used to take freight in their ships from port to port ; whereas now, (that is, in the year 1635) all strangers are more desirous to employ our ships in that service. Jacobs, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, p. 9, alleges, upon what authority I do not know, " that the Barbary merchants were incorporated in King Henry the Seventh's time ; but that Company decaying, out of their ruins arose the Levant or Turkey Company ;
 " who first trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furnished England that way with
 " East India commodities, which, till then, were brought to us, mostly, by land ; and to the
 " Portuguese alone by long-sea, &c."

In the same year 1582, the ship *Sufan* of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried out to Turkey, the English Ambassador, Harebone, who now first settled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical states had taken many ships belonging to London, Bristol, &c.

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1582 And Harebone, having established all the English factories in Turkey, notwithstanding the spite and malice of the French and Venetians, returned over land to England.

In the same year also, a voyage to China was attempted from England with four ships; which, however, went no further than the coast of Brasil, and returned home for want of provisions, after having fought some Spanish men of war on that coast.

In this year, Mezerai, in his History of France, acquaints us, that the yearly revenue of their King, Henry III. was got so high as thirty-two millions of livres, or three million two hundred thousand pounds sterling, a livre being at this time, as we have seen under the preceding year, equal to two shillings English.

We have seen, that ever since the reign of Queen Mary, the peculiar immunities of the Hanseatics, or German Steelyard merchants at London, remained suspended; and that her sister, Queen Elizabeth, formally abrogated them, in the year 1678. These Hanseatics had, for several years, been loudly complaining thereof at the Emperor's court, and at the diet of the empire; where, in this year 1582, they asserted, "that by the high duty laid on woollen cloth in England, or paid by the Hanseatics, it was become," says Werdenhagen, "twice or thrice as dear as it had before been; that from hence proceeded the vast increase of England's wealth; two hundred thousand cloths being yearly exported thence, three fourths whereof were carried into Germany, and from thence a great part was carried into Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. That the remaining fourth part was sent to the Netherlands and to France; but little or none into Spain. From whence," says he, "it was easy to infer the immenseness of the profit accruing to that Queen and nation thereby. The only remedy therefore," said the Hanseatics to the German diet, "was to banish the English Merchant-Adventurers out of the Empire, and absolutely to prohibit all manner of English woollen manufactures, as what they judged would effectually bring the Queen to terms with the Hans-towns. The Queen had some friends in this diet, who, together with her own able envoy, Gilpin, long and strenuously defended her and her own Merchant-Adventurers." Yet, in the end, the Hans-towns interest prevailed in the diet, who passed sentence against the English merchants, and absolutely prohibited all English woollen goods: yet Gilpin, by a stratagem, outwitted the Hanseatics in such sort, that the sentence could not be executed till the decision of another diet; and our merchants were afterwards permitted to remove from Staden to Hamburg, where they were well received.

In this same year, the Russia Company sent out no fewer than eleven ships well armed, for fear of enemies and pirates.

At this time Pope Gregory XIII. ordered ten days to be cut off from this very year, because three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours exceeded a year by eleven minutes; one day therefore is gained in about one hundred and thirty-two years; by which means, from the year 325, when the Council of Nice was held, to this year 1582, ten whole days were gained. This was called the New-Style, and, doubtless, the justest, though we and other Protestant states kept to the Old-Style till very lately.

1583 Such was the custom and policy of those times, that Queen Elizabeth was obliged, in the 1583, for the protection of the ships of her Russia Company, (says Camden, in her Life and History) to obtain a treaty or grant of the King of Denmark, for his permission for that Company's ships, during both their lives, freely to navigate the North Sea, round by the coasts of Norway and Danish Lapland, to the haven of St. Nicholas: and in case of foul weather, &c. to take shelter either in Iceland or Norway, even in ports by former agreements prohibited,

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1583 prohibited, provided they did not trade there without that King's licence; for which privileges the Company were to pay him one hundred rose nobles annually during the term of this grant.

Queen Elizabeth sends Sir Jerom Bowes to Russia, but the new Czar, Theodore Janowitz's ministers, being said to have been corrupted by Dutch presents, he returned home, without being able to obtain a renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges. The writers of those times acquaint us, that besides the principal commodities sent from England to Russia, viz. cloth, silks, velvet, &c. they carried thither coarse linen cloth, (since those times brought from thence to us in very considerable quantities, such vast alterations does commerce often undergo) old silver plate, all kinds of small mercery wares serving for the apparel of both sexes, as linen and silk girdles, garters, purses, knives, &c. Yet, what with the expence of the first discovery, thirty years ago, and the large presents since bestowed on the Czar and his ministers, and the false dealings of others there, it had cost the Company about eighty thousand pounds before it could be brought to any profitable account; and even at this time, from the fickle temper of the Czar and his people, the encroachments of the Hollanders, and the expence of ambassadors, &c. all born by the Company, this trade now stood on a very precarious bottom. Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, says, that this new Czar, Theodore Joannides, or Janowitz, promised to remit to our Company half of the customs paid by other nations, in consideration of their having been the first discoverers of the way thither by sea. In other respects, he added to their privileges, out of regard for the Queen; at the same time accusing the Company of having dealt falsely with his people; and no other answer than this could Dr. Fletcher obtain, sent afterwards Ambassador, on this behalf, to Russia, in the year 1558.

The last part of the preceding paragraph we have taken from a curious and judicious treatise of Captain Carlisle's, who was son-in-law to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth; and who, in this same year 1583, set forth the then existing hazard of the English, in their voyages to Turkey, from the piratical states of Barbary; and for the prevention whereof it cost two thousand pounds yearly in presents; and similar hazards in our trade to Italy; our sailors being obliged to pay large ransoms to the Algerines for their redemption from slavery. Moreover, the Venetians, envying our advancement in those trades, have loaded us with high duties on our merchandize, and on theirs which we bring back.

Yet, says Captain Carlisle, we carry on a great trade with Spain and Portugal, who take off much of our wares to India.

Carlisle had, by the interest of Sir Francis Walsingham and others, raised one thousand pounds subscription at Bristol, for an attempt to settle in America, and had proposed to the Russia merchants to raise three thousand pounds more at London: which four thousand pounds they deemed sufficient to settle one hundred men in their intended plantation.

Captain Carlisle judiciously displays the many benefits which would accrue to England, by the making a settlement in North America: "Such as the great consumption of our woollen, &c. manufactures; the taking off our idle and burdensome people; the great likelihood of rich mines; and still more, of our raising naval stores in America, which we are now obliged, at high prices, to take of other nations.—That this proposed settlement may also be greatly helpful to the fishery in those seas: and as there are grapes in plenty in America, and that olives may be easily propagated there, both wine and oil may be had in abundance: furs also, and skins in abundance."

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1583 Pippins, according to the author of the *Present State of England*, printed in the year 1683, were first planted in England about this time in Lincolnshire, prior to those of Kent.

Queen Elizabeth had, in the year 1578, granted a patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his assigns, for new discoveries westward, and to settle a colony. Accordingly, after many discouragements, he sailed in this year 1583, from Plymouth, with five ships; and, at Newfoundland, was assisted by the English fishing ships there in taking possession of that island for himself, under the crown of England. He had carried with him many artificers, with toys, &c. for traffic. Here he set up the Queen's arms, granting leases to many persons for stages to cure their fish; the Portuguese, French, and Spanish ships crews agreeing thereto. He from thence sailed to Cape Breton, and to the coast of the continent of North America, where he lost one of his ships. Meeting with many other disasters, he returned homeward; but Sir Humphrey, and all in his ship, were lost in a great storm, and only one of his fleet got safe home to Falmouth. Mr. Walter, afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young man, was deeply engaged in this project.

In the same year also, a considerable expedition was set on foot from England, in favour of Don Antonio, the Bastard, of Portugal, who pretended to the crown, in opposition to King Philip II. of Spain, there being twenty-two thousand men under Sir John Norris's command, and the fleet commanded by Sir Francis Drake; but they did nothing of moment, and returned home with considerable loss.

The same year, a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, belonging to Southampton, sailed on a voyage to Brasil and Rio de la Plata; but was, in going thither, unfortunately lost on the coast of Guinea.

Adrian Gilbert, in this year 1583, for his attempting the discovery of a north-west passage to China, &c. had the Queen's patent for five years, by the title of *The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage*; which scheme ended in nothing at all.

The Queen-mother of France, Catherine de Medicis, assisting the Bastard of Portugal, Don Antonio, with ships and troops, he was enabled to possess himself of one of the Azores or Western Isles; but the fleet of King Philip II. of Spain, consisting of twelve gallies and fifty galleons, meeting with that of France, totally defeated it. Voltaire, in his *General History of Europe*, part 5. thinks that this was the first time that gallies were seen in the ocean, that is, without the Mediterranean sea. "being," says he, "very surprizing, that they should have been brought the distance of one thousand leagues to those strange seas. When Louis the Fourteenth, long after this time, had sent some gallies into the ocean, it was falsely supposed to have been the first attempt of that kind: yet this attempt was, it is true, more hazardous than that of Philip the Second's, the Channel being more tempestuous than the Atlantic ocean." The mercantile Venetian and Genoese gallies, which formerly resorted so much to England, were, very probably, of a more solid structure than the others, which are solely suited for summer expeditions within the Mediterranean.

1584 Sir Walter Raleigh, whose great genius inclined him very much to new enterprizes and discoveries, had, in this year, formed a society of gentlemen and merchants to subscribe a considerable sum of money towards forming a settlement on the continent of North America; and on Lady-day, 1584, Queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpose. Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were accordingly sent; but they sailed about one thousand leagues out of their way: for the short course to the northern parts of America not being as yet known to us, they steered the accustomed course of the Spaniards, by the Canary isles, and thence into

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1584 into the trade-wind to the Caribbee islands: from thence sailing through the Gulph of Florida, they anchored at a part of what is now called Virginia; where, making some insignificant trade with the natives, with toys for their furs, they returned home with gain, as they said, and greatly magnified the richness of the country, in order to encourage a second adventure. They brought home also some pearls and tobacco, the first of that sort that had been seen in England. The wise Queen seemed fond of this design, and either she herself, or Sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia; which, indeed, they truly represented to be a pleasant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fish, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefore obtains Queen Elizabeth's patent to himself, &c. for the possessing of such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover in six years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever; reserving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein, with power to seize, to their proper use, all ships, with their merchandize, that shall, without leave, plant within two hundred leagues of this intended settlement, excepting, however, the Queen's subjects and allies fishing at Newfoundland, &c.—Grants free denization to the planters and their posterity residing there.—Powers are also granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to those of England. It is, however, to be observed, that in this, and some other patents of those times, there was no distinct place, longitude, nor latitude fixed or limited for such plantation, although, undoubtedly, North America was the country intended.

In the same year, Jerome Horsey, the Queen's and the English Russia Company's agent, is said to have obtained more benefits of the new Czar, Theodore Janowitz, than could be got in twenty preceding years. This shews that the Company's privileges had been early invaded. The new Czar sent Horsey over-land with his compliments to our Queen, who sent him back to him with hers: after which Horsey took leave a second time, returning with the Czar's presents to Queen Elizabeth. He was very honourably received at the new castle of Archangel, and coming to St. Nicholas, at the sea-side, he was saluted with the cannon of the English, Dutch, and French ships. Which also plainly shews, that this company's exclusive trade, before this, was quite abrogated.

By an act of the Scottish Parliament, in this same year 1584, an horse-guard of forty gentlemen, for guarding their King's person, was first appointed; each gentleman having a yearly salary of two hundred pounds Scots; which, according to the proportion of eight to one, is twenty-five pounds sterling yearly: which salary, by comparing the prices of wheat, oats, barley, &c. then, with the modern prices in that country, might, we conceive, fairly go as far as at least four times that sum at present, or one hundred pounds sterling per annum each.

1585 In the next year, 1585, Captain John Davis, with two barks from Dartmouth, first sailed into the straits, since called by his name, in the country named Old Greenland, in north latitude sixty-four degrees forty minutes, and up into sixty-six degrees forty minutes, and returned home the same year, as all others since have done, without any useful discovery. At this time we find they knew the use of an instrument somewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoise; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the practice of the right manner of killing them.

Under the year 1585, it becomes us to take special notice of the memorable sacking of the most famous city of Antwerp. Our learned Camden had remarked, under the year 1576, " That all things were then in confusion there under the Duke D'Alva's government: the
" magistrates

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1585 “ magistrates of the country were imprisoned, their goods violently seized, and all other kinds of injuries done to the people; whereby the states were driven to take up arms. And in the said year 1576, Antwerp, the most excellent of cities, the most flourishing mart-town, without exception, in all Europe, was plundered by the Spanish garrison, who mutinied for want of their pay,” as we have elsewhere related. Yet this was nothing compared to the Duke of Parma’s entering that city with his army, in this year, after a close siege, whilst Queen Elizabeth was concluding a treaty with the Dutch, to send four thousand men to its relief, for which she was to have Sluys in Flanders, as a pledge, delivered into her hands.—Famianus Strada, in his History of the Low Country Wars, relates, “ That they most miserably plundered the richest port-town in all Christendom for three days together, to the value of at least two millions of pistoles, beside an infinite value of rich merchandize and furniture destroyed by fire, &c.—Almost three thousand of its inhabitants fell by the sword,—fifteen hundred were either burned or trodden to death, and as many drowned in the Scheldt, &c.” It was the Prince of Parma who was, at this time, Governor of the Netherlands, D’Alva having been already recalled.

The sacking of this city gave the finishing blow to the commerce of the Netherlands. The whole fishing trade, says Monsieur Huet, in his Memoirs of the Dutch Trade, if, as some think, he was the author of that work, removed into Holland; and as for the noble manufactures of Flanders and Brabant, they removed to different parts. Much of the woollen manufacture settled at Leyden, where it still flourishes. The linen removed to Haerlem and Amsterdam. One third part of the merchants and the workmen, who worked and dealt in silks, damasks, and taffaties, and in bayes, says, serges, stockings, &c. settled in England, because England was then ignorant of those manufactures: and the rest of the merchants of Antwerp, more especially the Protestants, would probably also have settled in England, but that foreign merchants paid aliens, that is, double customs there, and were also excluded from all companies or societies of commerce, as were also foreign journeymen from setting up to be master-workmen, or even partners in any trades but such as the English were unacquainted with. And thus, through the madness of Spanish Popish bigotry, and of arbitrary power, commerce and manufactures, driven from the Netherlands, proved the means of carrying to, and increasing them in most of the countries of Europe west and north of the Mediterranean sea, and to several cities and towns which had hitherto enjoyed neither of them.—A most serious memento to all nations!

To this persecution of the Flemish Protestants, the kingdom of Sweden is likewise said to be indebted for its greatest improvements; whither numbers of them having removed, they first taught the Swedes the making of iron cannon, and of other iron, copper, and brass manufactures. For it seems, that, before this time, most of the Swedish iron was only run into pigs there, and then was sent to Dantzick, and other parts of Prussia, to be forged into bars; just as the English formerly sent their wool into Flanders, to be made into cloth by the Flemings.—*Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves!*

Before this final overthrow of the commerce of Antwerp, the once famous Gerard Malynes, in his treatise, entitled, Free Trade, printed in octavo, in 1622, p. 68, observes, “ That no nation trafficked so much to Antwerp, in bulk of staple commodities, as the realm of England did. This,” says he, “ is asserted by Botero, who relates, that two years before the taking of Antwerp, all the merchandize of Christendom, which was vended there in
“ one

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1585 "one year, being valued by the officers of that city, the whole being divided into five parts, the English merchandize alone amounted unto four parts thereof."

Thuanus, lib. 62. called Antwerp the most opulent city in the world: yet, as most part of her commerce was carried on by the ships of foreign nations, she had not much shipping properly of her own, compared with that of London and Amsterdam in our days. So that, when it was sacked, the shipping removed with the nations they belonged to, which was a principal reason why Antwerp was disabled from recovering its former commerce; though the Dutch forts on the Scheldt, below it, was another, and a still more cogent one. In its glory, it contained thirteen thousand five hundred private houses, forty-two churches, twenty-two market-places, and two hundred and twenty streets: from the Scheldt, on which it stands, in the figure of a crescent, were cut eight principal canals into the city, for laden ships to go into the heart of it. Not only England and Holland have happily felt the advantages of the wild conduct of Spain, in their persecution of the Protestants of the Netherlands, by a very considerable accession of industrious manufacturers, but likewise many cities of Germany were, from the same cause, stocked with industrious inhabitants; particularly, the Count De Hanau was induced, on this account, to erect what is called the New Town of Hanau, which is much superior to the old one, and is since greatly increased by Louis XIV. of France's later persecution of his Protestant subjects.

The size and extent of the city of Westminster at this period, may be easily conceived, when compared with our own times, viz. It was ordered by the dean, high-steward, and burgeses, "That the number of alehouses should not exceed one hundred, viz. sixty for St. Margaret's parish, twenty for St. Martin's, and twenty for St. Clement's and the Savoy precinct;" whereby the inhabitants of St. Margaret's parish then exceeded those of all the rest of the liberty by one sixth part; and as there were then (*i. e.* when Maitland wrote, between forty and fifty years ago) one thousand one hundred and sixty-four alehouses in that city and liberty, we may safely conclude, that the whole must be considerably more than twelve times as large at this period than it was in 1585; for, even since Maitland's time, it has very rapidly increased, both in buildings and extent.

In this same year, the gallant Sir Richard Grenville sailed for Virginia, by the old round-about way before described, with seven ships, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and with men for a settlement. He began with forming a colony at Roanoke isle, lying about five leagues from the continent, in thirty-six degrees north latitude, where he left one hundred and eight men. It is a truly melancholy consideration, that these poor men were left to shift for themselves in so wild a country, for above a year; and who, being so eager to discover gold and silver mines, now never like to be found there, neglected to prepare their provisions in due season, and going far up the country in quest of those mines, (for golden dreams were then universal) most of them were either destroyed by the natives, or perished for want; and the few who survived, were taken up by Sir Francis Drake, on his return to that coast from harassing the Spanish West Indies, who took them all home, although they had sown corn there, which was very near ripe, and would have been sufficient for two years sustenance: and they were but just gone, when a ship, fitted out at the sole cost of Sir Walter Raleigh, arrived there, with all sorts of conveniences; as did Sir Richard Grenville, soon after, with three other ships, with a further supply: but finding the places quite desolate where the English planters had settled, they all returned home. In these accounts there appears to be some confusion, as well with respect to the identical year, as to the names of persons engaged therein,

which

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1585 which is owing to the inaccuracy of writers and transcribers in those days. The whole, however, at present, is of no very great consequence.

Whilst such discoveries were making by England in America, Queen Elizabeth was not inattentive to the affairs of the Netherlands, where the seven united provinces had, in this year 1585, in their assembly, empowered deputies to wait on her, as appears in the fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 793 to 798, with a request to take their provinces under her protection, or else to grant them sufficient aid, during their war with the King of Spain. And although she refused to be their sovereign, yet, in this same year, *ibid.* p. 799, she sent to their assistance the Earl of Leicester to command her troops, consisting of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, and to be governor of their provinces. See vol. ii. p. 83 to 88, of the Collection of Treaties, in four volumes octavo, published in 1732.

In this same year, *ibid.* *Fœdera*, p. 801, the States General of these seven provinces, as a security for the expence she had been and was like to be at for assisting them, pledged the following towns and forts into her hands, viz. the town of Flushing, and the fort of Rammekins in Zealand, and, p. 802, *ibid.* the town of Brill, with its forts. Of the two first-named places the ever famous and gallant Sir Philip Sidney was made governor, and of the latter Sir Thomas Cecil; which three places were to be restored, upon this Queen's being repaid all her said disbursements. This is called the treaty of Nonfach, concluded the tenth of August, 1585.

It would be to little purpose to recount all the private adventures of Englishmen against the Spaniards in America in Queen Elizabeth's reign: yet Drake's grand expedition thither, in the year 1585, (though undertaken only by private adventurers) with twenty-five ships, and two thousand three hundred men, may merit a brief account.

I. He sacked the town of St. Jago at the Cape de Verd Isles.

II. He sailed from thence to the West Indies, and took and pillaged the city of St. Domingo.

III. Sailing over to the main land, he took by force the city of Carthagena, and obliged the inhabitants to ransom it. The season being far advanced, he found himself compelled, with his companions, to return homeward, without following their original scheme, which was, to march over land to Panama, on the shore of the South Sea. Wherefore,

IV. They sailed by the coast of Florida, where they took and sacked the fort of St. Augustine, and found about two thousand pounds in money, and fourteen brass cannon. Next he called at the infant Virginia colony; which, being unable to sustain itself longer, he took the people home with him to England, as we have already related. Hakluyt makes the whole booty of this expedition not to exceed six hundred thousand pounds, and that they lost therein seven hundred men; it therefore did not fully answer the expectations that had been formed of it.

In this same year, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and to forty more, for an exclusive or sole trade to the dominions of Morocco, for twelve years; to the Emperor whereof, Muley Hamet, she sent her minister (Roberts) who remained three years there, and obtained some privileges for the English; particularly, that none of the English should, in future, be made slaves in his dominions.

The Algerine pirates now first ventured out into the Ocean, according to Morgan's History of Algiers, vol. ii. p. 588, Morat Rais having, with three ships, attacked and pillaged the chief town of the Canaries, carrying home much booty and many captives.

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The violent measures of the Duke D'Alva, and the subsequent sack of Antwerp, had forced such multitudes of people to take shelter at Amsterdam, that, according to Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, that city now began to extend its pomerium or bounds; and, in a few years after, it increased above one half; and new ramparts, ditches, &c. were made round the increased part of that famous city. That author further observes, that, at one time, nineteen thousand people retired from Antwerp into Holland, and those mostly to Amsterdam; whereby Antwerp, not only the finest city of all Brabant, but likewise almost of all Europe, was miserably stripped of its wealth and prosperity, whilst riches, arts, ingenuity, and industry crowded into Amsterdam, in a manner so sudden as hardly to be paralleled in story; so that it now became the chief city of traffic in all the Netherlands. For, as the great Pensionary De Witt observes, in his *Interest of Holland*, "although Antwerp was, in respect of its good foundation and far extended traffic, the most renowned merchandizing city that ever was (till then) in the world, sending many ships backwards and forwards from France, England, Spain, Italy, &c. and making many silk manufactures, yet Brabant and Flanders were too remote and ill situated for erecting at Antwerp, or near to it, the fishery of had-dock, cod, and herring, and for making that trade as profitable there as it might be in Holland. The King of Spain, according to the maxims of monarchs, desired to weaken that strong city, which he thought too powerful, and to disperse the traffic over his other numerous cities. The merchants of Antwerp, being therefore compelled to forsake that city, chose Amsterdam to settle in, (which, before the troubles, was the next great city of commerce in the Netherlands) because the isles of Zealand were not so well situated for inland commerce; and there was then no toleration of religion either in France or England; in the latter country also there were heavy duties on goods exported and imported, and their guilds or halls excluded foreigners; nevertheless, one third part of the dealers in, and weavers of fays, damasks, stockings, &c. went casually into England, because those trades were then new to the English, and therefore under no halls or guilds: another great part went to Leyden; and the traders in linen, fixed at Haerlem: the Flemish fishing went also to Holland; though still the villages of Flanders and Brabant retained much manufacture, by means of land carriage into France and Germany." What Botero says, in his *Treatise of the Causes of the Magnificence and greatness of Cities*, was still, even now, certainly true of the cities of Flanders, viz. "That they were the most mercantile and the most frequented cities for commerce and traffic in all Europe; a principal cause whereof was, that the infinite quantity of merchandize imported and exported, paid but a very small custom."

At this time, the new erected republic of the united provinces was in great distress, as not only King Henry III. of France, but Queen Elizabeth of England, had again refused to be their sovereigns. The sagacious Queen foresaw, that when she was once engaged with Spain in defence of that sovereignty, it would be almost impossible to tell when she should be able to retreat with honour and safety; but the powerful aid she intended to give the States General she might either lessen or increase at pleasure. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, by a treaty with the States, stipulated to supply them with five thousand foot and one thousand horse; which she engaged to pay whilst the war lasted; on condition of being repaid at the end of it; the three forts already mentioned being to remain in Elizabeth's hands by way of security for the same, and for one hundred thousand pounds in money, which she had before lent them.

Sir Bernard Drake, with a squadron of English ships, was now sent to Newfoundland, where he took several Portuguese ships laden with fish and oil; (Portugal being now united

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1585 to Spain) which is all that we meet with material concerning that island during the rest of this century.

1586 The fifteenth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera* concludes, in the year 1586, p. 803 to 807, with one of the best treaties that was ever made between the two sister nations of Britain. King James VI. of Scotland was still a minor; and for the mutual defence of both kingdoms, and the security of the Protestant religion, as well as for the prevention of foreign invasions, the young Scottish King now stipulates to assist Queen Elizabeth with two thousand horsemen and five thousand foot, Queen Elizabeth engaging, in the same manner, to aid him with three thousand horse and six thousand foot.

Thus our excellent Queen successfully laboured to secure a back door, which had so often been dangerous to England: by which political measure she was more at liberty to pursue her interests on the continent, and to improve the commerce and manufactures of her people.

Mr. Miffelden, in his judicious *Circle of Commerce*, a quarto book, published in the year 1623, p. 54. relates, that Queen Elizabeth, in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, confirmed all the former charters of the company of English merchant-adventurers; thereby granting them the same authority to hold their courts, and to exercise their trade in Germany, as amply as they had formerly done in the Netherlands; with strict prohibition to all not free of that company to trade within their limits; of which new grant or charter this author, who was an eminent merchant of London, affirms he had seen and examined the original. Whereupon, the city of Hamburg invited them again to settle there; and the company, in consequence of that invitation, sent thither two commissioners: yet the Imperial and Spanish party in the senate so far prevailed, that the commissioners were obliged, in the year 1587, to go over to Staden, where they fixed the company's staple to good purpose. Before this time, Staden was unfrequented by merchants; but, during the ten years in which the company resided there, Staden found a great change for the better, till in the year 1597, when the company was forced to leave it.

In this same year, Captain John Davis, with three ships, made his second voyage towards the hoped-for north west passage; but finding no passage in the Straights of his name, he came further south in order to attempt it, where he lost some of his men by the natives; and all that he did in this voyage was the bartering of his toys for some hundreds of seal skins.

The Hanseatic towns on the Baltic Shores still continued to have a considerable commerce; and particularly Wismar and Lubeck, whilst they continued to sail directly to Spain with their own vessels; but from this time forward, says their historian Werdenhagen, by means of such numbers of Netherlanders as had fled to Hamburg, that city pushed on a much greater commerce to Spain. From which period most authors date the great but gradual declension of the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic Sea, and more especially that of Wismar; the magnificent churches, august market place, town house, capacious wine cellars, and the large and stately private houses of which city, sufficiently declare the former great resort of traders to it, and its ancient opulence.

At this time flourished the famous Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who made some astronomical discoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation, and consequently to maritime commerce. He died in the year 1601.

According to Gemelli, who will be often quoted in this work, the Chinese, about the year 1586, for their own advantage, first granted to the Portuguese (near the mouth of Canton

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1586 river) the rocky isle of Macao, then inhabited by robbers, on condition of their expelling them; which they accordingly did. Here they built and fortified the town of that name, which they held to this day, but tributary and at the mercy of the Chinese, to whom they pay tribute and customs. Since the Portuguese were expelled Japan, Macao is become considerable; it contained five thousand Portuguese, in the year 1699, and one thousand five hundred Chinese.

Mr. Lane, one of the Virginia adventurers, is said in this year to have been the first who brought tobacco home from thence: its name was probably given it by the Spaniards before this time, from the isle of Tobago, one of the Caribbees, where it was produced in abundance.

The same year, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out from Plymouth two small vessels, which, at the Azores, took five Spanish ships; and, after some other exploits, returned home with a considerable booty.

Mr. Thomas Cavendish now also commenced the second English circumnavigation of the earth, at his own expence, which he effected in two years and two months, by the old route through the Straights of Magellan, and home by the Cape of Good Hope, having lost two of his three ships. He took a rich Spanish ship from the Philippines, and destroyed other ships and some towns in the South Seas. But neither this, nor Drake's circumnavigations, were intended for the making any useful settlements in those remote parts, for the benefit of our commerce, as most certainly they might easily have done; but their principal aim was privateering against and pillaging the Spaniards, together with some transient commerce. These warlike circumnavigations were from this time discontinued from England, till in the late Queen Anne's reign the ships Duke and Dukes of Bristol were sent out on a similar design.

In this same year, the Earl of Cumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh jointly sent out some ships, with a design to privateer against the Spaniards in the South Seas: but this undertaking proved unfortunate, and a great loss to these two enterprising geniuses.

Hakluyt acquaints us, that in this same year, Jerome Horsey obtained of the Czar, Theodore Janowitz, new privileges for the English Russia company, though not exclusive ones, such as, a freedom from certain tolls or taxes, &c. But it seems, they were, in this new grant, prohibited from carrying their goods to the new castle of Archangel, and were confined to the old warehouses, and the harbour of St. Nicholas. As this is the second time that we find mention made of the new castle of Archangel, it is probable there was then no town of that name, and that this new castle has since grown up into the town of Archangel.

The principal gate of London, called Ludgate, with a prison over it for debtors who are freemen of the city, was this year rebuilt: and if what Holingshead relates is to be depended on, it cost only somewhat above one thousand five hundred pounds, p. 1561, which being very lately demolished, could not be as well built up again at this time for four times as much.

We are indebted to De Witt's Interest of Holland, for the following remarks on the Earl of Leicester's conduct in Holland, under this same year 1586, viz. "That although, during
" the troubles on the score of religion, many Flemish and Brabant clothiers and merchants
" retired to Holland, yet were they presently in great danger of being driven out again by the
" Earl of Leicester, who, by the interest of the clergy, his courtiers, and English soldiers,
" endeavoured to make himself lord of the country; issuing very prejudicial placards against
" traffic and navigation, designing by surprize to have seized on the three greatest trading
" cities, viz. Amsterdam, Leyden, and Enchuysen." In another place, he says, "that
" Leicester's

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1586 “Leicester’s edict at Utrecht, in the year 1586, prohibiting stores of war, provisions, or even merchandize, as also letters, from being carried to the Spaniards or their allies, &c. would probably have overthrown all the advantages which Antwerp’s fall had brought to Holland; had not the French, Scots, Danes, and Vandalic Hans-towns, interposed; in consequence of which that edict was frustrated. Nevertheless, the bare terror of its being to take place, made very many trading people leave the Netherlands, who settled at Hamburg, Bremen, Embden, Staden, &c.” The last named edict, Thuanus, lib. lxxxv. thinks, was in order to raise money by this means for carrying on the war, by obliging all nations to purchase free navigation at high prices. Great, however, as those two authors are, it may be considered, that the latter was a Frenchman, and the other strongly frenchified, a violent republican, and foe to England.

1587 Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind so intensely set upon a plantation in North America, that he again sent out three ships and one hundred and fifty persons of both sexes. These planters Raleigh’s superintendant settled on the isle of Roanoke, where he found the second colony had been destroyed by the natives. Here he re-built the fort and houses, calling the place the city of Raleigh in Virginia. He left one hundred and fifteen men in this new settlement, and returned home; where he remained about three years before he could obtain the necessary supplies, which he had promised to bring in the year after he left the colony. When he arrived in 1590, with these supplies, both of men and stores, in three ships; it seems such of the colony as remained alive had removed to a place on the continent of Virginia, called Croatoan; that word being carved on the trees. To this place they intended to sail in search of the colony; but a storm unfortunately arising, the ships lost their anchors and cables; and provisions also failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miserable colony to perish, to the shame of that age; for although Raleigh was involved in difficulties about this time, yet surely the Queen and nation should have had compassion on those poor men, who were left, as it were, to the mercy of savages in a wild and uncultivated country.

Thus was this scheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aside, during all the rest of Queen Elizabeth’s reign; and all the great expence of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away; besides the loss of many men’s lives.

The first positive law ever made in Scotland for fixing the rate of the interest of money was in this year 1587, by the fifty-second act of the eleventh Parliament of King James VI.; whereby the legal interest was not for the future to exceed ten pounds, or an equivalent to five bolls of victual, for one hundred pounds by the year; this valuation of five bolls to be equal to ten pounds Scots, was about half the value of victual (*i. e.* oat meal). in the present age.

The law made in the reign of King James I. of Scotland, for sending deputies or commissioners to Parliament, to represent the lesser barons or freeholders, having been much neglected, it was in this year re-enacted, and was ever after constantly kept up, as well as the representatives from cities and towns.

In this same King James Sixth’s reign, there were several strict laws made for the confining of commerce in Scotland to the freemen of burghs;—so far, that no workman or craftsman should be permitted to carry on his craft or calling, in any adjacent suburb of a free burgh, even although the said suburb should be no way subject to the said burgh.

Wheat, according to the Chronicon Preciosum, was now three pounds four shillings per quarter at London; whilst in other places it was at ten shillings to thirteen shillings per bushel; occasioned by excessive exportation. They had not in those times adopted the strict

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1587 and necessary regulations as we have done in later times, for the prevention of excessive exportations, unless when corn is at a moderate price.

About this time Queen Elizabeth condescended to grant to the Steelyard merchants of the German Hans-towns, the very same commercial privileges and immunities, in point of customs on commerce, as were enjoyed by her own natural-born subjects; provided however, that her English merchants at Hamburg were equally well treated; which, nevertheless, did not give them entire content. And in the mean time, that Queen being in a state of war with Spain, she gave the Hans-towns due notice not to carry into Spain, Portugal, nor Italy, either provisions, naval stores, or implements of war, for the King of Spain's use, under forfeiture thereof, and even of corporal punishment.

In England, as well as in other European countries, where there was any considerable commerce, the salaries, and daily wages or pay of artificers, soldiers, sailors, labourers, &c. became considerably enhanced about this time; occasioned partly by the general increase of commerce, and partly by the great accession of silver bullion, annually imported from the Spanish colonies in Mexico and Peru. Of this enhancement we have an instance in this year 1587, from the undoubted authority of Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 5, "wherein Queen Elizabeth grants to Sir Thomas Shirley the office of treasurer of her army in the Netherlands, "with an allowance of one pound six shillings and eight-pence per day, for his own diet, as "this English record expresses it, and ten shillings per diem for his vice-treasurer's entertainment: also six shillings and eight-pence per diem for each of three other paymasters. The "Queen also allows him one per cent. for portage of all such sums of money as should come "to his hands; with all other advantages enjoyed by the former treasurer of her said army."

In the same sixteenth volume, p. 6, of the *Fœdera*, we have a long letter of the Count of East Friesland, to Queen Elizabeth, "complaining of the Hollanders, who had blocked up "his river Ems, and even part of his town of Embden; so as to hinder the exportation of "corn, &c. under pretence of such provisions being carried to the Spaniards their enemies; "whilst, at the same time," adds this Count, "they themselves send two hundred vessels together, yearly, laden with corn, and other provisions, &c. to their mortal enemy the King "of Spain's country, for the sake of gain." The Count tells the Queen "how much he "had formerly encouraged her merchant-adventurers, when settled at Embden; also how "much even they were obstructed in carrying their cloth into the inner parts of the empire, "by the Hollanders interruption of his people's commerce.—And that he had given such encouragement to her said merchants, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Imperial and "Hanseatic cities to obstruct it." Yet this year the company was not at Embden, but had removed from Hamburg to Staden.

Queen Elizabeth having had intelligence of the formidable preparations of Philip II. of Spain, for an invasion of England, had sent out Sir Francis Drake; with a fleet of forty ships, to the coast of Spain, where he destroyed many ships, particularly at or near Cadiz and Lisbon, above one hundred vessels laden with provisions and ammunition; he also took a rich Portuguese carrack from East India, at the Azores; "out of the papers whereof," says Camden, in Queen Elizabeth's history, "the English so fully understood the rich value of the East "Indian merchandize, and the manner of trading into the eastern world, that they afterwards "set up a gainful trade by establishing a company of East India merchants at London." He also took an Argosie, full of rich merchandize.

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1587. Here we must remark, what others have long since done, that such vast damages done to Spain in this year 1587, greatly contributed to King Philip's being constrained to defer, to the following year, his intended invasion of England.—But, another greater, and seemingly more effectual cause of deferring it, does equal honour to commerce, and to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State; who, by the aid of Thomas Sutton, Esq; (who was afterwards founder of the Charter-house hospital in London) and also of the Queen's merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, and of some others jointly, who found means to get all the Spanish bills of exchange protested; which were drawn on the merchants of Genoa, and which were to supply Philip for the carrying on of his preparations. “A merchant of London,” says Bishop Burnet's first volume, p. 313, of the History of his Life and Times, “being very well acquainted with “the revenue and expence of Spain, and of all that they could raise; and knowing also that “their funds were so swallowed up, that it was impossible for them to victual and fit out their “fleet, But by their credit on the bank of Genoa; he undertook to write to all the places of “trade, and to get such remittances made on that bank, that he might have so much of the “money in his own hands, as there should be none current there, equal to the great occasion “of victualling the Spanish fleet. He reckoned, that the keeping of such a treasure dead in “his hands, until the season of victualling was over, would be a loss of forty thousand pounds. “And he managed the matter with such secrecy and success, that the fleet could not be set “out that year. At so small a price,” says the Bishop, “with so skilful a management, was “the nation saved at that time!” Wheeler, the secretary and historiographer of the English Merchant-adventurers company, in his book already so often quoted, also asserts, “that his “said Fellowship of Merchant-adventurers were likewise, on this occasion, assisting to the “Queen in like sort, at the mart of Kiel in Holstein.” All which demonstrates the great importance of mercantile credit, and its influence, when well conducted, in matters of even the highest state concern to a nation.

In the same year 1587, Mr. John Davis, with three ships from Dartmouth, undertook a third voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage to China, &c. In this voyage, he met with a Biscay ship, whom he judged to be engaged in fishing for whales. Nothing materially different happening in this attempt from the two former, he returned home without finding any passage, having again gone up the Streights which bore his name, to no effect. All these three voyages were much encouraged by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, and other noblemen, and also by several merchants. Those great men knew, from what had already been discovered, as also from the frame or structure of the terraqueous globe, that sooner or later more discoveries would be made; and that as it would greatly redound to the benefit of the nation, so it would no less advance their own glory to be the instruments of such great benefits to their country.

1588 King Philip II. of Spain, though disappointed, as we have just related, of invading England in the year 1587, sent his fleet and troops out against England in the memorable year 1588. Our Camden asserts, “that it was the best appointed in men, ammunition, and provisions, “of all that ever the Ocean saw, and was called by the arrogant appellation of the Invincible “Armada.” Consisting of—

Ships of all kinds,	—	—	—	130
Soldiers,	—	—	—	19,290
Sailors,	—	—	—	8,350
Cannon,	—	—	—	2,630

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The particulars of this expedition, long since become so thread-bare a subject, being to be found in all our own histories, and in those of almost all other nations, we shall therefore only very briefly remark, that our sea commanders and mariners, on this occasion, gained immortal honour.

The great Grotius, in the fifth book of his *Annals of the Netherland Wars*, has the following remark, and fine encomium thereon, viz.

“ The glory of Greece and Rome, which anciently effected their greatest matters by naval victories, was in these times undoubtedly equalled by the fortune and valour of the English, although their conquests were more slowly as well as more safely obtained over Spain; and in all the time they fought with the Spaniards, they did not lose one considerable ship, nor above one hundred men!—Whereas the Spaniards endured all kinds of misery; losing near five thousand men, and their best ships.”

In the sixteenth volume, p. 16, of the *Fœdera*, “ we see the Queen’s letters patent to Sir Francis Drake, to govern her whole fleet.” And it is somewhat remarkable, that this is the first mention we meet with in the *Fœdera* of that famous sea commander, excepting a single instance of the preceding year 1587, being a complaint of the magistrates of Cologne in Germany, though an inland city, of his having taken an East India ship, bound for Lisbon, already mentioned, in which were laden various kinds of merchandize belonging to their citizens; and praying the Queen to restore their said effects. The Lord Admiral, Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, was properly the chief commander of the English fleet this year, and Drake only his vice-admiral, as Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Frobisher were his rear-admirals. The whole English fleet consisted of but seventy-six ships paid by the Queen, and thirty-eight by the city of London; beside eighty-three coasters, &c. sent by several other sea ports; in all one hundred and ninety-seven vessels great and small; besides those of Holland and Zealand. Some of our vessels, filled with combustible matter, and sent among the Spanish ships, are said to have given rise to the terrible invention of fire-ships.

In short, this famed Armada, what by the valour of the English navy, which, though much inferior, had many different skirmishes with them in the Channel, and that of the states of the new Belgic republic;—what also by the Duke of Parma’s being obstructed by cross accidents with his land and sea force from the Netherlands, to join those of Spain; and to which may be added very violent and tempestuous weather; this pompous and truly powerful armament, after losing many ships and men, was obliged to retire north about by the coasts of Scotland, and from thence southward, home to Spain, by the west coast of Ireland. On the Scotch coast the Spanish fleet lost many ships, and, according to Camden, had above seven hundred soldiers and sailors wrecked there, who, by the intercession of the Prince of Parma to King James, and by permission of Queen Elizabeth, were afterwards sent over to the Low Countries: but those who were shipwrecked on the Irish coasts were almost every where put to the sword. King Philip the Second’s ministers, it is said, concealed this great misfortune from him for some days; but, it seems, on perceiving, by the sadness of their countenances, that somewhat disastrous had happened, he obliged them to disclose the whole to him—Whereupon, he is reported to have greatly said, “ God’s will be done; I sent my Armada to attack England, not to fight against the elements!”—King James of Scotland behaved very well on this trying occasion; and is by Camden reported to have facetiously said, That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniard than what Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, namely, that after all the rest were devoured, he should be the last to be swallowed. And thus

were

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1588 were not only England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the new republic of the United Netherlands, preserved from imminent destruction, but also the equilibrium of the general liberties of all the rest of Europe, as well as the Protestant religion in Britain and elsewhere. For, at this time, the monarchy of Spain was undoubtedly the most potent of any in Christendom; although by its own bad measures, and the gradually growing power of Holland and England, and soon afterwards of France, when its civil wars subsided, that power, not many years after this time, began to shew evident symptoms of a fatal declension. Out of one hundred and thirty-four ships, which for this great attempt came out of Lisbon, no more than fifty-three returned; only one of the galleasses of Naples, and one of the four great galleons of Portugal; and only thirty-three of the ninety-one galleons and hulks of other provinces: so that in all, Spain lost eighty-one ships, and thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers and mariners, besides much treasure.

Queen Elizabeth sends Daniel Rogers as her Envoy to the Danish court, not only for keeping that crown from abetting her foes, but for preventing their general practice of stopping English merchant ships in passing the Sound, for private mens offences; and that the toll for that passage might not be paid by the English but at their return homeward from the Baltic Sea, and this only in the usual money of Denmark, says Camden: moreover, that the owners should not suffer punishment for the frauds committed by pilots: that, moreover, the packs of cloths might be free from imposts, and that the custom called last-gelt might be released to the English. All which, however, were at this time postponed, under pretence of the King's minority. "For the Danes were a little discontented with the English," continues Camden, "for that they now sailed into Russia, not by the Sound, but by the coasts of Norway, Finland, and Lapland, &c. But Boris Theodorides, Czar of Russia, who this year succeeded Theodore Joannides, or Janowitz, omitted no means to help the English, and by all good offices to procure the Queen's amity." Rogers also demanded, that the ancient league, which was to be renewed every seven years, for liberty for the English to fish at Iceland, might not be evaded; which point was also postponed.

As the number of men in a nation is of the last importance, we shall here quote a paragraph of the anonymous author of a small folio treatise, published in 1689, intitled, *The happy future State of England*, p. 249, he says "That Mr. Pepys, once Secretary of the Admiralty, shewed him a paper, mentioning, that the whole number of men in the realm of Spain, taken by a secret survey, some time (as is supposed) before the year 1588, was but one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand three hundred and ninety, exclusive of the regular and secular clergy." Now, we may here observe, that if it be true, as is generally presumed, that all the grown up men of a country are about one fourth part of the whole people, men, women, and children; then, multiplying the said one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand three hundred and ninety, by four, gives us the whole people, in the kingdom of Spain about this time, viz. four million five hundred and one thousand five hundred and sixty souls: the smallness of which number, in so extensive a country, is easily to be accounted for, when we duly consider,

I. Their driving out such vast numbers of Moors and Jews, and their receiving no foreign supplies in their stead.

II. Their sending out continually such numbers of their own people, for about eighty years preceding, to plant their American dominions. And,

Lastly, The consuming and destructive wars of the Emperor Charles V. and his son King Philip II. in the Netherlands, Italy, &c. There are even many in our own days of opinion, that Spain does not at present contain above five millions of souls.

The manufacture of that sort of superfine linen cloth called Cambrick, which took its name from the city of Cambray in the Walloon Netherlands, was at this time so considerable in that city, according to the very good authority of Thuanus, that an exact account being taken, by persons versed in such matters, it was found that there were annually manufactured in that city sixty thousand webs or pieces of cambrick; which being valued, one with another, at forty florins each, amounts to two million four hundred thousand florins, or about two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, yearly.—Thuanus, lib. 89, sub anno 1588.

The Happy future State of England, (already quoted) under this same year, relates, p. 127, “That in a remonstrance of the Corporation of the Trinity House, in the year 1602, to the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, extant in Sir Julius Cæsar’s Collections, it is said, that in the year 1588, Queen Elizabeth had at sea one hundred and fifty sail of ships, whereof only forty were her own,” (the largest of which were not bigger than one of our modern fourth rates; yet she was then the next best maritime power to Spain; the rest of Europe, Venice excepted, having very few ships of force in those times) “and one hundred and ten were the ships of her subjects. And that in the said year, there were likewise one hundred and fifty sail of English merchant ships employed in trading voyages to all parts and countries; each being of about one hundred and fifty tons burden, one with another. Also, that all those three hundred ships were manned with thirty thousand seamen, viz. the Queen’s forty ships with twelve thousand, or three hundred in each ship; the one hundred and ten hired ones with twelve thousand one hundred, or one hundred and ten in each ship on an average; and one hundred and fifty trading ships, with six thousand seamen, or forty in each ship.” But this remonstrance further adds, “That in a little above twelve years since the said year 1588,” i. e. at or near the time they made that remonstrance, “the shipping, and the number of seamen were decayed about one third part.” This declension of our maritime power, was, without doubt, owing to the Queen’s wars with Spain, by the great loss of shipping in those wars, and in the many private expeditions and adventures of our people to America, Africa, &c.

“Both before and after the year 1588,” continues the last quoted author, *ibid.* “upon Spain’s complaining that the English ships frequented the Indian, &c. seas, Queen Elizabeth” as Camden and others also observe, “declared, that the ocean was free to all; forasmuch as, neither nature, nor regard of public use, do permit the exclusive possession thereof. The like answer she made to the King of Denmark, who would needs set up a claim to the sovereignty of the seas of Norway and Iceland, because he was Lord of the shores on both sides, saying, that the Kings of England never prohibited the navigation and fishing on the Irish sea or channel, even though they be Lords also of both shores.” Yet in the case of the Russia Company’s ships, we have seen, under the year 1583, the Queen partly complied with the Danish claim.

How different this stile is from that of the writers in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth’s next two successors, and of some even of later times, on this subject, will be seen in its proper place. Echard, and most other of our English historians, also give us that great Queen’s answer to the complaints of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, in the year 1588, upon Drake’s return from his navigation round the globe, viz. “That as to Drake’s sailing on the Indian
“seas,

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1588 " seas, it was as lawful for her subjects to do so, as for the Spaniards ; since the sea and air are common to all men."

In this same famous year 1588, what is called the Chest at Chatham was first erected, being a contribution for the benefit and relief of maimed and superannuated English mariners, out of which pensions are paid to such for their lives, by the advice and influence of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, &c. It was, at first, only a voluntary monthly contribution of the mariners, out of their pay, for the succour of their then wounded brethren ; but was afterwards made perpetual by Queen Elizabeth. By an act of the Rump Parliament, in the year 1649, cap. xxiv. For abolishing of Deans and Chapters, and Selling of their Lands, we find, that this chest had been usually kept at what is called the Hill-house at Chatham, which, with its gardens, &c. had belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. Until the noble foundation of Greenwich Hospital by King William III. this was the only charity of that kind for distressed sailors. Bishop Gibson, in his Additions to Camden's Britannia, observes, " That the navy of England has always owed more to the county of Kent, than to all the other counties ties together ; on account of the number and importance of the places of that county, subservient to the royal navy, which, beside the above named place, of Chatham yards, docks, &c. has Greenwich, Deptford, Woolwich, Sheerness, and Dover, subservient to it." " How much these dock-yards, store-houses, &c. have been increased and improved since Camden's time, and even since the first edition of Bishop Gibson's Additions, in the year 1692, would require a volume fully to describe. And there are additions, enlargements, and very useful and beautiful improvements constantly making to those places, and also to the two famous ports of Portsmouth and Plymouth : so that the King's yards alone appear like large towns of themselves. And as a beginning is made for the like end at Milford Haven, it is to be hoped authority will effectually compleat the fortifications, docks, &c. of that incomparable haven, even in this generation.

Dr. Gyles Fletcher being in this same year sent Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Russia, obtained, although not without difficulty, a renewal of certain former grants ; such as liberty for the English Russia Company to trade through Russia into Persia ; also payment of part of the debts due by Russian subjects to that Company ; and that no Englishman, residing in Russia, should be reputed of the Company, unless he be acknowledged and authorized by them. But the Czar would never be brought to allow our said Company its original exclusive trade to this country : for which, and other causes, the Company's commerce was at this time very much decayed.

An English ship and pinnace from London, made at this time, a prosperous voyage to Benin, on the west coast of Africa, southward. Queen Elizabeth also, in the same year, granted a patent for ten years to come, to some merchants of Exeter, and other towns in Devonshire, and two London merchants, for an exclusive trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia in Guinea : " because," says this patent, " the adventuring of a new trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning.—Provided, however, that at any time after the date hereof, the Queen, or six Privy Counsellors, may in writing revoke this patent, upon six months notice." Here is another instance of little more than the name of an exclusive Company to be depended on for any certain determined time.

1589 Queen Elizabeth, in just resentment of the King of Spain's sending his grand armada against her in the preceding year, determined, in the year 1589, to carry her arms into that enemy's country : and she at this time took the most frugal method of doing it, by encouraging of private

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1589 vate adventurers to undertake it, at their own cost, but under her authority, they raising men both for land and sea service, for annoying and despoiling the Spaniards; the Queen only supplying them with six of her own ships, to which the Dutch joined some of theirs. For this end, Sir Francis Drake for the sea service, and Sir John Norris for the army, procured many to join with them in so promising a project, and took with them Don Antonio, pretending to the crown of Portugal. Stowe makes the number of ships assembled for that end to be one hundred and forty-six, and fourteen thousand men; Camden says, eleven thousand soldiers, and one thousand five hundred sailors. But Rapin only eighty ships, and eleven thousand soldiers. With this force they landed at Corunna in Galicia; and the lower town they took, but could not possess themselves of the higher: they next take Peniche, and from thence the army proceeds over land, and the fleet goes to Lisbon, for the attacking of Portugal, in behalf of the bastard Don Antonio, Prior of Crato; pretending to that crown, in opposition to Philip of Spain, in possession of it: yet there were so many Spanish troops in and near that city, that they could not take it. They then take Cascais, a town at the mouth of the Tagus. "And here, to recompence their charges," says Camden, "they took about sixty hulks, or fly boats, of the German Hans-towns, laden with wheat and warlike stores, to furnish a new armada against England. They kept the ladings, but discharged the ships; which Hanseatic ships, lest they should be taken, had sailed by the Orkneys, the western isles of Scotland, and the west side of Ireland, because Queen Elizabeth had" (as we have related) "forewarned the Hans-towns, that they should not carry any victuals nor provision for war into Spain nor Portugal, under pain of loss of ships and goods." Yet although this was a legal capture, it nevertheless gave Queen Elizabeth much trouble for several years after, in answering remonstrances, &c. from the Empire, and also from Poland and Dantzick, they being deeply concerned in this seizure; and in the end produced a total breach between England and the Hans-towns. At length, after taking Vigo by storm, they returned home to England with one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and a very rich booty, says Camden; though others thought otherwise, and that all their achievements and booty did not recompence the charge and loss of six thousand of their soldiers and sailors. This is, perhaps, the greatest privateering enterprize, if it may be properly so termed, of any in the later ages of the world.

In the same year 1589, the brave and enterprising Earl of Cumberland, with several ships, sailed on a private adventure to the Azores or Western Isles, where he took many good prizes from the Spanish and Portuguese West Indies, &c. seized and ransomed the town of Fial, and returned home with a great booty, though much distressed by storms, &c. At the Azores, Lord Cumberland met with three or four Scottish ships, who supplied him with wine and water; and this is the first account we have met with of Scottish ships making so long a voyage in such early days.

It is scarcely worth recording, that, in the same year 1589, an abortive privateering adventure was attempted from Plymouth, with three ships for the South Seas of America; one of which was of three hundred and forty, and another of three hundred tons; but none of them could get through the Streights of Magellan, and all three were lost in returning, with their equipage, excepting six men, who got home to give this account.

In this same year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's College in Cambridge, invented an engine, or steel loom, called the Stocking Frame, for knitting or weaving of stockings. This was but twenty-eight years after we had first learned from Spain the method of knitting them

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1589 them by wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved of great benefit to the stocking-manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vast quantities of silk stockings to Italy, &c. where it seems, (by Sir Josiah Child's excellent Discourses on Trade, first published in the year 1670) they had not then got the use of the stocking-frame, though little short of one hundred years after its invention. Yet Dr. Howell, in his History of the World, vol. ii. p. 222, makes this invention eleven years later, in the year 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught this art in England and in France, but his servants did the same in Spain, Venice, and in Ireland.

It was about this time that King Henry IV. of France brought the silk manufacture of that kingdom to considerable improvement. Before this time, the silk-worm and mulberry-trees had been propagated in the more southern provinces of France, viz. in the Lyonnois, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc; but that King not only carried it as far north as Orleans, but brought silk to be an universal manufacture in France.

The manufacture of cloth, both woollen and linen, in France, was likewise much propagated in that King's reign, as also many other mechanical works: "so that the French," says De Witt's Interest of Holland, "could now supply others with more manufactures than foreign reigners could take off; whereas, formerly, the bulk of the people of France subsisted by tillage and vine-dressing."

Mezerai says, that the said King Henry IV. attempted to breed silk-worms at the Thuilleries in Paris, at Fontainebleau, and at the Castle of Madrid, near Paris, and caused great numbers of white mulberry-trees to be planted in all the adjacent parishes; but the attempt was not crowned with success.

1590 In or about the year 1590, was the invention of the Telescope or Spying Glass discovered, being justly esteemed one of the most useful and excellent discoveries of modern times, though it was, it seems, produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janssen, a spectacle-maker of Middleburg in Zealand, being at play in their father's shop, and looking through two pieces of glass between their fingers, which were at some small distance from each other, the weathercock of the church steeple appeared to them unusually large, and much nearer. Of this they instantly told their father, who, surprised also at first, made the experiment of fixing two such pieces of glass in brazen circles or cylinders, so as they might be placed nearer or farther at pleasure. Janssen very soon improved this discovery so much, that he presented a telescope twelve inches long to Prince Maurice, and another to the Archduke Albert. Mr. Wotton, in his Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, relates, "That Prince Maurice, conjecturing that they might be of great use in war, desired him to conceal his secret: and for that reason his name was so little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerhard Vossius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to one Jacobus Metius of Alcmær." None of those first telescopes, however, were above eighteen inches long; neither were they properly framed for making of astronomical observations, until Galileo, Astronomer to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, hearing of this discovery for bringing objects nearer, made such great improvements therein, as to have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itself, by giving to the telescope the appellation of Galileo's Tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened eleven years later, and that J. Baptista Porta, a noble Neapolitan, was the first inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable Sir Isaac Newton was the inventor of the Reflecting Telescope, consisting of specula, or mirrors, instead of lenses, which

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1590 which has been since much improved, and is much more exact and useful than refracting ones. The Microscope, which magnifies the smallest objects, so as to be distinctly viewed, was discovered in the year 1621, and it is said this happened both in Naples and Holland at the same time. Mezerai makes this invention eighteen years later; yet he adds, that even the ancients must have known the use of them, if what Roger Bacon says be true, viz. "That Julius Cæsar being on the Belgic shore, opposite to Great Britain, did, with certain great burning-glasses, discover the posture and disposition of the Britons army, and all the coast country:"—which information is left to the faith of such as chuse to believe it.

By the telescope, astronomy is brought to such a degree of perfection, as it was impossible for the ancients to arrive at, being without it. Navigation, and consequently commerce, has also received very great assistance from a more perfect discovery of the heavenly bodies; and the microscope has whole volumes published of its wondrous and amazing discoveries.

We have the best authority for fixing the date of the first manufacturing of Sail Cloth in England to this year 1590, being the preamble to an act of Parliament of the first year of King James I. cap. xxiii. reciting, that "whereas the cloths called mildernix, and powl-davies, whereof sails and other furniture for the shipping and navy are made, were heretofore altogether brought out of France and other parts beyond sea, and the skill and art of making and weaving of the said cloths never known or used in England until about the thirty-second year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth," that is, in the year 1590, "about which time, and not before, the perfect art or skill of making and weaving the said cloths was attained to, and since practised and continued in this realm, to the great benefit and commodity thereof, &c."

As we still excel all the nations upon earth, both in naval power and maritime commerce, every thing relative to either should, as far as is practicable, come to us at the first hand. Yet, though it may seem somewhat strange that a nation, in those days very far from being eminent in shipping, should so long have supplied us with this great article, it ought to be considered, that they were, at that time, and long before we engaged in it, eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths, made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection, in almost every art, is not to be attained but by very slow degrees.

In the sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 54, we have a letter, in French, from the States General of the United Netherlands to Queen Elizabeth, "loudly complaining of the great and excessive damages done to their merchants and people by her ships of war, as well in her ports as on the seas, in the return homewards from the western parts," i. e. Spain and Portugal, "amounting, as by vouchers, to one million six hundred thousand florins." They subjoin, "That the people of the United Provinces do not depend either on the intrinsic riches or extent of their country, both being very inconsiderable; but their whole dependence is on their navigation and traffic, which must be inviolably supported, otherwise their merchants will withdraw into other countries, and the States will be rendered utterly incapable of carrying on the present war against the King of Spain.—That, at this very time, their ships, sailing towards the West, and to France, and returning, are daily more and more pillaged and robbed by the Queen's subjects, who are so cruel as to oblige the Hollanders, whom they rob, to give it to them under their hands, that the goods they are robbed of are fairly bought of them by the English.—And in fine, that their people can no longer endure such cruel usage, which will, in the end, redound to the disadvantage

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1590 advantage of her," (the Queen's) "dominions. Wherefore they urge her to a speedy and "effectual redress; &c."

To these complaints, the Queen's council reply, in substance, (*ibid.* p. 61) the same year, "That such as have really suffered damage on the above account, have either already had "satisfaction, or will have it, upon proper application. And that the Queen will speedily "send over to Holland a person of distinction, in order to settle with the States all the mat- "ters complained of."

These robberies, as the States term them, were occasioned by the Hollanders trading to the Spanish territories, (here cautiously hidden under the words Western Parts) notwithstanding that the States, as well as the Queen were at war with Spain. A practice which the Dutch have, at all times, not only used, but pleaded for, even in their offensive alliances with Great Britain, and much more when in a state of neutrality; of which we have no need to produce instances, because they are innumerable, and many of them very recent ones.

In the same year 1590, a second voyage was made from London, with the same ship and pinnace as in the year 1588, to Benin in Africa, which was also prosperous. In both voyages, their cargoes outward were linen and woollen cloths, iron manufactures, bracelets of copper, glass beads, coral, hawk bells, horses tails, hats, &c. and they brought home Guinea pepper, elephants teeth, oil of palm, cotton cloth, and cloth made of the bark of trees.

In Giovanni Botero's second book of the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities, chap. viii. he tells us, "That excellent sugars were produced in the island of Madeira," where at present, in our days, we hear of none at all.

The same year 1590 is memorable for the gallant behaviour of ten English merchant ships, returning home from Constantinople, Venice, &c. who, in the Streight of Gibraltar, fought twelve Spanish galleys, each of which was manned with three hundred men, and after six hours made them fly, without losing a man, although the Spanish galleys lost many men, and were greatly hurt.

The province of Samoieta, the most northerly part of the Russian territories, was now first brought under the Russian monarchy, it having been before unknown to Russia, as lying in a extremely cold climate, over against Nova Zembla. Those new tributaries are now said to have agreed to pay two sable skins yearly per head to the Czar, by which regulation the trade to Russia became greatly increased.

The country of Siberia, lying south of Samoieta, had been discovered and reduced a little before this time, and has since been greatly improved, and thereby has considerably increased the revenue of Russia, not only from their fine furs of many kinds, but from their excellent iron works, as also from their sturgeon, salmon, &c. in great quantities, to the considerable increase of the commerce of Russia.

Strype, Stowe, and later authors relate, that in this year, by reason of a combination at Newcastle upon Tyne, coals were raised in London to the excessive price of nine shillings per chaldron, whereas the usual price, for several preceding years, was but four shillings.

Queen Elizabeth, at this time, prudently and carefully examining her income, that so she might be the more able to determine the quantity of her outgoings,—found her customs had been long farmed at fourteen thousand pounds yearly, which she soon raised to forty-two thousand pounds, and at length to fifty thousand pounds; and farmed them still to Sir Thomas Smith, who had so long had them at fourteen thousand pounds.

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1590 Till about this time, says Sir Philip Medows, in his excellent *Observations concerning the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas*, from the *Memoirs of the Duke of Sully*, “The naval strength of the crown of France was about half a dozen ships of war, such as they were, at Brest and Rochelle, and about a score of gallies in the Mediterranean. But this King,” continues he, “dressed a new plan of the French monarchy; and though his great designs were interrupted by an immature death, and also by a succeeding minority, yet the great Cardinal Richlieu resumed it again. He first taught France that the *Fleur de Lis* could grow at sea as well as on land, and adorned the sterns of his new built ships with this prophetic inscription,

“*Florent quoque Lilia Ponto.*”

Of which motto see more under the year 1637.

Queen Elizabeth, knowing the good effects of a potent navy, made, in this year 1590, certain prudent regulations concerning it. Mr. Burchet, in his *Naval History*, relates, “that she assigned eight thousand nine hundred and seventy pounds yearly for the repairs of her fleet.” To observe how mean such a sum would be thought at present, for such a purpose, is wholly unnecessary; her own ships, as we have seen, were but few, and money, in those days, went much further for all things than in the present times.

It is undoubtedly true, that the number, wealth, and splendour of large and populous cities are, in general, the best symptoms of the state of commerce every where; nevertheless, in great arbitrary monarchies, as in France, Russia, Turkey, Persia, &c. the cities, which are the usual residence of their monarchs, and of their courts, nobles, guards, &c. may be large and splendid, without an adequate commercial prosperity in the respective countries. Giovanni Botero, an eminent Italian author, who, in or about the year 1590, wrote an excellent small treatise, intitled, *Of the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities*, (and to whom Morriero gives the character of being a judicious author) assigns the several causes or means of making cities great and magnificent; such as, “the commodious situation,—good soil and roads,—deep and safe havens and rivers,—colonies,—good government,—schools,—privileges,—industry, &c. All which, though necessarily conducive to make a great and rich city, will never attain the end without commerce and manufactures, and foreign or maritime trade where it can be had.—Among the kingdoms of Christendom,” says our author, “the greatest, richest, and most populous, is France, containing twenty-seven thousand parishes, and fifteen millions of people; so fertile by nature, and so rich through the industry of her people, as not to envy any other country: and, by means of the residence of the Kings of so mighty a kingdom so long at Paris, that city is become the greatest in Christendom, containing about four hundred and fifty thousand people.” What he adds is remarkable, though surely not strictly true even then, and much less so in our days, at least with relation to England.

“The kingdoms of England, Naples, Portugal, and Bohemia, as also the earldom of Flanders, and the dukedom of Milan, are states, in a manner, of equal greatness and power so that the cities wherein the Princes of those same kingdoms have, for any long time, made their residence, have been, in a manner, also alike, as London, Naples, Lisbon, Prague, Milan, and Ghent; which have each of them, more or less, one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants.” (The reader is to take notice, that this work now quoted, is only an English

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1590 English translation, printed in the year 1606, from the Italian original.) "But," continues Botero, "Lisbon is, indeed, somewhat larger than the rest, by means of the commerce of Ethiop, (*i. e.* Africa) India, and Brasil; as is likewise London, by means of the wars and troubles in the Low Countries; and Naples is, within these thirty years, grown as great again as it was. In Spain there is not a city of any such greatness, partly, because it has been, till of late, divided into divers little kingdoms, and partly through want of navigable rivers, to bring so great a quantity of food, &c. into one place, for maintaining an extraordinary number of people. The cities in Spain of most magnificence, are those where the ancient Kings and Princes held their seats, as Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon, &c. being such as pass not the second rank of the cities of Italy. Yet he allows Granada, where the Moorish Kings so long reigned, and Seville, through the discovery of America, to be greater than those other cities: and also Valladolid, by means of the former long residence of the Kings of Spain, though no city, may compare with its noblest cities; and also Madrid is much increased, and continually increasing, by the court which King Philip keeps there. In Poland, Cracow and Vilna, through the former long residence of their Kings, and the latter of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, are the two most populous cities in that country. In Russia, Wolodimer, Great Novogrod, and Moscow, are the most eminent cities, as having been all three the seats of their Great Dukes; though, at this day, Moscow, their present residence, is so great and populous, as to be reckoned one of the four cities of the first rank in Europe, which are Moscow, Constantinople, Paris, and Lisbon. In Sicily, Palermo is the chief, being equal to cities of the second rank in Italy." (Cities of the second rank in Italy, he elsewhere hints, to consist of such as have under one hundred thousand inhabitants.) "Rome," continues our author, "whose majesty exceedeth all the world, would she not be more like a desert than a city, if the Pope held not his residence therein, with the greatness of his court, the course of ambassadors, prelates, and princes, with an infinite number of people serving both him and them; if, with magnificent buildings, conduits, fountains, and streets, it were not gloriously adorned; and if with all these means, she did not draw and entertain such a number of merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, artificers, and labourers?"—Book ii. cap. 1.

In cap. 2. of book ii. he enquires, "What the reason is, that cities, once grown to a certain greatness, increase not onward according to that proportion?" After remarking on the increase and decrease of old Rome, he subjoins, "And in like manner, since it is four hundred years," that is, from the time he wrote, "since Milan and Venice had as many people as they have at this day, how comes it to pass, that the multiplication goes not on accordingly? Some answer, that plagues, wars, dearths, &c. are the causes; but this gives no satisfaction, because these have always been. Others give a more trifling answer, viz. God governs the world; which we know was also always so.—My answer may not only serve for cities, but also for the universal theatre of the world: I say then, that the augmentation of cities proceeds partly out of the virtue generative of men, and partly out of the virtue nutritive of cities.—Now, soasmuch as men are, at this day, as apt for generation as they were in the times of David or Moses, if there were no other impediment, the propagation of mankind would increase without end, and the augmentation of cities would be without term; and if they do not increase *in infinitum*, I must needs say, it proceeds from the defect of nutriment and sustenance sufficient for it, which are gotten either out of their own territories, or else from foreign countries: now, to have a city great and populous, it is neces-

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1590 "fary that victuals may easily be brought from afar into it, and that such a city have the means
 "for that end, by overcoming all obstacles. Now, that greatness which depends on remote
 "causes, or hard means, cannot long endure, and every man will seek his advantage and ease
 "where he may find it best; great cities are more subject to dearths than are small ones, and
 "plagues afflict them more grievously and frequently, and with a greater loss of people: so
 "that although men were as apt to generation in the height of old Roman greatness, as in the
 "first beginning thereof, yet, for all that, the people increased not proportionably, because
 "the virtue nutritive of that city had no power to go further; and, in succession of time, the
 "inhabitants finding much want, and less means to supply the same, either forebore to marry,
 "or else fled their country: and, for the same reasons, mankind, grown to a certain complete
 "number, hath grown no further. And it is three thousand years, or more, that the earth
 "was as full of people as at present; for the fruits of the earth, and the plenty of victuals, do
 "not suffice to feed a greater number. Man first propagated in the east, and thence spread
 "far and near; and having peopled the continent, they next peopled the islands; thence they
 "passed into Europe, and last of all to the new world. The barrenness of soils, scarcity of
 "necessaries, inundations, earthquakes, pestilences, famines, wars, &c. have occasioned num-
 "berless migrations; and even the very driving out by force of the younger people, and, in
 "many countries, the selling of them for slaves, in order to make room for such as remained;
 "all which are the let and stay, that the number of men cannot increase and grow immode-
 "rately."

At this time, according to the same Botero, the city of Paris far exceeded, in number of people, and in abundance of all things, all other cities of Christendom, Moscow excepted; and Lisbon was the next greatest city of Christendom: yet we, of the present age, see London exceed all of them, without exception.

The same Botero, still speaking of the causes of the greatness of cities, observes, "That it
 "is not one particular advantage alone that will effect such greatness, but many concurring
 "advantages, already mentioned; also ornaments, like those truly noble ones of Rome, Ve-
 "nice, &c. easiness of access, and of carriage, and fruitfulness of the neighbouring soil. Thus
 "Piedmont hath plenty of corn, cattle, wines, and excellent fruits, and yet hath not one
 "great city: and the like in England, London excepted; for although that country," that
 "is, England, "does abound in plenty of all good things, yet there is not another city
 "in it that deserves to be called great: as may also be said of France, Paris excepted; which
 "city, however, is not situated in the fruitfulness of that great kingdom."

This author gives us the earliest account we have any where met with of two famous pro-
 ductions of China, viz. tea and porcelain; the first, indeed, not by any particular name, but
 only in the words following: "They," that is, the Chinese, "have also an herb, out of which
 "they press a delicate juice, which serves them for drink instead of wine; it also preserves
 "their health, and frees them from all those evils that the immoderate use of wine doth breed
 "unto us." By the use which the modern Chinese make of tea, who are a sober people, the
 herb thus described can be nothing else: and in the next paragraph, describing the many other
 rich productions of China, he subjoins, "And the porcelain earth is known no where but
 "there."

1591 In this year, 1591, Thuanus, lib. 100. relates, "That there was held at Lubœck a general
 "assembly of the deputies of the Hans-towns, at which those of Rostock, Dantzick, Bremen,
 "and Hamburg were present; where they treated of their rights, immunities, &c. which they
 "alleged

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“alleged the Queen of England daily endeavoured to impair; whereupon they sent letters to her Majesty, written with too much heat. The Queen, in a contemptuous manner, answered those letters, telling them, that although they had written to her with so little respect, she imputed that rather to their amanuensis, or secretary, than to themselves; at the same time letting them know how much she despised their menaces.”

Some members of the English Turkey, or Levant Company, having, about the year 1584, carried part of their cloth, tin, &c. from Aleppo to Bagdat, and from thence down the river Tigris to Ormus, in the Persian Guiph, and so on as far as Goa, for an attempt to settle a trade to the East Indies over-land; for that end, they carried their Queen's recommendatory letters to the King of Cambaya, and to the Emperor of China. They found the Venetians had factories at all those places, and were therefore great enemies to this attempt of the English; who, however, soon after travelled to several other places in India, and to Agra, the Great Mogul's capital; also to Lahor, to Bengal, to Pegu, Malacca, &c. and returned by sea to Ormus, and so up the Tigris to Bagdat, Bir, and Aleppo, and lastly to Tripoli in Syria; and they sailed from thence in an English ship to London, in the year 1591, having made very useful remarks and discoveries on the nature of East India commerce, preparatory to their intended voyage by sea to India, now actually going out.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 96, of the *Fœdera*, is the first instance to be found in that collection, of an exclusive patent for the sole printing and publishing of a book: it is Queen Elizabeth's to Richard Wright of Oxford, to publish a translation of Cornelius Tacitus into English, and that none other do presume to print the same during his life, nor to import any English translation of it from beyond sea.

In the same sixteenth volume, p. 105, of the *Fœdera*, we have King Christian IV. of Denmark's answer to Queen Elizabeth's complaints of exactions from her merchants, relating to the toll in the Sound, “wherein Christian vindicates his collectors from any injustice therein, and also, in his turn, warmly complains of certain English piratical ships, who daily robbed his subjects ships and merchandize; which violences,” says he, “are so heinous and intolerable, that he could neither conceal nor endure them longer. He therefore hopes she will forthwith redress them, and thereby prevent his doing it himself, though unwillingly, &c.” This was probably the seizures made by the English on the Danish ships carrying naval stores, &c. to Spain.

In p. 106 of the same volume, we have a letter to Queen Elizabeth from the Elector Palatine, in answer to that which her Majesty had written to him, expressing his sorrow, that the Archbishop of Bremen, by command of the Emperor Rodolphus, had absolutely prohibited the senate and people of Staden from any commerce with the English Merchant-adventurers, or from suffering them to reside there, even although, four years before, the senate had made a contract with the English company for their residence there. He tells the Queen, “that this prohibition was violently obtained by means of the Spanish ambassadors, and of certain factious Hanseatics, who are only grieved they do not enjoy the advantages which the said contract procured for Staden.” He promises his good offices for procuring redress: and, in the same volume, p. 111. we have a like promise from the Elector of Saxony to the Queen on the same subject.

In the same volume, p. 135, the Hans-towns endeavoured to force the town of Elbing in Prussia, to discountenance our English Merchant-adventurers, by forbidding their resort thither; but the Elbingers understood their own interest too well, to part with so advantageous a

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1591 branch of commerce. They therefore wrote a respectful letter to Queen Elizabeth, acquainting her with the displeasure of the other Hanseatics, both against them and Stadden on this account. They also tell her, that the Hanseatics had lately held a general diet at Lubeck, but that their resolutions were kept very secret; but they (the Elbingers) are resolved to leave the matter to be considered by the King and Diet of Poland; and, in the mean time, under her Majesty's protection and authority, they will go on, as their inclinations lead them, in favour of her merchants. And, *ibid.* p. 154, King Sigismund of Poland writes a respectful letter to the Queen, declaring his approbation of the English Merchant-adventurers residing at Elbing, or any where else in Poland.

At length, the first voyage from England to the East Indies was undertaken in this same year 1591, with three ships; but it was rather a privateering adventure against the Portuguese, than a proper mercantile voyage; for they took several ships belonging to that nation. In their way to India, they had lost so many men by sickness near the Cape of Good Hope, that the adventurers were obliged to send one of their ships home, and proceeded with only two to India: moreover, in a storm beyond that Cape, they lost company of Captain Raymond, in the principal ship, which was never heard of more. So that only Captain Lancaster's ship arrived in India, which also met with many grievous misfortunes; and on her return, sailing to the West Indies, whilst that captain and most of his men went on shore to look for provisions on an uninhabited island, six of his sailors ran away with the ship, and, at the end of three years, this unfortunate captain was brought home, several of his men having perished for want at that place.

In this same year 1591, the Portuguese, who had settled at Angola, were routed in a battle with the natives, and therefore applied to the King of Spain for fresh assistance, to enable them to complete their conquest.

Several gallant achievements of the English happened in the year 1591 against the shipping, towns, &c. of Spain in America, and elsewhere, as fully related, long since, by many others; but, beyond all, was that unparalleled resistance made by the gallant Sir Richard Grenville, in the Queen's ship, the *Revenge*, in which he sustained a cruel engagement for fifteen hours, against fifteen great Spanish galleons, at the Azores, till his ship had neither men nor ammunition for defence any longer, and therefore yielded, as it is finely related by Sir Walter Raleigh.

In this same year 1591, the temporary Guinea Company of England made a third voyage thither, trading with the natives with iron-ware, &c. in exchange for elephants teeth, hides, &c.

In this year also, a fleet of ships sailed from St. Malo for Canada, where the French had been settled long before this time. They were used, in those times, to fish at the isles about the bay of St. Lawrence for morse or sea-horses, whose teeth were then sold much dearer than ivory, though now esteemed of little value; they also made much oil from those animals. The French in Canada were, from time to time, supported from France, so that the country became well peopled near the banks of that vast river St. Lawrence, on the north side of it, where there are several towns, forts, and improvements: the Baron Lahontan, who had been a governor there, and published an account of the country, in the year 1703, in English, computes the French inhabitants to be one hundred and eighty thousand persons, which surely is rather too many to be true. The Baron Lahontan also mentions a kind of prophecy or foresight in the Canadians, that their colony would one day be conquered by New England, &c. which has proved true.

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In the year 1593, two of Queen Elizabeth's own ships of war joined in partnership with some merchant ships, (such being the custom then, for the royal ships sometimes to join with the adventurers of London, Bristol, &c.) fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh. They first took a Biscayner of six hundred tons, laden with iron stores for the West Indies; next they forced a great East India carrack on shore at the Azores, where it was burned; soon after they met with the greatest of all the East India carracks, homeward bound, of one thousand six hundred tons, with seven hundred men, and thirty-six brass cannon, which they took, though with great slaughter. This huge prize was found laden with the richest spices, callicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, China ware, or Porcelain, (which is the second time we meet with any mention of it) ebony wood, &c. moderately valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. So vast a ship, brought to Dartmouth, had never before been seen in England. The cargo was divided amongst the adventurers, of whom the Queen was the principal. This enterprize was commanded in chief by Sir John Burroughs, Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir Robert Croft. The possession of such immense foreign riches greatly encouraged the English, soon after, to venture to go themselves directly to the East Indies on a pure mercantile bottom.

In this year, Queen Elizabeth grants a second patent for a trade to Turkey or the Levant. The former patent, being only for seven years from the year 1581, must have expired in 1588; yet it does not appear, by any thing in Hakluyt, who is, in other respects, an exact writer, that it was again renewed till this year, when fifty-three persons, consisting of several knights, aldermen, and merchants, had the Queen's letters patent for twelve years. It recites, "that Sir Edward Osborn," hereby appointed the first governor for one year, "William Harborn, Esq; &c. had not only established this trade to Turkey, at their great cost and hazard, but also that to Venice, Zante, Cephalonia, Candia, and other Venetian dominions, to the great increase of the commerce and manufactures of England; wherefore, the Queen now incorporates them by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant; the governor and twelve assistants to be elected yearly.—The limits of their charter to be,

" I. The said Venetian territories.

" II. The dominions of the Grand Seignior, by land and sea. And

" III. Through his countries over land to the East Indies, a way lately discovered by John Newberry, Fitch, &c." as we have already related.

" The said patentees, their sons, apprentices, agents, factors, and servants solely to trade there for twelve years;—may make bye-laws for their good government.—The Queen agrees, that if their ships and goods shall be lost at sea, the company may draw back the customs they had paid for the same.—Shall have thirteen months allowed for re-exportations of the merchandize they bring home, without paying any custom for such re-exportation, so as they belong solely to Englishmen, and in English bottoms.—Four good ships, with ordinance and munition for their defence, and with two hundred English mariners, shall be freely permitted to go, at all times, during the said twelve years.

" I. Provided, that if the Queen be at war, so as to have occasion for those four ships, then, upon three months notice by the Lord Admiral, that the Queen cannot spare the said ships from the defence of the realm, the company shall forbear sending them out, until her navy shall return home.—The company may have a common seal, and may place in the tops of their ships the arms of England, with a red cross in white over the same, as heretofore they have

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1593 " have used.—No other subjects shall trade within this company's limits.—And whereas the
 " state of Venice has of late increased the duties on English merchandize carried thither, and
 " on Venetian merchandize exported from thence in English ships; for redress thereof, the
 " Queen forbids the subjects of Venice, and all others but this company, for the said twelve
 " years, to import into England any manner of small fruits called currants, being the raisins
 " of Corinth, or wines of Candia, unless by this company's licence under their seal, upon
 " pain of forfeiture of ship and goods, half to the Queen, and half to the company, and also
 " of imprisonment.

" II. Provided always, that if the Venetian state shall take off the said two new imposts,
 " then this restraint touching currants and wines of Candia shall be void.—This company
 " may admit, to be new members, any who shall have been employed as their factors, &c.—
 " And the Queen gives leave for eighteen persons more (three of whom to be aldermen of
 " London, by her herein named) to be of the said company, upon each of them paying one
 " hundred and thirty pounds to this company, towards their past charges in establishing the
 " said trades.—Members not conforming to the rules, payments, and regulations of the com-
 " pany, shall forfeit their right to be of the said company, whereupon the company may elect
 " others in their stead.

" III. Provided, that if this patent shall hereafter appear to the Queen not to be profitable
 " to her or to the realm, then, upon eighteen months notice, their patent shall cease and de-
 " termine. And, on the other side, if, at the expiration of the said twelve years, this trade
 " shall appear to be advantageous, then this company may, on their petition to the Queen,
 " have a new grant of twelve years more. Dated the seventh of January, in the thirty-fourth
 " year of her reign."

N. B. There was formerly a particular branch of this company, which was called the Morea company, and which traded with a joint stock. But this general Turkey company has, from the beginning, been only what is called a regulated company.

In the same year, Sir Walter Raleigh had formed a design on the Spanish West Indies, and also to surprize the port of Panama in the South Seas, but that enterprize, like others of the same nature, was frustrated by contrary winds. The immense riches, annually brought home by the Spanish and Portuguese fleets from the East and West Indies, occasioned so many attempts of the English to intercept them, that although Raleigh was now disappointed, as above-mentioned, of his design on the West Indies, yet the great East India carrack before-mentioned, made amends for the expence of the equipment of fifteen ships, for the West India expedition.

Whilst those enterprizes were made beyond sea, our general commerce occasioning a gradual increase of the suburbs of London, the humour of dismal apprehensions from that circumstance, which had moved Queen Elizabeth to issue a proclamation against it, in the year 1580, infected the Parliament, so far as to enact in this year, being the thirty-fifth of the Queen, cap. vi.

" I. That no new buildings should be erected within three miles of London or Westminster.

" II. That one dwelling-house, either in London or in Westminster, shall not be converted into more.

" III. That no inmates, or under-fitters, shall be in the places aforesaid.

" IV. That

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" IV. That commons, or waste grounds, lying within three miles of London, shall not be inclosed." And thereto was added,

" V. That the length of a statute mile, for the future, should be eight furlongs, each furlong containing forty poles or perches, and every pole to contain sixteen feet and an half in length;" so that an English mile was hereby made to contain one thousand seven hundred and sixty yards in length.

To what we have remarked on the Queen's proclamation above-mentioned we may further observe, that this law was, without doubt, made by the superior influence of the landed interest, with a view to prevent the people from flocking from the country to settle at London, which thereby made their rents fall, for want of a sufficient demand, as they then imagined, for provisions, &c. in their respective countries; but the landed gentlemen, in our days, understand their true interest much better, and therefore have forbore such sort of complaints, although the suburbs of London are, at least, six times as large as they were then; since it is certain, that every accession of people from the country settling in London can afford to use and consume considerably more in quantity, and better in quality of the provisions, manufactures, &c. produced in the country, than the same number of people could have done, had they remained there.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 208, of the *Fœdera*, we have Queen Elizabeth's commission to the enterprising George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; " for fitting out any number of ships of war, by him and his associates, not exceeding six, at his and his associates expence, for annoying the dominions of Spain, or of any others not in amity with her; hereby granting them the use of two of her own ships of war, to be victualled and manned at their expence, to join their own ships. The spoils she impowers the said Earl to divide amongst the subscribers to this expedition."

This private expedition consisted of eleven ships; for intercepting the Portuguese carracks bound to East India; but failing of that, he went and sacked the isle of Lancerota, one of the Canary isles. From thence he sailed to the West Indies, and took the town of Porto Rico, with an intent to settle at it, and to make it the principal station for his future enterprizes against the Spaniards in those parts. He therefore turned out all its inhabitants; but by diseases there he lost seven hundred men in forty days, which occasioned him to return home with less booty than glory.

The plague being in the city of London in this year 1593, the Queen issued a proclamation, which shews the ancient greatness of Bartholomew-fair in that city, though now dwindled into nothing; which proclamation, is in substance as follows:—See vol. xvi. p. 213, of the *Fœdera*.

" Whereas, the sickness is in sundry places in and about London; to prevent, therefore, its being communicated to other parts of the realm, she expressly prohibits the keeping of Bartholomew-fair,—there being wont to be a general resort of all kinds of people, out of every part of the realm, to the said fair; therefore there shall not be any manner of market kept in the usual place of Smithfield for any wares, nor stalls or booths for merchandize,—but the open place of Smithfield shall this year be only for the sale of horses and cattle, and of stall-wares, as butter, cheese, and such like, in gross, and not by retail, and for two days only. And, for the vent of woollen cloths and linen cloth, to be sold in gross, and not by retail, the same shall be all brought within the close yard of St. Bartholomew's, where shops are there continued, and have gates to shut the same place in the night time,"

now

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1593 now built into streets, and called Cloth-fair, "and this to continue but three days. The
 "sale of leather shall be kept on the outside of the ring of Smithfield, as hath been accustomed,
 "ed, without erecting any shops or booths for the same."

At this time, it is said, that the keeping an account of the numbers dying weekly in London began first to be in use, though it was not till the year 1663, that regular weekly bills of mortality were begun to be kept; those at this time being only taken occasionally, on account of the plague.

Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the bay of St. Laurence in America; some for morse fishing, and others for whale fishing, says Hakluyt, which is the first mention to be met with of the latter fishery by any English; and although they found no whales there, they, however, discovered on an island eight hundred whale fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before; and this too is the first account we have of whale fins, or whale bone, by the English. How the ladies stays were made, before this commodious material was found out, does not appear; it is probable that slit pieces of cane, or of some tough and pliant wood, might have been in use before.

By the trade to Archangel, the English became well acquainted with the northern seas at this time; where also they at first carried on a great fishing, or hunting rather, for morse, (as the Russians called them, the English called them sea horses, and the Dutch and French sea cows) at Cherry Isle, beyond the North Cape, so named from Alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear Isle: it seems, however, that those amphibious creatures became afterwards so shy, that the moment they saw any man they ran into the sea. The English therefore entered into the whale fishery, though not quite so early as this time.

By a statute of this thirty fifth of Queen Elizabeth, cap. vii. it was enacted, that when wheat shall not exceed the price of twenty shillings per quarter, peas and beans thirteen shillings and four-pence, barley and malt twelve shillings per quarter, then they may be exported in English ships, paying custom, two shillings for wheat, and one shilling and four-pence for the other grain per quarter. Those prices were, without doubt, judged at that time to be moderate, just as, at present, we think thirty-six or forty shillings to be moderate prices for wheat. So we may now fairly conclude, that living was at least twice as cheap as in our days, or rather, from all other things duly considered, near thrice as cheap.

2594 The Parliament of Scotland now passed an act, "that in respect of the great dearth and
 "scarcity of flesh meat, the time of Lent shall be certain, viz. from the first of March inclusive
 "five to the first of May inclusive; during which no flesh meat shall be sold, neither eaten,
 "but by sick persons; neither throughout the rest of the year shall flesh meat be eaten on
 "Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. Moreover, neither lambs nor calves, under a year
 "old, shall be slain before Whitsunday yearly."

This was purely a new political Lent; and it was not by this act pretended to have any relation to religious abstinence. The landholders might surely have chalked out a better scheme for the increase of flesh meat, by enabling their tenants to take long leases of their farms, by which measure they might have had time sufficient for the raising of stocks of sheep and oxen, and the increasing of butter, cheese, poultry, &c.—This law was, certainly, very favourable to the fisheries of Scotland, and was probably enacted in a great measure to produce that effect.

The Emperor Rodolph II. having written a letter to Queen Elizabeth in the preceding year, as appears in vol. xvi. p. 212, of the *Fœdera*, recommending to her consideration the
 "grievances

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1394 grievances daily complained of by the maritime cities of the Baltic-league, *per maritimas Baltici Fœderis Civitates*, (*i. e.* the Hans-towns) we find the Queen, in this year, *ibid.* p. 253, dispatched Dr. Perkins, her envoy, to that Emperor, for the vindication of her conduct towards the German Steelyard merchants of the Hans-confederacy.—That envoy gave the following account to the Emperor's ministers, *viz.*

“ That the ancient privileges which they formerly had in England, had, because of their great abuse of them, been taken away in King Edward the Sixth's time, in consideration that they were become incompatible with the good state of the realm; for things being now far changed in the time of the said King Edward, and of his sister Queen Mary, they could recover nothing. Yet her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, granted them the trade of her own subjects, until at length, in the year 1577, in an assembly-general of the Hans-deputies at Lubeck, they decreed to forbid the English merchants trade at Hamburg; and yet, at this time, notwithstanding all their unkind dealing, her Majesty offereth them the privileges of her own subjects, in case that they will suffer some convenient trade to the English merchants in their cities. And for that, in all kingdoms, some old usages and privileges, by change of circumstances, used to be taken away, especially if some great abuse of them happen, the Hanses have no cause to complain of England, but of themselves; wherefore it hath been taken somewhat unkindly, that a mandate of late hath been given,” meaning by the Emperor, “ against the English trade at Staden.” See also Camden's Elizabeth, lib. iv.

This last clause relates to the decree of the German diet, which Gilpin's dexterity had defeated, as already related.

In the same vol. xvi. p. 241, we find Queen Elizabeth's allowance to Thomas Bodleigh, Esq; as her minister, on special affairs, to the States General of the united Netherlands, was forty shillings per day, beside the expence of his going thither and returning.

In this same year, *ibid.* p. 264, the Queen, in a grant of the office of keeper of the royal library at Westminster, fixes the salary at thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence per annum; probably equal, in point of living, to forty pounds of our modern money.

In this same year, says Stowe, p. 769, an engine was erected at Broken-wharf, in London, for conveying the Thames water into the several streets of that city, by leaden pipes, into every house. Notwithstanding which, our author well remembers, that, in the last years of Queen Anne's reign, there were tankard bearers, *i. e.* carriers of water, constantly plying at a well under the south-east postern of Aldgate, for carrying water on their shoulders into the upper, &c. stories of houses in that neighbourhood, there being no water laid-in in many houses thereabout.

The author of a Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company, and of an account of several attempts to find out the north-east passage, published in an English octavo, in the year 1703, in his introduction justly remarks, that “ if the Spaniards had not seized on the Hollanders ships, and exposed their persons to the rigour of the inquisition, probably they had never extended their navigation beyond the Baltic Sea, the northern countries, England, France, Spain, and its dependencies, the Mediterranean, and the Levant.” But necessity obliging that people to the practice of commerce, “ they, for that end, were obliged to try new ways of getting by sea to far distant countries, in order to avoid their meeting with the Spaniards and Portuguese.”—Being unjustly debarred the sailing to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, they determined to attempt a way thither,

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1594 by steering first north-east, and then along the coast of Tartary, in order to reach China, Japan, India, and its isles. Accordingly, William Barents, with three ships, sailed, in this year 1594, round Norway and Lapland, and to the north coast of Nova Zembla, but could go no further for the ice; and yet those who returned home retained great hopes of success, when a further trial should be made.

In Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, under the said year 1594, we find wheat was at so extravagant a price as two pounds sixteen shillings per quarter, and rye at two pounds, one great cause of which probably was, that the plague had raged so greatly in England the preceding year.

Captain James Lancaster was now fitted out with three ships by some merchants of London, and was joined by certain Dutch and French freebooters. They took thirty-nine ships from the Spaniards, and then attacked the port of Fernanbuco in Brasil, and took and held the lower town and haven, having driven the inhabitants to the upper town. Here they loaded fifteen ships with the merchandize of a great East India carrack, which had been wrecked there, and with sugar, Brasil wood, and cotton, and returned home safe.—Camden's *Elizabeth*, English edition, 1635, p. 434-5.

1595 The States of Holland, and Maurice Prince of Orange, now sent out Barents, with seven ships, on a second north-east passage for China, &c. determined to try it through the Streight of Waigats, between the south shore of Nova Zembla and the north coast of the Russian province of Samoieda. But after many endeavours to get through or beyond that Streight, they were so obstructed with the ice from the Tartarian Sea, that they were obliged to return home this same year.

In Mr. Strype's edition of Stowe's *Survey of London* we find, that, from the calamitous dearth of corn already-mentioned under the preceding year, by direction of the Lord Mayor, a survey of the number of poor housekeepers within his jurisdiction was made in this year, which amounted to four thousand one hundred and thirty-two; so that, allowing them to be about or near a fourth part of all the houses in London, the whole might be about seventeen thousand houses, though at present upwards of twenty-four thousand. This increase is owing to many void spaces being built up into streets and courts since the reformation from popery, and also later, since the great conflagration, in the year 1666. This cannot be more clearly evinced than by one single instance, viz. that, till the said conflagration, all that large court, named Exchange-alley, fronting the south gate of the Royal Exchange, quite through into Lombard-street south, and into Birchin-lane east, whereon are now so many lofty edifices, was then but one single merchant's house and garden; and the like may be instanced of several other places in the city. Yet, by the further great increase of commerce, the merchants and wholesale dealers of London now begin further to lessen the number of houses in that city, and consequently of inhabitants, by turning many dwelling-houses into store-houses for merchandize in various parts of it. Moreover, by a late statute, in the thirty-third year of King George II. the city of London is empowered to make new openings and streets therein, for the convenience and ornament thereof, and in which they have already made a hopeful progress.

James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, published in folio, in the year 1657, gives us many particulars of the vast increase of London's suburbs towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, which more plainly point out the great increase of England's commerce than a whole volume of speculative reasoning could do alone. It is not material to make different sections thereof,

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1595 thereof, and therefore we have brought them all together, whether a little before or after this year.

"It seems that about this time the grounds called Spitalfields, began gradually to be built on for weavers, &c. as was also Hog-lane in that part, which had, within sixty years, from the date of his book, had fair rows of elm-trees all along, now turned into houses, on both sides, from Moundsditch to Whitechapel church.

"As to Wapping," says Howell, "it is yet in the memory of man, that there was never a house nor building, from St. Catherine's to Wapping: but now," *i. e.* in the year 1657, "there is a continued street towards a mile long, from the Tower all along the river, almost as far as Radcliff: which proceeded from the increase of navigation, mariners, and traffick."

This shews that Wapping was originally a village or place detached from London, though now a part of the great contiguity thereof.—"Radcliff also," continues he, "is much increased in buildings, and also Nightingale-lane."

"Northward, London's suburbs have been less increased than on the east and west sides: yet there was an increase about this time on that side also. Where the buildings on the west side of Smithfield stand, was formerly a very large pond of water: and where the place called the sheep-pens is, was a field with growing elms, and the place of execution for criminals.—Afterwards," in King Henry the Sixth's reign, "they began to build the space between the said pond and the river of Wells, now Turnmill-brook, which runs into Fleet-ditch: and afterwards that pond was drained, and built on; and so down that street now called Cow-lane, and also Chick-lane, and Hosier-lane, &c. So that the buildings there are so increased, that now remaineth not one tree there."

Some other additions were made about Clerkenwell, about or near this time, where the fields, gardens, and avenues of the great priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and also the convent on the north side of Clerkenwell-green stood, &c.

Westward, without Newgate, the great street named Holborn, and its contiguity, has been gradually built quite up to the village of St. Giles in the Fields. But as the greatest increase thereabout was chiefly in the next century, we must refer thereto.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 275, of Rymer's *Fœdera*, in the year 1595, we find that Queen Elizabeth had written to King Christian IV. of Denmark, for his leave, "that a merchant-man of Harwich might resort for fishing, at or to the small isle of Westmanna, adjacent to the great island of Iceland; to which, in former years, she was wont to resort without interruption. The Danish King thereto replies, by telling the Queen, that the occasion of prohibiting their subjects from resorting thither, was, that they took the liberty of frequenting it without asking leave, contrary to ancient treaties. And if her subjects will comply with those ancient treaties, they shall be free to fish at Iceland, the port of Westmanna alone excepted; the fishery of that port being now, as well as anciently, appropriated for the use and service of his own court."

Sir Walter Raleigh having, in the preceding year, sent out a ship for the purpose of making discoveries in the country of Guiana, of which he had, unhappily and fatally for himself, his son, and many others, formed such exalted ideas, with respect to its immense treasures, and great cities, from certain false information he had received; he in this year sailed thither himself, with several ships, and many worthy and experienced gentlemen and mariners. He first seized the fort on the isle of Trinidad; where he learned, that Guiana extended above six hundred miles up from that coast; and here he also received abundance of flesh but very false

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1595 and romantic accounts of rich mines and great cities, and particularly the vast and rich city named El Dorado or Manoa, the supposed capital of Guiana. On this romantic presumption, Raleigh, with an hundred men in boats, sailed four hundred miles up the great river Oronoque, enduring great fatigues for a whole month, but without meeting with that or any other great city, though he saw many Indian nations on its banks: but it beginning to swell on account of the approach of their winter; he found himself obliged to return to his ships, before he could reach that imaginary golden city: he is, however, said to have brought back some plates of gold, which he had obtained from the bordering nations who traded with Guiana. He had, it is said, been encouraged to this attempt by his cousin, the Lord Admiral Howard, and by Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, to whom he dedicated his account of it.

In this same year Sir Amias Preston, with three ships, took and burned Porto Santo at the Madeiras; and sailing from thence to the West Indies, he took and destroyed some of the Spanish towns there, which were without doubt poorly defended, and returned home with some booty, though probably less in value than the expence incurred. Sir Francis Drake also, with six of Queen Elizabeth's own ships, twenty-one private ships and barks, and two thousand five hundred men, sailed from Plymouth to the West Indies; where, the Spaniards knowing of their coming, he did but little execution against their towns; so well had they now fortified them almost every where, being sufficiently warned by former disasters. There he fought with part of a Spanish fleet sent against him, with little advantage. He next attempted, with seven hundred and fifty men, to get across the Isthmus of Darien to Panama on the South Sea, but the Spaniards had so fortified the roads, that they were forced to come back to their ships. In their return homeward, both Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, two most gallant commanders, died at, and were buried in, their element—the sea.

An epitaph on whom, what man could make?
For who could say, here Hawkins lies, or Drake?

The officers and sailors of the Dutch ships which had been sent to try a passage by the north-east to China and India last year, giving still great hopes of their being able to find such a passage, which they computed would be about two thousand miles nearer than the usual way; the States General and the Prince of Orange were thereby encouraged to send out seven ships, under Barents again, laden with all sorts of merchandize, and with money to trade with; hoping to get through Waigats, or Nassau Streight. Their smallest ship was directed to return with the news of the other six ships having doubled Cape Tabin, which was considered as the extreme point of Tartary; or, at least, when they should be gone far enough to steer to the southward, without being in danger from the ice: but finding the same obstructions in the Streight, and yet more at the further end of it, from the mountains of ice at the entrance of the Tartarian Sea, they returned to Holland after they had been four months and an half on that voyage.

The Hollanders finding, from their first attempt, that it was probably impracticable to sail to China and India by the supposed north-east passage, at length determined this year to force their way thither by the Cape of Good Hope, which they performed with wonderful courage and success: four ships sailed from Holland in April 1595, and returned home, (all but their biggest and most leaky ship, which they burned) in twenty-nine months, flushed with their past success, and big with future expectations; although by reason of the opposition

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1595 of the Portuguese and Javanese, it did not fully answer expectation in point of present gain. This undertaking was set on foot by nine merchants of Amsterdam, with only a capital of seventy thousand guilders.

"About this time," says the third volume, p. 96, of an English translation, from the Portuguese language, of a work entitled, *Portuguese Asia*, "came first into India the scourge of the Portuguese pride and covetousness. For, in the month of September, in the year 1595, news was brought to Goa, that the two first Holland ships which durst cut those seas, had been in the port of Titancone, and were bound to the isle of Sunda," &c.—From this arrival of the Dutch, the Portuguese justly date the ruin of their affairs in the East Indies. Yet Dr. Gemelli Careri, elsewhere quoted, assigns also another very probable cause of the declension of the Portuguese in the East Indies, viz. the conquest of Brasil: for finding much more profit by that rich colony, they slighted their East India settlements, and neglected to send thither sufficient supplies even for preserving what they already possessed and much less for making new conquests there. This is so certain, says Gemelli, that the King of Portugal was several times absolutely determined to abandon the East Indies, had not the missionaries made him sensible, that if he pursued such a measure, all the Christians of those countries would again fall into idolatry and Mahometanism. To say the truth, one may venture to pronounce, that the original cause of their ruin in India, was the too great number of their conquests there, which were too far asunder to be effectually succoured, whilst they were engaged in war against the Dutch in Europe, as well as in India and Brasil.

The *Chronicon Preciosum* observes, that the price of wheat in this year, 1595, by reason of a great transportation of it, was risen to two pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per quarter.

1596 King Philip II. of Spain again making great preparations against England, Queen Elizabeth wisely determined, by all means, to prevent his attempts on her coasts, and, as the best means for that purpose would be to attack and annoy him in his own ports, she sent out, for that end, one hundred and twenty-six ships of war, seventeen whereof were her own ships, the remainder were, as usual, hired ones; they carried seven thousand three hundred and sixty land-soldiers, and were joined by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships; all being under the command of the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral Howard. The gallant and successful attack and sacking of the famous and strong port and city of Cadiz, is in all our histories at large, and therefore improper to be enlarged on. Here they burned and destroyed much shipping, and more riches, and demolished all the forts: all which together, was estimated at twenty millions of ducats of real loss and damage to Spain. Much rich booty was brought home, together with two galleons and a hundred brass cannon, and two hundred other pieces of ordnance, were either taken or sunk in the sea. Eleven of the King of Spain's best ships, forty-four merchant-ships, and an immense quantity of naval stores, ammunition, provisions, &c. being destroyed, and for ransom of their lives, they agreed to give hostages for the payment of five hundred and twenty thousand ducats. This, in short, was a very glorious exploit, and did not a little raise the credit of the Queen, and of her naval land-forces, as well as of her ministers and commanders. In this attack the English employed ships of Lubeck and Dantzick: for, in order to board the Spanish galleons, the admiral, being unwilling to hazard the Queen's own ships, sent six ships of Lubeck and Dantzick from the fleet for that purpose.

Nevertheless, Philip was in this same year so intent on making reprisals for so great an insult, disgrace, and loss, that he assembled his whole marine at Lisbon, and all the foreign ships

ships in his ports; as also a body of land-forces, and many Irish fugitives, intending an invasion of either England or Ireland. Yet a violent tempest arising, destroyed the greater part of those ships; so that an end was put to that intended invasion for the present year.

By the sixteenth volume, p. 290, of the *Fœdera*, Queen Elizabeth grants to Thomas Edmonds, Esq. the office of her secretary for the French tongue, with a salary of sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per annum, for life; equal to about two hundred pounds in point of the expence of living in our days.

Sir Anthony Shirley having been cruizing on the coasts of New Spain and the Spanish West Indies, landed on the island of Jamaica; and after having taken St. Jago de la Vega, its principal town, and plundered it, he left the island.

In the same year, 1596, Sir Robert Dudley, and others, sent out three ships, with an intent to trade to China, of which, and its rich commerce, the English had heard so much: Wood, the commander in chief, had Queen Elizabeth's recommendatory letters to the Emperor of China. But all that we know of this unfortunate voyage, (from the first volume of Purchase's Voyages, p. 110, and from Harris's, p. 47.) is, that they never arrived so far as the East Indies, but having been encountered by storms, sickness, and famine, they were at length driven on the Spanish West Indies, having only four men left alive, who were made prisoners, and their ships seized.

In this year the Hollanders attempted a third, and the last time, a north-east passage to China, but were very unfortunate therein, losing one of their two ships; and Barents, with such men as were left alive, wintered miserably in Nova Zembla, and out of their battered ship fitted out a smaller one, and with infinite hazards and difficulties returned home to Holland; Barents, however, died in his return.

Wheat, in this year 1596, was become so dear in England, by reason of great rains, says the *Chronicon Preciosum*, as to be sold for four pounds per quarter, and rye at two pounds eight shillings per quarter; also oatmeal was sold at eight shillings the bushel. This is the first time we meet with the price of oatmeal; which shews that the distress of the people, occasioned by this dearth of wheat, obliged them to feed much on oatmeal.

N. B. In the alliance concluded this same year, 1596, at Greenwich, and at the Hague, between England, France, and Holland, against Spain, there is nothing particular relating to commerce.

- 1597 King Henry VIII. having wickedly sequestered all the English hospitals, to the amount of one hundred and ten in number, and having as wickedly and wantonly squandered away their revenues, it gave such a check to the intentions of new-founding any such charities by particular or private persons, as totally prevented such charitable foundations for a long time after. And as the kitchens of the abbies were gone, the poor were in great distress in many parts of England: two laws therefore were thought necessary at this time, for the relief of the aged and maimed poor. The one was for the amendment and improvement of a law made in the thirty-fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 4. for charging every parish with a weekly tax for the relief of sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners: which empowered (viz. thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, cap. v) any person or persons to erect for those purposes hospitals and houses of correction; and, for that end, to purchase goods or lands, not exceeding the yearly value of two hundred pounds. The other act of this thirty-ninth year of her reign, cap. 21. laid a further tax on every parish, for the relief of soldiers and mariners, viz. the highest rate of any parish eight-pence, and the lowest two-pence weekly.—See the year 1563.

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1597

We have a second instance, in this same year, of the fallibility of some acts of Parliament relating to commerce, viz. a corroboration, cap. 11. of an act of the twenty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 9. "which prohibited the use of logwood or blockwood, in the dyeing of cloths, &c. as a practice false and deceitful; directing all logwood, wherever to be found, to be burned; and that neither cloth nor wool shall hereafter be dyed therewith."—Nevertheless, in after-times, this same logwood has been discovered to be extremely profitable, useful, and proper in the dying trade, by a certain regulation of it. And it is in our days found to be a great inconvenience to our commerce, to have our logwood-cutters perpetually disturbed in the Bay of Campeachy by the Spaniards, who pretend to an exclusive property in that bay, though never yet planted by them, as will be seen under the year 1662, and 1717.

In Scotland, at this time, their Parliament happened to be wise enough to prohibit the exportation of their wool; and ordained, "That craftsmen-strangers be brought home for working it up."—They lay twelve-pence per pound on all foreign cloth, and other merchandize imported: "Provided, however," says this two hundred and fifty-fifth act of the fifteenth Parliament of King James VI. "that this act be not extended to peers, barons, and freeholders; to all whom it shall be *leasum*, (*i. e.* lawful) without paying any custom, to send their own goods beyond-sea, for their own particular use: and to import wines, cloths, and other furniture, only for their own particular use, but not to make merchandize thereof; conformable to the laws and liberties granted to them before." Which ill-judged proviso frustrated the whole intent of this statute: for, with such a law as this, exempting the whole landed men of the kingdom from paying for their own goods the customs paid by merchants, it was not very likely that commerce should be prosperous there; as the landed men of every country, and particularly in Scotland, with their retinues, were, without doubt, the great bulk of the people, and the principal consumers of foreign merchandize: besides, under colour of the above exemptions, it may be very naturally supposed, that many frauds might be, and certainly were committed.

By another act of this same year, the Scots prohibit the importation of English woollen goods. "The same cloth," says that statute, "having only, for the most part, an outward shew, wanting that substance and strength which oftentimes it appears to have, and being one of the chief causes of the transportation of gold and silver out of this realm."—The only true and solid reason for this law.

Their enacting, in this same year, "That three new towns be erected, in different parts, for the better entertaining and continuing of civility and polity within the Highlands and isles, viz. one in Cantire, one in Lochaber, and a third in the isle of Lewes," was very well judged.

By this time the interest of the Hanseatic and Imperial cities of Germany, coinciding with the interest which the crown of Spain had at the Imperial court, produced a mandate from the Emperor Rodolph to the town of Staden, no longer to entertain the comptoir or company of the English Merchant-adventurers: so that they were forced to leave Staden; and from all other parts of the German empire they are thereby also expressly debarred. Whereupon the city of Groningen invites that company to settle with them.—See the *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 326. At the same time the town of Embden, and the Dukes of Holstein and Brunswick, wrote excusatory letters to Queen Elizabeth, on account of the Emperor's mandate; to which, though they were obliged to submit, yet they protested their readiness to serve our great Queen in any

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1597 other respect. (It seems the Duke of Brunswick had, at this time, an annual pension from Queen Elizabeth of five hundred marks sterling.) Wheeler, the historiographer of our Merchant-adventurers Company, asserts, that eleven or twelve other towas in the Netherlands, on this occasion, earnestly strove to have that company to settle with them.

In the ingenious Preface, so often quoted, of the late learned and judicious Mr. Thomas Riddiman, to Anderson's most beautiful work, entitled, *Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*, p. 75, we see to what a pitch the humour of decreasing the value of the coins of Scotland was arrived, with relation to those of the same denomination in England: indeed it was carried so far, that, in this same year, 1597, the proportion between them was come to be as ten is to one; for the Scots, this year, coined fifty of their shillings out of one ounce of their silver; and thirty of their pounds out of one ounce of gold.

By the Hans-towns joining their interest at the Imperial court with that of Spain, for expelling the English Merchant-adventurers quite out of Germany, the former had flattered themselves that Queen Elizabeth would, in the end, have been compelled, as it were, to renew the obsolete privileges of the Hanseatics, for the sake of restoring the Merchant-adventurers to their commerce in Germany. But the steady and resolute Queen, in the same year, had quite other thoughts; though, for prudence and decency's sake, she found herself obliged to demand at the Imperial court the revocation of Rodolph's edict or mandate against her Merchant-adventurers of this same year; which being refused, the Queen, knowing that the Steel-yard merchants privileges were found to be in many respects pernicious, and repugnant to the great commercial interests of her kingdom, she, in the same year, 1597, "Directed a commission to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to shut up the house inhabited by the merchants of the Hans-towns at the Steel-yard in London; and, moreover, ordered all the Germans there, and every where else throughout England, to quit her dominions on the very day on which the English were obliged to leave Staden:" whose expulsion from thence was, it seems, deferred till now. From this time the place called the Steel-yard was never again applied to or for that use.

At our final parting with these Steel-yard merchants, we may observe, that they had, in old times, been a kind of bank for our Kings, whenever they wanted money on any sudden emergency; but they were sure to be well paid, in the end, for such assistance.

The Queen's ships taking sixty of the ships belonging to the Hans-towns, laden with corn and naval stores, going into Lisbon, in the year 1589, for supplying of Spain, helped not a little to make this breach a total one between England and the Hanseatics; which, however, proved greatly beneficial to us, in the end: for the English found means to get their cloths, &c. imported into Germany, though not in so open and direct a manner as before: and the Merchant-adventurers Company obtained a flourishing residence at the city of Hamburg, which continues even to this day.

From Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, printed in the third volume of what is called Churchill's Collection of Voyages, it appears, that the then famous and adventurous Earl of Cumberland, was the first English subject that built a ship so large as eight hundred tons burthen; which ship, in this year 1597, he employed, with some other ships, in an expedition, at his own private expence, against Spain.

Wheat, according to Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, fell, during this year, from five pounds four shillings to four pounds per quarter; yet the same year it was up again to thirteen shillings and four-pence per bushel, or five pounds six shillings and eight-pence per quarter.

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1598

In this year, there was a definitive treaty concluded at Westminster, between Queen Elizabeth and the States General of the Seven United Provinces, concerning their repayment of her past expence in their defence, being eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, by computation, also for what she should afterward expend; and, moreover, for the re-delivery of the cautionary towns: all which is to be seen in the sixteenth volume, p. 340, &c. of the *Fœdera*, and in vol. ii. p. 120 to 128 of General Collection of Treaties, 1732. Also for the States assisting England with thirty or forty ships of war, in case she should be attacked by Spain. All that has any immediate relation to our general subject, is, the slender burden of those ships of war, when compared with those of our days; the one half of them were to consist each of two hundred tons burden; and the other half of between one hundred and two hundred tons.

In the same sixteenth volume, p. 344, &c. the English merchants trading to Denmark, complain of the Danish officers violently seizing their merchandize.—To which the Danes reply, that those goods were justly condemned by the laws of Denmark, as not having been truly entered at the custom houses, viz. skins, tin, cloth, &c. short entered. This stiffness of the Danish court, which was strongly disposed to favour the Spaniards, produced a sharp remonstrance from the Queen; which (p. 352) brought on a remission of so much of these confiscations as amounted to thirty thousand dollars.—But, on the other hand, King Christian IV. of Denmark demanded redress from Queen Elizabeth for certain piracies of the English committed on his subjects. “For now,” says Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, “there began to grow controversies about such matters;” meaning the carrying of contraband goods, as naval stores, &c. to the Spaniards.

The several trials for a north-west passage to China, by Hudson’s and Davis’s Streights, and of a north east passage, by the attempts to get thither, either to the north of Nova Zembla, or else between that island and the main land of Russia, through the Streight of Waigats, and the annual voyages to Archangel, had so accustomed the English to those boisterous seas, that some of the Russia company occasionally commenced, for the first time, the fishery for whales, (which was found to be much more profitable since the discovery of the great use of whale fins for ladies stays, &c.) at or near Spitzbergen, where those huge animals resort in greater numbers, than any where else that we have yet discovered. Yet Spitzbergen is thought merely a parcel of rocky and barren isles, with high mountains always covered with snow, utterly uninhabitable by human creatures by reason of the intolerable cold of the winter—~~as~~ was fatally experienced in the next century, by two separate trials made, the one by an English company of sailors, the other by a number of Dutch sailors: all of whom perished with cold before the winter was over. Its name was given it by the Dutch, who were the first that went thither, viz. in 1596, and signifies a country of high and sharp-topped mountains; and in common discourse it is oftener called Greenland than Spitzbergen, though very erroneously.

In the treaty of Vervins, between France and Spain, in the year 1598, it began, although almost imperceptibly, to appear, that the scale of the former somewhat preponderated. Spain, it is true, had the county of Charolois restored to her, but to be held of the crown of France; to which crown, in exchange, Spain gave up the towns of Calais, Ardres, Monthulin, Dourlens, La Capelle, and Le Catelet, in Picardie; also Blavet in Bretagne. The author of the Life of the Duke D’Espèrnon, relates, that when King Henry IV. of France had just signed the ratification of this treaty on the 11th of June, he said, in gaiety of humour to that Duke, “That with one dash of his pen he had done greater things than he could have of a long time performed with the best swords of his kingdom.”

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1598

The Dutch East India merchants now sent out Heemskerck on a second voyage to the East Indies, with eight ships: who returned home in the year 1600, laden with the usual five species of spices, viz. cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and mace.

And so fond were the Dutch of this trade, that they would not wait for the return of those eight ships: but in 1599, sent out three other ships. And so they went on yearly, making vast returns of profit to the proprietors. All Europe being in those times extremely fond of spices, to a much greater degree than we are at present.

The Hollanders now also send out four ships, by Oliver Van Noort, on a new adventure, which, after various accidents, sailed through Magellan's Streights into the South Sea, and so on to the East Indies, where they had various encounters with their enemies the Spaniards and Portuguese: and after some trading for pepper, they returned home by the Cape of Good Hope. This being the fourth general navigation round the globe; but the first which had been performed by the Dutch.

Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Preciosum*, says, that in this year pepper was so dear as eight shillings per pound; but raisins at six pence; Gascon wine, two shillings and eight pence per gallon, and sweet wines, four shillings per gallon.

In this same year died Philip II. the renowned monarch of Spain, Portugal, &c. after a reign of forty-two years, during which he had struck terror into many parts of the world; and must be acknowledged to have been, during his whole life, the most potent monarch of Christendom.

Voltaire, in his *General History of Europe*, part v. observes, "that from the reign of the Emperor Charles V. to this time, the Spaniards had a remarkable superiority over other nations. Their language was spoken at Paris, at Vienna, at Milan, and at Turin. Their fashions, their manner of thinking and writing, gave them an ascendant over the Italians: and, in fine, Spain, till about this period, or somewhat later, had greater respect shewn her than was demonstrated to any other nation." So that, from various reasons which wise and knowing men will easily find out, this great ascendance or superiority of Spain, cannot be reckoned to have, in all, lasted scarcely an entire century: after which, France began to gain a superiority which the rest of Europe has ever since seen too fast increasing, attended with a greater degree of pre-eminence, in respect to their language, fashions, manner of thinking and writing, &c. than ever Spain had before enjoyed.

1599 The voyage to Archangel was so well known, and so much frequented at this time, that, according to Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, even so far as from Venice, at least one ship annually resorted thither for commerce. So much was all Europe, by this time, improved in the arts of commerce and navigation.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 362—3, of the *Fœdera*, we have a special commission from Queen Elizabeth, not only for enquiring into the complaints of Denmark in the preceding year; but also into those of the French. The principal occasion of the latter being, it seems, owing to the letters of marque merchant ships, which the Queen had licensed to make reprisals on the ships of Spain; under which pretence they had, probably, sometimes made too free with the ships and goods of other nations. Against which unjust practices the Queen, by proclamation, now strictly enjoins all such letter of marque ships to give security, before they set sail, not to injure the subjects of nations in amity with her.

At this time, according to the *Annals of the Netherlands*, by Grotius, the sea ports of Holland, and other parts of the United Provinces, generally built two thousand new ships every year.

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1599 year. A thing almost incredible, did it not proceed from so reputable and illustrious an author, and who was also a native of that country.

King Henry IV. of France, according to Mezerai, now prohibited, by a special edict, all foreign manufactures, as well of silk as of gold or silver, pure or mixed, at the request of the merchants of Tours, who undertook to make quantities of such manufactures sufficient for the whole kingdom. Yet, grasping at more than they could perform, and being also complained of by the city of Lyons, (justly stiled the Golden Gate of France) as thereby destroying their famous fairs, as well as lessening the King's customs, that Edict in favour of Tours was revoked. Yet, as Puffendorf observes, these new manufactures of France, and more especially that of silk, afterward drew great wealth into that kingdom.

1600 In the last year of this century, Queen Elizabeth sent out John Mildenhall over land from Constantinople to the court of the Great Mogul, for the obtaining of certain privileges for the English Company, for whom she was then preparing a charter to forward their trading to the East Indies, in which he was long opposed by the arts and presents of the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits at that court, who by such means had so prepossessed the Mogul against the English, that it was some years before he could entirely get the better of them.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 395, of the *Fœdera*, we have a sharp and solid letter from Queen Elizabeth to King Christian IV. of Denmark, "remonstrating on the injustice of his people's having seized certain English fishing vessels on the high seas northward, remote from land." She tells that King, "that the high seas were free for fishing by the consent of all nations."—Such was her constant stile on this subject.—This seizure was, probably, made somewhere near Iceland or Norway, under pretence of our people's not having first asked leave of the Danish court, before they went to fish in those seas, agreeable to a convention formerly made with Denmark; all which kind of disputes, about the fishing there, are long since at an end.

In a treatise, published in the year 1655, entitled, *England's Grievance discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade*, that beside the charters already mentioned, the town of Newcastle upon Tyne had charters from King Henry I. Edward I. and III. Richard II. Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth, the latest charter of her's being in this year 1600; wherein the Queen, in English, describes that noble town, "as a town of merchants, a mart or market of great fame, and stuffed with a multitude of merchants dwelling therein.—And whereas it is an ancient town, and has, time out of mind, had a certain guild or fraternity, called host-men, for the discharging and better disposing of sea-coals, grind-stones, rub-stones, and whet-stones, in and upon the river and port of Tyne, though not as yet incorporated—She therefore now" (viz. in the forty-third year of her reign, though that book by mistake says the thirteenth) "incorporates them by the name of the Governor, Stewards, and Brethren of the Fraternity of Host-men of Newcastle." By this and former charters, it appears, that this famous town had great jurisdiction on the river Tyne, from the sea seven miles up to the town, and from the bridge, seven miles above the town, in point of navigation, admiralty jurisdiction, fishery, &c.—And also that Newcastle had been serviceable to former Princes in their wars, by supplying them with mariners and ships, and whose essential services, in the same respect, must be acknowledged at the time wherein we now live.

According to Wheeler's *Treatise of Commerce*, published in the year 1601, already often quoted, "The Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England did, in these times, annually export sixty thousand white cloths, beside coloured ones of all sorts short and long; kerfies,

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1600 “ bayes, cottons, northern dozens, and divers other kinds of coarse woollen cloths; the
 “ white cloths alone being worth six hundred thousand pounds, and the rest worth four hun-
 “ dred thousand pounds more.”

Nevertheless, Dr. Davenant, an able author, in the second volume of his *New Dialogues*,
 “ published in the year 1710, p. 93, affirms, “ That the gold and silver coins, at this time,
 “ in England, did not exceed four millions, which,” says he, “ were the tools we had to
 “ work with, when we first began to make a figure in the commercial world, which was near
 “ that period of time.”

Our own Turkey merchants first, and the Dutch East India Company next, who had taken
 the lead of us in the East India trade, keeping up the price of pepper from eight shillings to
 four shillings per pound, we being at war with Spain, and therefore prevented from getting
 spices from Lisbon at first hand, Queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly
 upon a commerce to the East Indies.

Accordingly, on the 31st of December, 1600, she granted a charter to George Earl of Cum-
 berland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, Aldermen, and Merchants, “ That, at their
 “ own costs and charges,—they might set forth one or more voyages to the East Indians, in
 “ the country and parts of Asia and Africa, and to the islands thereabouts,—divers of which
 “ countries, islands, &c. have long since been discovered by others of our subjects;—to be
 “ one body politic and corporate, by the name of, *The Governor and Company of Merchants of*
 “ *London trading to the East Indies*;—to have succession;—to purchase lands (without limita-
 “ tion;)—to have one Governor, and twenty-four persons, to be elected annually, who shall
 “ be called Committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the
 “ shipping and merchandize, also the sale of the merchandize, and the management of all
 “ other things belonging to the said Company.—Sir Thomas Smith, Alderman of London,
 “ was to be the first Governor, and a Deputy-Governor to be elected in a General Court;
 “ both the Governors and all the Committees to take the oath of fidelity.—As also, every
 “ member shall take an oath, before being admitted, to traffic as a freeman of this Company.
 “ —The Company, their sons, at twenty-one years of age, their apprentices, servants, and
 “ factors, in India, or elsewhere, may, for fifteen years from Christmas last, freely and solely
 “ trade, by such ways and passages as are already found out, or which shall hereafter be dis-
 “ covered, into the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands,
 “ ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape
 “ of Bona Speranza to the Straights of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize may be
 “ used to and from every of them, in such manner as shall, from time to time, be limited and
 “ agreed on at any public assembly or general court of the Company; any statute, usage, di-
 “ versity of religion or faith, or any other matter, to the contrary notwithstanding; so as it
 “ be not to any country already possessed by any Christian potentate in amity with her Majes-
 “ ty, who shall declare the same to be against his or their good liking.—Either the Governor
 “ or Deputy Governor must always be one in general assemblies, when they may make all
 “ reasonable laws, constitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good go-
 “ vernment, by plurality of voices, and may punish, by fines and imprisonment, the offen-
 “ ders against their laws.—The Queen grants to the Company an exemption from paying any
 “ customs for the first four voyages;—and for customs which shall afterwards be payable for
 “ merchandize from India, the Company shall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one
 “ half in six months, and the other half in six months after.—For merchandize lost at sea,

“ out-

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1600 " outward bound, the customs shall be allowed to the Company out of the next cargo shipped off.—Indian merchandize, that shall have paid the customs, may, until the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any subjects, without paying any further customs.—The Company may export, in their first voyage now preparing, thirty thousand pounds in foreign coin or bullion, so as at least six thousand pounds thereof be first coined in the Queen's mint, and the like for the subsequent voyages, provided the Company first import at least so much foreign coin or bullion in gold or silver into this realm, of which six thousand pounds shall be coined as aforesaid.—The Company may send yearly to East India, six good ships and six pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, unless the royal navy goes forth.—None of the Queen's subjects, but the Company, their servants, or assigns, shall resort to India, without being licensed by the Company, upon pain of forfeiting ships and cargoes, with imprisonment, till the offenders give one thousand pounds bond to the Company, not to trade thither again.—Nevertheless, for the encouragement of merchant-strangers and others to bring in commodities into the realm, the Queen gives power to the Company to grant licences to trade to the East Indies; and she promises not to grant leave to any others to trade thither during the Company's term, without their consent. The majority of any general meeting of the Company may admit apprentices, servants, factors, &c. to the fellowship or freedom of the said Company.—The silver to be exported shall only be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and shall be duly entered by the custom-house officers, without paying any custom for the same.—Gold and silver imported shall be entered before the landing the same.—Provided, that in case this charter shall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the Company, their charter shall cease and determine.—But if otherwise, then the Queen promises, at the end of the said fifteen years, upon the Company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer." This is the very same East India Company, which, through many various vicissitudes, existed under the same denomination till the year 1708, when it was absorbed by the present *United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies*.

N. B. The original shares subscribed were fifty pounds each.

To close this century with good fortune, we shall remark, that the English East India ships, homeward bound, took possession of the isle of St. Helena, then uninhabited, though, (according to the custom of the Portuguese) well stocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, that they might be supplied therewith, when obliged at any time to stop there. Here our East India Company formed a settlement,—which they fortified, and held undisturbed till the year 1673, as will be further shewn under that year. This island is an entire, lofty rock, covered with about twelve or fifteen inches of earth on its surface. As the wind blows constantly at south east from the Cape of Good Hope to this place, (which is about twenty-two miles in compass) it is sailed to in about three weeks without handling the sails, and the moderate gale makes the voyage very pleasant. On the contrary, it is extremely difficult to find this isle in sailing from Europe, because of the constant south east wind; wherefore, when a ship is sent from England thither, they are obliged to make directly to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence have a pleasant passage, as already described to St. Helena.—The great and only benefit our ships receive from this isle, is the fresh water and provisions they there meet with in their return from India, in the providing of which above two hundred families are here employed and supported.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Succession of PRINCES in this Century.

Emperors of Germany.
 RODOLPH II. to - 1611
 MATTHIAS, to - 1618
 FERDINAND II. to 1636
 FERDINAND III. to 1656
 LEOPOLD, to - 1700
and beyond.

Czar of Russia.
 PETER the GREAT, } 1700
 from 1682, to }
and beyond.

Kings of Sweden.
 SIGISMUND, to - 1604
 CHARLES IX. to 1611
 GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, to } 1632
 CHRISTIANA, to 1654
 CHARLES X. GUSTAVUS, to } 1660
 CHARLES XI. to - 1697
 CHARLES XII. to 1700
and beyond.

Kings of England and Scotland.
 ELIZABETH, to - 1603
 JAMES I. to - 1625
 CHARLES I. to - 1649
 ——— II. to - 1685
 JAMES II. to - 1688
 WILLIAM and MARY, to } 1694
 WILLIAM III. to 1700
and beyond.

Kings of Denmark.
 CHRISTIAN IV. to 1649
 FREDERICK III. to 1670
 CHRISTIAN V. to 1699
 FREDERICK IV. to 1700
and beyond.

Kings of Poland.
 SIGISMUND, King of Sweden, to } 1632
 ULADISLAUS VI. to 1647
 JOHN CASIMIR, to 1670
 MICHAEL WISNOWSKI, to } 1673
 JOHN SOBIESKI, to 1696
 AUGUSTUS II. to 1700
and beyond.

Kings of France.
 HENRY IV. to - 1610
 LOUIS XIII. to - 1643
 LOUIS XIV. to - 1700
and beyond.

Kings of Spain.
 PHILIP III. to - 1621
 PHILIP IV. to - 1665
 CHARLES II. to - 1700

Kings of Portugal.
 PHILIP III. of Spain, to } 1640
 JOHN, to - - 1651
 ALPHONSO, to - 1667
 PETER, to - 1700
and beyond.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

This century may be truly said, from its very commencement, nearly to approach to a resemblance of modern times, whether considered in a commercial or a political light; either in respect of riches, knowledge, or religion. In general, it will be seen, that towards the close of it, commerce gradually advanced to almost its very zenith of perfection. Navigation, mathematical, manufactural, nautical, and mechanical arts; agriculture, architecture, and plantations, are almost marvelously improved.—The interests of the several kingdoms and states of Europe are more intimately investigated, and better understood than in any former age.—Almost all the commercial, banking, and metallic companies of Europe are established nearly as at present subsisting: the great and principal increase of the commerce of England and Holland is effected. The Hans-towns lose their trade more and more to the Dutch and English.—The Turkish naval strength begins to decline.—The trade from the several countries of Europe to the East Indies is brought to great maturity, especially by the English and Dutch, who, to the very close of this century, may be said to possess much the greatest part of the naval commerce of Europe.—Naval architecture is also brought to great perfection.—The general balance of national commerce

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1601 commerce is better understood ; though, very probably, it will never be reducible to a direct demonstration.—Commercial treaties between different nations are more fully comprehended in this century, and are found to be of the last importance to their mutual prosperity.—The importance of the low interest of money, and the true intrinsic value of coin, is much better and more generally known, than at former periods.—Many new inventions and projects are set on foot.—The suburbs of London are greatly enlarged every way, from the great increase of the commerce of England.—Legal interest of money in England is reduced.—The excellent navigation act of the Rump Parliament is afterwards legally confirmed, as being founded on just principles, and various improvements are at different times made therein.—Many excellent new productions are brought to England, and naturalized there.—England's most excellent Royal Society, for the improvement of natural knowledge, is established, and followed by those of several other nations.—The revenue of England is vastly increased, as is also its royal navy and mercantile shipping, and likewise all its manufactures.—New English plantations formed in America, and the old ones much improved.—France also is greatly improved in commerce, manufactures, colonies, and shipping.—Many unsuccessful expeditions are attempted from Europe, for finding the north-west and north-east passages to China and India.—Money-banking takes its original establishment and increase in England ; and commercial liberty is also legally and firmly established there.—France, by the wicked and impolitic persecution and expulsion of her Protestant subjects, makes great alterations in favour of the commerce and manufactures of most countries of Europe.—England makes a great and successful reformation of her silver coin.—Peter, the first great Monarch of Russia, makes vast improvements in his extensive empire.—And almost every part of Christendom, towards the close of this century, is endeavouring to push into commerce and manufactures ; whilst, at the same time, the commerce and shipping of England continue very visibly to prosper and increase.

1601 The very last day of the sixteenth century having given birth and form to the first English East India Company, the members thereof immediately raised the sum of seventy-two thousand pounds, though not in one joint stock or common capital, as in succeeding times, there having been no joint stock in this company till the year 1613. They, this year, sent out their first fleet for India, commanded in chief by Captain James Lancaster ; having one ship of six hundred tons, one of three hundred, two of two hundred each, and one of one hundred and thirty tons, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying four hundred and eighty men, and twenty-seven thousand pounds in money and goods, the remainder of the said seventy-two thousand pounds being entirely absorbed in the purchase of these ships, and for artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. But Queen Elizabeth did not live to see the return of this voyage.—At Achen, in the isle of Sumatra, they laded pepper for some of their ships ; but not meeting with enough, and sailing thence for the Strait of Malacca, they found lading enough, by their capture of a Portuguese ship of nine hundred tons, laden with calicoes, &c. and sailing from thence to Bantam, they delivered Queen Elizabeth's letter and presents to its King, as they had before done to the King of Achen ; and from both those Kings they received letters and presents in return for Queen Elizabeth, and had also privileges granted to our company by both Kings. So, having settled factors at Bantam, they sailed homeward, and arrived in the Downs in September, 1603, having made this first voyage very prosperously in two years and seven months.

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Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, observes, that even before Queen Elizabeth's death, and upon the East India Company's sending out their first fleet, just mentioned, that trade was written against in England, and was also briefly answered, under the following heads, viz.

I. It is exhausting our treasure.

" Answered.—We may, by this trade, draw as much silver from other countries as we send to India." This has been since amply verified.

II. It will destroy our mariners, by the great difference of climates.

" Answered.—As long voyages breed the best mariners, this of East India will rather increase than diminish their number.

III. It will be the decay of our shipping by the worms, unless sheathed with lead.

" Answered.—So far from this, it will be the increase of our shipping, by maintaining eight or nine ships, each of one thousand or twelve hundred tons, which are larger than any we now use, and which, on occasion, may be of greater service to the nation than all the other shipping of London.

IV. It will obstruct the vent of our woollen cloth, in return for which we now take spices, &c. from Turkey, which our East India trade, bringing more cheap to us, will prevent.

" Answered.—This inconvenience will fall alone on the Turkey Company, whose spices, &c. come to us at the third hand, whereas they will now come to us at the first hand from India.

V. With respect to the objection, that more spices will be brought home than we can vend ;

" Answered.—Our own nation, the East Country, and Russia, will consume more than we can bring home."

VI. It was also objected, that the source of our East India trade was the secret malice of some against the Turkey Company.

" Answered.—If the East India trade proves beneficial, it ought to be pursued, without regarding private grudges ; and men would not venture such great stocks in it, if they did not think it would answer."

" To these objections," says Sir William Monson, " the answers are, in general, just, after twenty-five years experience ; (he first wrote his *Naval Tracts* in the year 1625) but, he adds, " that the bane of that trade, in his time, was,

" I. The company having treble the number of eight or nine ships, at first proposed for this trade, which was thereby overcharged.

" II. For the same reason, the prices of East India merchandize were enhanced there.

" III. It drew mighty stocks of money to maintain it ; whereby all the kingdom imputed the scarcity of money to it."

With respect to the answers exhibited to the six objections against an East India trade, we may briefly observe, that the answer to the first is, in our days, put much stronger, viz. That the re-exportation of East India goods brings back a much greater balance from foreign nations than all the bullion we send to India. And with relation to the fifth, the Dutch Company having soon after mastered the coasts of the isle of Ceylon, in which alone by far the best cinnamon is produced ; and the isle of Amboyna being the best for cloves ; and the Molucca isles for nutmegs and mace, the English Company have long since been excluded from those spices at the first hand ; only pepper abounding in so many different parts of India, our company must ever deal largely in that spice, as it ever will probably be in most general demand

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1601 mand all over the world, by all ranks and conditions of people. Yet it is confessed, that the assertion in the answer to the sixth objection, is far from being conclusive, with respect to the general benefit; since there may be various branches of commerce very beneficial to the merchant, which may be, at the same time, pernicious to the public.

As the trade from England to East India, is become of so great importance to the public, and employs so vast a capital, we shall throughout the remaining part of our work take special cognizance of all debates and reasonings for and against it, and of all the material alterations and changes in it.

Till the beginning of the seventeenth century, Angelius a Werdenhagen, already so often quoted, observes, vol. ii. part. 6, p. 19, "That some of the Hans-towns made regular annual voyages up the Mediterranean Sea, as far as Venice; and more particularly the Hamburgers, to their great profit, so long as the Dutch abstained from that trade. But when once those of Amsterdam engaged in that trade, they quite wormed the Hanseatics out of it; so that at length the Hamburgers had no other trade left to them with Venice, but to sell their large ships there, and then to return home over land." This author further says, "that they formerly traded also to Florence, Genoa, and Messina, for silk, in exchange for their corn. And the ships of Lubeck, Wismar, and Stralsund, were then also wont to frequent the ports of Spain, till supplanted therein also by the more dextrous Hollanders."

Wheeler, the advocate for, and secretary to the merchant-adventurers company of England, and the antagonist of the Hanseatics, and who wrote in this year 1601, pleases himself not a little, "that the latter were then so much decayed in power and strength, as that the state need not greatly to fear them.—For as the causes which made the Hans-towns of estimation and account in old times, were the multitude of their shipping and sea trade, whereby they stored all countries with their eastern commodities, (*i. e.* naval stores, flax, hemp, linen, iron, copper, corn, &c.) and served Princes turns with their large and stout ships in time of war; we shall find at this time, that they have in a manner lost both the one and the other long ago, when compared with what they formerly were. And if her Majesty should forbid all trade into Spain, after the example of other Princes, they would, in a short time, be quit of the rest; for that trade is their chiefest support at this instant.—Besides, of the seventy-two confederate Hans-towns, so much vaunted of, what remains almost but the report? And those which remain, and appear by their deputies, when there is any assembly, are they able, unless with much ado, to bring up the charges and contributions, &c. for the defence and maintenance of their league, privileges, and trade, in foreign parts and at home? Surely no:—For most of their teeth are out, and the rest but loose, &c."

The chief aim of this sensible author was, to confute the allegations of the Hans-towns at the German diet, that the company of Merchant-adventurers was a proper monopoly; as well as the attempts at home of the separate traders, who were equally that company's opponents.

We have, in the preceding century, seen both English and Dutch, not only visiting the East Indies, but navigating round the terraqueous globe: but the first account we meet with of any French ships fitted out for the East Indies, is in this year 1601; when a company of merchants of St. Maloes sent two ships thither; one of which was cast away at the Maldivian isles. Laval, who writes this account, and all the rest of the crew, were saved, but were kept prisoners there some time, and afterwards got home to France: but he gives no account of the success of the other ship.

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Although what we have, in different parts of this work, already exhibited, concerning the English merchant-adventurers company, may seem sufficient to explain its nature, as being merely what is known in England by the name of a Regulated Company, yet we thought a further authentic description of it, by Wheeler, their secretary, already frequently mentioned and quoted, might, once for all, be acceptable: viz.

“ The company consists of a great number of wealthy merchants of divers great cities, and maritime towns, &c. in England; viz. London, York, Norwich, Exeter, Ipswich, Newcastle, Hull, &c. These of old time linked themselves together, for the exercise of merchandize, by trading in cloth, kerseys, and all other, as well English as foreign commodities, vendible abroad; whereby they brought much wealth home to their respective places of residence. Their limits are, the towns and ports lying between the river of Somme in France, and along all the coasts of the Netherlands and Germany, within the German Sea: not into all at once, at each man’s pleasure, but into one or two towns at most within the said bounds, which they commonly call the mart town or towns, because there only they stapled their commodities, and put them to sale, and thence only they brought such foreign wares as England wanted, and which were brought from far by merchants of divers nations, flocking thither to buy and sell as at a fair. The merchant-adventurers do annually export at least sixty thousand white cloths, worth at least six hundred thousand pounds, and of coloured cloths of all sorts, kerseys, bayes, cottons, northern dozens, and other coarse cloths, forty thousand cloths more, worth four hundred thousand pounds, in all one million sterling; beside what goes to the Netherlands from England of woollens, lead, tin, saffron, coney skins, leather, tallow, alabaster, corn, beer, &c.—And our company imported, viz. of the Dutch and German merchants, Rhenish wines, fustians, copper, steel, hemp, onion seed, iron and copper wire, latten, kettles, pans, linen, harness, saltpetre, gunpowder, and all things made at Nuremburg,” *i. e.* such as toys, small iron ware, &c. “ Of the Italians, all sorts of silks, velvets, cloth of gold, &c. Of the Easterlings, naval stores, furs, soap, ashes, &c. Of the Portuguese, spices and drugs.

“ With the Spanish and French they,” *i. e.* the Staple of Antwerp, “ had not much to do, by reason that our English merchants have had a great trade directly to France and Spain, and so serve England directly from thence with the commodities of those two countries. Of the Netherlanders they buy all kinds of manufactures, tapestry, buckrams, white thread, incle, linen, cambrics, lawn, madder, &c. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and sovereign of the Netherlands, the founder of the order of the Golden Fleece, gave the Fleece for the badge of that order, in consideration of the great revenue accruing to him from the tolls and customs of our wool and woollen cloth.”

After many ineffectual laws enacted in England, for the relief of the poor, it was not till this forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, that a law passed, cap. ii. for nearly the present method of collecting the poors rates, by overseers in every parish. Yet, notwithstanding the various alterations and amendments which our laws relative to the poor have undergone, it is still the great complaint, even at this day, of every observing person, that the poor might be taken care of at a much lower expence than by the present method; and that the shameful nuisance of common beggars and vagabonds, might also be effectually prevented, were a solemn committee of gentlemen and merchants, with one or two able and honest lawyers, to undertake the truly arduous, though not absolutely impracticable task, with patience and steady resolution.

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In this same year, thirteen ships sailed from Amsterdam for East India, and returned, after various adventures, in safety home.

In this year, 1601, we have a statute of the forty-third of Queen Elizabeth, cap. xii. for awarding commissions to hear and determine policies of assurance made among merchants.—In the preamble to which statute are the following words: “ whereas it hath been time out of mind an usage amongst merchants, both of this realm and of foreign nations, when they make any great adventure, (specially into remote parts) to give some consideration of money to other persons, which commonly are in no small number, to have from them assurance made of their goods, merchandizes, ships, and things adventured, or some part thereof, at such rates, and in such sort, as the parties assurers and the parties assured, can agree; which course of dealing is commonly termed a Policy of Assurance: by means of which, it cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship, there followeth not the undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily upon many, than heavily upon few; and rather upon them that adventure not, than upon those that adventure; whereby all merchants, specially of the younger sort, are allured to venture more willingly and more freely. And whereas heretofore, such assurers have used to stand so justly and precisely upon their credits, as few or no controversies have risen thereupon; and if any have grown, the same have from time to time been ended and ordered by certain grave and discreet merchants, appointed by the Lord Mayor of London.—Until of late years, that divers persons have withdrawn themselves from that arbitrary course; and have sought to draw the parties assured to seek their monies of every several assurer, by suits commenced in her Majesty’s courts, to their great charges and delays.” For remedy whereof, it was now enacted, “ that the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper, do award one general or standing yearly commission, for the determining of causes on policies of assurances, such as now are, or hereafter shall be entered within the office of assurances within the city of London.—This commission to consist of the Judge of the Admiralty, the Recorder of London, two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight discreet merchants, or to any five of them.—Which commission shall have authority to determine all causes concerning policies of assurance in a summary way;—who shall summon the parties;—examine witnesses upon oath, and imprison disobeyers of their decrees. They shall meet weekly at the office of insurance, on the west side of the Royal Exchange, for the execution of their commission, without fee or reward.—And any such as may think themselves aggrieved by their determinations, may, in two months, exhibit his bill in Chancery for a re-examination of such decree,—provided the complainant do first lay down to the said commissioners the sum awarded; and that the Lord Chancellor or Keeper may either reverse or affirm the first decree, according to equity and conscience: and if he decrees against the assurers, double costs shall be awarded to the assured. Lastly, no commissioner shall be either assurer or assured.”

This law sufficiently demonstrated, that at this time there was a great increase of foreign commerce in England.

Assurance, or insurance of ships and merchandize on the seas, is of great antiquity, even as far back as the reign of the Emperor Claudius Cæsar.

The sea laws of Oleron, as far back as in the year 1194, treat of it.

It seems to have been in use in England, upon the revival of commerce, somewhat earlier than on the continent. “ And Antwerp, though in its meridian glory, learned it from England. “ And whereas,” says Malynes’s *Lex Mercatoria*, “ the meetings of merchants in

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1601 " London were held in Lombard-street, (so called because certain Italians of Lombardy kept
 " there a Pawn-house or Lombard, long before the Royal Exchange was built) all the policies
 " of insurances at Antwerp, which then were, and now (1622) yet are made, do make men-
 " tion, that it shall be in all things concerning the said assurances, as was accustomed to be
 " done in Lombard-street, in London; which is imitated also in other places of the Low
 " Countries."

In the sixteenth volume, p. 408, of the *Fœdera*, we have a record taken from the Cotton library; being a letter from the senate and consuls of Staden, to some great man of Queen Elizabeth's court, (not named) " requesting him to assure that Queen of their readiness again
 " to receive the English merchant-adventurers to reside in their town, as formerly they did;
 " provided there be no monopoly, or college (as they stile it) of the said merchant-adventu-
 " rers; since they have learned from the Imperial court, that they are there become more fa-
 " vourable towards the English; and that it is the monopoly alone which the Emperor's man-
 " date struck at, as what the Hanseatics opposed.—In the mean time, all English merchants
 " in general may freely resort to Staden." These Hanseatics complained with a very ill grace against monopolies, who for three centuries past had been the greatest monopolists in Europe. Wherefore this letter from Staden seems to have been merely a complimentary one.

In p. 414 to 421, of the sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, the wars of Ireland having drained much of the money of England, Queen Elizabeth thought it best to coin shillings, six-pences, three-pences, and halfpence, of a baser alloy than the English sterling coins, which she sent into Ireland, as the only proper coins to pass there.—And she also erected an office of exchange between England and Ireland, for exchanging the said new money with sterling monies of England;—appointing the cities of London, Bristol, and Chester, in England; and Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carickfergus, in Ireland, to be places where the offices of exchange were to be kept, and where twenty shillings English money were to be exchanged for twenty-one shillings Irish.

In this same year, 1601, King Henry the Fourth of France, an able and penetrating Prince, published an edict for reducing the public or national interest of money in that kingdom, down to six and one-quarter per cent. That King therein observes,

" I. That high interest had ruined many good and ancient houses.

" II. That it had obstructed both commerce, tillage, and manufactures; many persons,
 " through the facility of their gain by usury, or interest of money, choosing rather to live
 " idly in good towns, on their income arising therefrom, than to labour in the more painful
 " employments in liberal arts, or in husbandry."

One would naturally have apprehended, that England, a nation now of considerable commerce, should have seen the great usefulness of low interest for money, sooner than France would have perceived it: yet the fact was quite otherwise; for our interest was not reduced from ten to eight, till the year 1624; nor from eight to six per cent. till fifty years after this time. Thus, sometimes we find one nation of people wiser in some particular matter than another, from whom we should more reasonably and naturally have expected it; just as we see one particular person often excel, in one certain point, another person, who, in other respects, may generally far exceed him in abilities.

The wise and penetrating Queen Elizabeth of England, ever ready to redress the grievances of her people, had heard of numerous complaints against monopolies, which, in this same year, 1601, were come to a great height, and were petitioned against to the House of Commons:

whereupon,

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1601 whereupon, before she was actually addressed, she readily annulled most of those grants, leaving the rest to the due course of law; which drew an address of thanks to her from the House of Commons.

We have shewn under the year 1597, that the Scots had gradually brought their coins of pounds, shillings and pence, down to a tenth part of the value of those denominations in England. And in this same year 1601, according to the late accurate Mr Ruddiman, in his *Prefatio ad Anderfoni Thesaurum, Diplomatum, et Numismatum Scotiæ. Edinburgi, 1739, folio*, the final and fixed settlement was made of the proportion between the coins, or rather denominations of coins of the two British nations. "For, by an order of the Privy Council of Scotland, in the year 1601, all the coins of Scotland were called into the mint, and recoined into new species; the gold into the fineness of twenty-two carrats, and the silver of eleven pennyweights. Out of an ounce of gold of this new coin they coined thirty-six of their nominal pounds; and out of an ounce of silver, they coined three Scottish pounds, or sixty shillings Scottish money: so that now the proportion between English and Scottish money was as twelve is to one. And such it remained to the happy union of the two kingdoms, in the year 1707, when all the money of Scotland was called in, and coined into English or sterling money. By that determination, or order of Council, we also see, that the proportion between gold and silver in Scotland was then also as twelve is to one."

"Thus," continues Ruddiman, "the money of Scotland was gradually raised in its extrinsic value to no less than thirty-six times its original value, in the reign of their King David the First; whilst the English money, from the Norman conquest, when a pound in tale was a pound, or twelve ounces in weight, has been raised to only about three times that original value."

"And the money of France has been gradually increased in nominal value, since the time of Charlemagne, when twenty shillings, or sols French, weighed a pound or twelve ounces, to above sixty times its original value, *i. e.* a livre, or nominal pound French, which scarcely now contains a sixtieth part of its original quantity of silver. And if we were strictly to search into the state of the money of other European nations, as the Germans, Dutch, Italians, we should find that very great changes have also happened as to the present nominal value of the coins, compared to what they originally were.

"The causes of those great alterations have been various; such as,

"I. The necessity or covetousness of Princes, who caused a greater quantity of alloy, or base metal, to be mixed with the silver in coining, than was just.

"II. The over-valuing of gold in respect of silver. For, instance, if in Scotland, gold was more valuable than in England, France, and other countries, then would their silver monies be exported to those countries, to exchange for gold; which exportation causes an increase of the value of the silver coins.

"III. Another cause of the enhancing the nominal value of the Scottish money, was the free currency permitted to all manner of foreign coins, of various goodness and alloy, where-by the people were not readily able to judge of their value, and therefore often over-valued their own coins.

"IV. On the other hand, it sometimes happened, that the Scots having a scarcity of money of their own, and therefore supplying themselves with the coins of foreign nations, did over-value those foreign coins, which depressed the value of their own coin, and which was
"therefore

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1601 " therefore exported to foreign countries; whereby, in the end, those coins of their own
 " were raised higher than they should have been.

" V. A fifth cause of enhancing the value of their coins, was the clipping, and otherwise
 " fraudulently diminishing thereof, before the milled money came into use.

" VI. The sixth and last cause of enhancing the coin, is when the balance of trade is a-
 " gainst any country. For, if in any year, or number of years, a nation imports more mer-
 " chandize in value from abroad, than they export of their own native commodities into
 " foreign parts, the balance in the end must be paid in the coin of such nation to foreign
 " countries; whereby their own coin will be enhanced, if that balance continue for any con-
 " siderable time to be against them.

" These causes," says our learned author, " are not confined to Scotland or to France
 " alone; but are common to all other countries, where the like errors are suffered." Mr.
 Ruddiman highly and justly commends the care taken in England to prevent abuses and mis-
 takes in relation to their coin; particularly in preventing the currency of foreign coins there.
 Whence it has happened, that the money of England has been less enhanced than in other
 nations.

" It is needless to enlarge on the hurt done to many families, by the great enhancing of
 " the coins of any country, seeing it is so obvious. What, for instance," adds our author,
 " can be plainer, than that an annual money composition in perpetuity, made in the reign of
 " King James IV. of Scotland, when six pounds Scottish money were equal to one pound
 " sterling, must now yield but one half to the receiver, when the proportion between the
 " money of the two nations is as twelve to one."

In one of the essays in Sir Robert Cotton's Remains, as we have elsewhere observed, he long
 before this made a similar remark with respect to crown rents, fixed at a limited sum in money,
 in old times, when a pound of silver by tale was equal to twelve ounces by weight.

1602 " During a small period of tranquillity in Scotland, King James endeavoured to civilize
 " the Highlands and the isles, a part of his dominions almost totally neglected by former
 " Monarchs, though the reformation of it was an object highly worthy of their care. Three
 " towns, which might serve as a retreat for the industrious, and a nursery for arts and com-
 " merce, were appointed to be built in different parts of the Highlands; one in Cantyre, an-
 " other in Lochaber, and a third in the isle of Lewes: and in order to draw inhabitants thi-
 " ther, all the privileges of royal burghs were to be conferred upon them. But that King's
 " attention being soon after turned to other objects, (the sickness and death of Queen Eliza-
 " beth) we hear no more of this salutary project." Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii.
 " p. 240, 241, 242.

The Russia and Turkey companies, in the year 1602, joined in sending out two fly-boats,
 of sixty and seventy tons, with thirty-five men, victualled for eighteen months, for the popular
 purpose of finding a passage to China and India, by the north-west. Captain George Way-
 mouth was commander in chief. He returned home in July, having gone no further north
 than the latitude of sixty-three degrees, thirty-five minutes. And the north-west, Fox says,
 that he neither discovered nor named any thing more than Davis had done in his three voy-
 ages, in 1585-6-7, neither went he so far north.

In the sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 425, we have Queen Elizabeth's excellent in-
 structions, in English, in the year 1602, to the Lord Ewre, Sir John Herbert, and Dr. Dunn,

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1602 her plenipotentiaries at Bremen, for treating with those of Denmark, concerning peace and commerce; viz.

" I. Whereas there are certain treaties in the reigns of King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII. with the crown of Denmark, wherein certain places and ports in Denmark and Norway are assigned to our English subjects, for the trade of fishery, habitation, and such like, which our merchants at present are debarred the use of; you shall omit the special naming thereof, contenting yourselves rather to obtain for our merchants a free trade and dealing in the King's dominions, and every part thereof, in general terms: the intention of this treaty being to establish good amity between us and our loving brother," King Christian IV. " for ever: as also some good means of commercial intercourse for our subjects.

" II. And with respect to intercourse, *i. e.* commercial correspondence by treaty, you are to understand, that our merchants use very little trade in the dominions of Denmark. Yet, in general terms, mention is to be made of kind intreating our subjects on both sides, with liberty to trade, paying the ordinary duties.

" III. For coming, going, and abiding; and (which most imports our subjects) for the intercourse of our merchants with the East Countries through the passage of the Sound; as also of our merchants of Muscovy by the Wardhuys; and of the fishing of Iceland and Wardhuys.

" As to the passage of the Sound, our merchants have long since, by their humble supplications, declared unto us, that they are very much abused there, as well by daily increase of exactions, as by the uncertainties of the duties required,—with taking light occasions to stay them,—searching their ships, and confiscating their goods.

" IV. You may further declare, that as customs are grounded upon acknowledgment of regality,—for protection,—permission for coming in and out,—for maintaining deep bays and lights,—for repairing of ports, banks, &c. so use they to be urged with some proportion to the ground thereof, ever leaving means to the merchant-adventurer for recompence of his venture and travail; and that tolls, otherwise taken, are rather esteemed wilful exactions than due and just customs—And seeing, both by former treaties, and for safety in that passage," the Sound, " tolls must be paid, wherein, doubtless, you shall find them very strict," the best part of that King's revenue arising from such perquisites, " we leave you to confer with the merchants, what may be wrought for their reasonable satisfaction.

" First, concerning the hundredth penny, it is against all reason, that it should be otherwise rated than according to the valuation which appeareth by certificates from the magistrates whence the goods came, and not in that place where he should be both judge and jury.

" Secondly, It is a most unjust thing, that the merchant should be put to the proportion of entry of every particular in every pack, otherwise than by certificate as aforesaid.

" Thirdly, That in case of concealments, the mixed goods be not confiscated, but only what is concealed, or some double or treble value thereof; for it is a great violence, that merchants goods shall be forfeited for mariners faults; and it is contrary to two articles of the treaty of 1490.

" Fourthly, There must also be a moderation of measure of the lasts and the last-geldt.

" Fifthly, For passage of the company of Muscovy, there was a particular contract made, in the year 1583, at the humble suit of the merchants; whereunto, for the time, we gave our consent, with some modification." This was to pay a toll for our Russia company's ships

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1602 ships passing by the North Cape to Archangel, that company being, by concession, obliged to pay the King of Denmark one hundred rose-nobles yearly, for passing the sea between Norway and Iceland in their voyages to Archangel; the pretence for which was, that the Danish court had lost one hundred times more than that sum in the toll of the Sound, by the new navigation to Archangel, instead of the old one to Narva, as is set forth in the letter from the Queen's plenipotentiaries to her privy council this same year from Bremen, which it is unnecessary to exhibit in this place. *Ibid.* p. 478.

"But it is very unreasonable servility, to look for such a power over another monarch, in a sea of such dimensions as is between his countries and Iceland, when it is well known, that none of our ships do ever come within sight of land." We," adds the Queen, "may as well impose the like toll upon all ships of his country that shall pass through any of our channels, or about our kingdoms. Concerning the fishing at Wardhuys," at the North Cape, where, the very summer preceding, the Danes had seized and confiscated the ships of Hull, for fishing thereabout without a licence from them, "and in the seas of Iceland,—the law of nations does allow of fishing in the sea every where, as also for using the coasts and ports of potentates in amity for traffic, and for avoiding of danger from tempests." How different is this language from that of her next two successors, and of Selden's *Mare clausum*, &c. It is probable that Grotius, when he wrote his *Mare liberum*, had not seen these instructions and arguments, otherwise he would have availed himself thereof in that work. "Wherefore, no licence ought to be insisted on, as in old treaties, for fishing, &c. on that coast; for it cannot be admitted, that the property of the sea, at what distance soever, is consequent to the banks, as it happeneth in small rivers, where the banks are proper to divers men; for then it would follow, that no sea were common, the banks on every side being the property of one or other."

To all which the Danish King replied in this same year, in a letter to the Queen, by quoting the authorities of old treaties between England and Denmark, which Queen Elizabeth would not allow to be of any force in her days. That King, moreover, in his turn, complains to her of the depredations committed by certain English ships on those of Denmark. *Ibid.* p. 441 to 446.

Upon the whole, the Queen's instructions are so extremely well penned, and the reasonings so just, for the non-observance of the obsolete restrictive treaties of old times, that, it is humbly apprehended, they may even be found useful to ministers and ambassadors of the present and future times in similar cases, commercial and nautical.

In the same volume, p. 436, of the *Fœderæ*, Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation, "prohibiting her subjects from pirating on the ships and merchandize of nations in alliance with her, under pretence of their belonging to Spain and Portugal," which proves the complaint of the King of Denmark not to have been without ground, "and for regulating the sale of prizes, &c."

Chavin, from France, now sails up the great river of St. Lawrence to Canada; but he made no settlement there till the following year.

The plurality of East India partnerships or societies, at this time formed in Holland, creating much disorder and disagreement in that commerce, the States General summoned before them all the directors of those companies, and obliged them to unite, for the future, into one sole company; to which united company the States granted by patent, or placard, the sole commerce to the East Indies for twenty-one years, from the twentieth day of March, 1602; and

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1602 and their now joint capital stock consisted of six million six hundred thousand guilders, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling, which sum the English translation of the French treatise, touching the East India trade, in the year 1664, makes equal to seven million nine hundred and twenty thousand French livres, though in our days it would amount to a great deal more; whereupon, they sent out, in this same year, a fleet of fourteen ships for India, to very great advantage. This joint capital stock was proportioned in the following manner, viz.

Amsterdam to have one half of the said capital, and twenty directors.

Middleburg, one fourth of it, and twelve directors.

Delft, Rotterdam, Enchuyfen, and Hoorn, each one sixteenth part, and seven directors; making, in all, sixty directors from all those places. Or more minutely, by other accounts,

	Guild.	Stiv.	Pen.
Subscribed by Amsterdam	3,687,038	6	8
Middleburg	1,306,655	4	0
Delft	470,962	10	0
Rotterdam	174,562	10	0
Hoorn	268,430	10	0
Enchuyfen	541,562	10	0

Total subscribed 6,449,211 10 8

Each of which places elected a number of directors, sent out a number of ships, and received returns, all proportioned to the sums thus subscribed; and at each of those places there is an East India Office, called their Chamber.

In the sixteenth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 448, we have a proclamation of Queen Elizabeth's, in this same year 1602, arising from the unaccountable humour of that age, in foreseeing dangers that have never yet happened, nor are ever like to happen, from an increase of the suburbs of the city of London, though at present much more considerable than in her days: and all that can be said for her zeal herein, is, that the greatest judgments are sometimes biased by popular mistakes and clamour. The common objection,—that the head, (*i. e.* London) was become too large for the body, (*i. e.* England)—first began to be made about this time, and has been frequently started since on various occasions, we apprehend without solid grounds, the increase of buildings in London being purely the consequence of an increase of our general commerce.—*Vide* also what we have remarked on Queen Elizabeth's proclamation, 1580.

In this proclamation, her Majesty declares, " That foreseeing the great and manifold inconveniencies and mischiefs which daily grow, and are likely more and more to increase unto the state of the city of London, and the suburbs and confines thereof, by access and confluence of people to inhabit the same, not only by reason that such multitudes could hardly be governed by ordinary justice, to serve God and obey her Majesty, without constituting an addition of more officers, and enlarging of authorities and jurisdictions for that purpose; but also, could hardly be provided of sustentation of victual, food, and other like necessities for man's relief, upon reasonable prices: and finally, for that such great multitudes of people inhabiting in small rooms, whereof many be very poor, and such as must

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1602 "live by begging or worse means; and being heaped up together, and in a sort smothered, with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement, it must needs follow, if any plague, or other universal sickness come amongst them, it would presently spread through the whole city and confines, and also into all parts of the realm."

For remedy whereof, "She commands all manner of persons to desist and forbear from any new buildings of any house or tenement within three miles of any of the gates of London, —and only one family to inhabit one house.—And having, in the twenty-second year of her reign, published certain useful orders and decrees for enforcing her then proclamation," further corroborated by act of Parliament in the thirty-fifth year of her reign, (see the years 1580 and 1593) "yet the mischief daily increasing, through the negligence of magistrates, &c.—she now further commands the Lord Mayor of London, &c. faithfully to execute the following articles, viz."—Articles I. and II. are the same with those in the statute of the thirty-fifth of this Queen, already exhibited under the year 1593.

"III. Such tenements as have been divided within these ten years in the foresaid limits, the inmates to be avoided presently, if they have no estate for life, lives, or years yet enduring; and for such as have such estate or term, then as the same shall end, the tenement to be reduced to the former state.

"IV. All sheds and shops to be pulled down that have been erected within these seven years past.

"V. Empty houses, erected within seven years past, shall not be let to any, unless the owner shall be content that they be disposed of for some of the poor of the parish that are destitute of houses, at such rents as they shall allow.

"VI. Buildings on new foundations, which are not yet finished, shall be pulled down." With many other regulations, not material enough for us to transcribe.

The remarks subjoined to the two former restraints, in the years 1580 and 1593, we apprehend to be sufficient for this also, to which therefore we refer the reader.

In this sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 458, &c. we find, by letters from the Emperor Rodolph the Second, "That the Hans-towns were now willing to enter into an amicable treaty with Queen Elizabeth, to which," he says, "he understands the Queen not to be averse. And the Emperor appoints the treaty to be held at Bremen, notwithstanding his own imperial mandate, in the year 1597, with the concurrence of the German Diet, against the monopolizing Company of the English Merchant-Adventurers, who, in that year, resided at Staden, commanding them to depart the empire in three months time."

But the Queen and nation were now become too wise to let those Hanseatics return again to their old methods of commerce in England, which now interfered so much with the commerce of her own people.

Ibid. p. 494, after some sharp letters which passed between Queen Elizabeth and King Christian IV. of Denmark, concerning the exactions and depredations mentioned under the preceding year, they at length mutually agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to Bremen, where the Queen had two treaties to manage at the same time, neither of which came to any thing. She gave, besides, an order to her plenipotentiaries, for mediating, in her name, between the Count of East Friesland and the town of Embden, then at deadly variance with their sovereign

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At that Congress, the Danes strenuously insisted on the English paying the new tolls in the Sound, and on the last-gelt being continued; that our Russia Company should continue to pay the one hundred rose nobles yearly, for passing the North Seas to Archangel; and also, that the English should not fish at Ferro isle, Iceland, nor Wardhuys, without a licence from Denmark. The Congress, therefore, as might naturally be expected, broke off.

All which pretensions, excepting the toll in the Sound, are long since wisely dropped by the Danish court, as points equally unreasonable and impracticable, to be insisted on, in later and more enlightened times.

After sixteen years suspension of any attempts from England of colonizing in, or even of sailing to America, occasioned by the former unsuccessful and fatal endeavours of Raleigh, &c. in the latter part of the last century, Captain Gessol, who was an expert sailor, and had been employed in those former designs, did, in this year, make a voyage towards the coasts of Virginia, where he traded with the Indians for peltry, saffrafras, cedar-wood, &c. in latitude forty-two, on the coast of what is now called New England; but hitherto all the coast of North America, from Florida northwards, as far as men knew, was, by the English, called Virginia, so named by Sir Walter Raleigh. On Martha's vineyard, an island so named by him, he sowed English corn, which he saw come up kindly, and returned home, making a prosperous voyage.

For his credit it ought to be related, that he was the first Englishman who found out the more northerly and shorter course to the coast of North America, without sailing, as hitherto, to the West Indies, and through the Gulph of Florida, which, beside the great compass about, was also more dangerous, more especially in passing that Gulph. And in the year following, two Bristol ships traded there, as did also Captain Gilbert from London, with the Indians, and also with those of St. Lucia, Dominica, Nevis, and St. Christopher isles, which were not yet settled.

In this last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, one more expedition was set on foot against the coasts of Spain, where, with eight of the Queen's ships, and some hired ones, commanded by Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson, the Spanish flota was unsuccessfully attacked: yet they had better success in attacking a number of ships in the haven of Cezimbra, two of which they destroyed, and from thence carried home a rich carrack, worth a million of ducats. Soon after, seven of the eight ships which had escaped from Cezimbra were destroyed near Dover by Sir Robert Mansel.

1603 After innumerable distractions, many rebellions and insurrections, and much confusion, the entire pacification of Ireland was this year effected, by the absolute submission of the grand rebel Tyrone to Queen Elizabeth's mercy, just at the expiring of that princess; he not knowing, (says Sir James Ware's History of Ireland) that the Queen died six days before his surrender. During Queen Elizabeth's reign, (says Sir John Davies) she sent over more men, and spent more treasure, to save and reduce Ireland than all her progenitors since the conquest.

At this great Queen's death, (says Sir William Monson, in his Naval Tracts, p. 294, speaking of the increase of trade and navigation) there were not above four merchants ships in England of four hundred tons each.

The death of the incomparable Queen Elizabeth happened on the 24th of March, 1603, (N. S.) It is needless, and also foreign to our purpose, to observe how much and how universally she was regretted by her subjects as well as by foreigners. "She was," says Thuanus, lib. 129) "the most glorious, and happiest woman that ever swayed a sceptre." What more

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1603 immediately concerns us in this work has been already sufficiently exhibited in just commendation of her, upon her accession to the crown. We shall only add, that in succeeding reigns, England's foreign commerce, navigation, and royal navy, as well as our home manufactures, were considerably increased, as was also the case of the rest of Europe, yet to her we undoubtedly are indebted for so wisely laying the great and solid foundation, upon which the succeeding superstructure was raised.

The accession of Scotland to the crown of England has undoubtedly proved a great benefit to the latter, not only as by such an event a most dangerous back-door was for ever shut against France, or any other foreign enemy; but likewise, as it has largely supplied England with stout and able men, both for the land and sea service, besides other benefits which it is unnecessary to enumerate. But with regard to Scotland, King James's accession was undoubtedly detrimental to that people in many respects. It carried away the court, their principal nobility and gentry, as well as foreign ministers, and many other strangers; so that the trading people were deprived of much money that used to be spent in that country.—It considerably decreased the demand for both foreign and home commodities.—It also diminished the number of their people, and thereby created discontent; all which, however, were afterwards well made up to Scotland, by a communication of the English trade and colonies, which was the result of the more happy consolidating Union, in the year 1707.

King James I. having, at his accession to the crown of England, called in all his own ships of war, as well as our then numerous privateers, which the English merchants, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, had so successfully employed against Spain, and by which they had done infinite damage to the commerce of that nation, he at once, by that means, put an end to the gallant warlike exploits of our people; declaring himself to be at peace with all the world. That pacific disposition in this King, so often, and, perhaps, too truly termed pusillanimous, afforded, however a breathing time, and an undisturbed opportunity to our mercantile and colonizing adventurers, to plant and gradually to improve the colonies of Virginia, New England, Bermudas, and Newfoundland; (if the last, even at this day, may properly and deservedly be termed a colony) as also to make a considerable progress in the trade to the East Indies. The royal navy was increased, in his reign, to almost double the number of Queen Elizabeth's own ships of war, viz. from thirteen to twenty-four men of war. The largest of Queen Elizabeth's ships at her death, consisted of one thousand tons, carrying but three hundred and forty mariners [and forty cannon, and the smallest of six hundred tons, carrying one hundred and fifty mariners and thirty cannon, besides lesser vessels, occasionally hired of private owners.

The first record in the *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 507, &c. of this King's reign, for our purpose, is his grant of the office of Keeper of the West Marches towards Scotland, to George Earl of Cumberland, with a yearly salary of six hundred marks for himself, and ten pounds for each of his two deputies; moreover, five hundred marks per annum as Warden of the Middle Marches, and one hundred marks yearly as Governor of Carlisle, with ten marks yearly for the pay of each of the twenty soldiers who were the garrison of that city.

We have an account of more salaries, viz. (*ibid.* p. 513) forty pounds yearly to Gilbert Primrose, his principal surgeon, and forty marks as serjeant-surgeon, with all other emoluments of both stations, "as well of wax-candles of our household, as of wine, ale, &c." (*Tam de la Bougie in Court Hospitii nostri, quam Vini, Cervolisæ, &c.*) Also, p. 514, to Dr. John Craigie, his principal physician, one hundred pounds per annum, with the same emoluments.

Also,

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Also, p. 522, in the same year, forty pounds yearly to his apothecary in ordinary, John Clavee, with similar emoluments.

Also, p. 532, the said Gilbert Primrose had another salary of fifty marks, as surgeon to the Prince of Wales : and Clavee had fifty pounds salary as apothecary to the Queen, the Prince, and other children of the King.

Lastly, (*ibid.* p. 537) Dr. Martin Schover had one hundred pounds salary, as physician to the Queen.

In this same year 1603, King James issued a proclamation for annulling several monopolies ; and at the opening of his first Parliament spoke sharply against them, although afterwards he gave great encouragement to them.

In this same year 1603, and in the same volume, p. 541, of the *Fœdera*, we have an order of King James I. for all the allowances to his Lord High Chancellor, Egerton, now created Baron Ellesmore, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
1. For wages, diet, robes, and liveries for himself and the Masters of our Chancery, (as former Chancellors have had) per annum, the sum of	542	15	0
2. For his attendance in our Star Chamber, fifty pounds per annum for each term	200	0	0
3. More, per annum,	300	0	0
4. For twelve tons of wine yearly, at five pounds per ton,	60	0	0
5. For wax, by virtue of his office	16	0	0
Total,	1118	15	0

According to Thuanus, lib. 129, King Henry IV. of France, in this year of peace and tranquillity to that kingdom, first set about augmenting that nation's stock of wealth, by further encouraging all sorts of manufactures in general, but in a most particular manner the silk manufacture. After that judicious author has given the history of silk being first brought to Constantinople by Justinian, in the sixth century, and thence to Sicily several centuries later, from whence it soon spread all over Italy, and from thence next into Spain ; at length it got into France, where, in the reign of King Francis I. it prospered in Touraine, and yet more in Provence, and at Lyons and Avignon, but could not succeed further northward, as we have already observed under the year 1589 and 1599.

" That King," says Thuanus, " saw that it was in vain to prohibit the exportation of gold and silver, unless those things were made and improved at home, the want of which had hitherto principally occasioned the said exportation.—That the wear of silk cloathing was, in his time, become so common, more especially among the fair sex, that they despised the use of woollen, so universally and frugally worn by their ancestors, and that hereby much money was sent out of the kingdom for the purchase of wrought silk. Wherefore, the King not only set about the propagating of the worms for the spinning of raw silk, but, which was of greater benefit to the public, the manufacturing of the same. The silkworms he got yearly from Spain, concerning the management of which he caused books to be written in French, for the general instruction of his people.

" That King also procured workmen from Flanders for a tapestry manufacture, in which country it had long and greatly flourished. The manufacture of fine earthen ware he intro-

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1603 “ duced also into France from the Netherlands. He revived the glass-houses which had been first set up in King Henry the Second’s time, in imitation of those at Venice.—He also established a linen manufacture.—That King’s magnificent improvements in his buildings, gardens, &c. were suitable to his great genius. He also made rivers navigable, and his attempt to unite the Loire and the Seine, at a vast expence, was very praise-worthy, though it was not crowned with success.”

It was not till this year 1603, that the French began to settle any where within the bay of St. Lawrence, in the country called Canada or New France, on the north side of that great river, near the place named Trois Rivières, but they did not get so high as Quebec till the year 1608. They proceeded to settle on the north side only of that river, between Quebec and Montreal, till 1629, when Sir David Kirk reduced the whole to the obedience of Charles I. of England.

In this year 1603, the Weekly Bill of Mortality at London began to be regularly kept as in our days; yet many of those bills, in earlier times, have been lost.—And even the bills in their most modern condition, afford us but an imperfect conjecture of the magnitude of London, as comprehending only or mostly the christenings and burials of those of the established church, although the dissenters of all denominations be a numerous body of people. Those also which are buried in St. Paul’s Cathedral, in the Abbey-church at Westminster, in the Temple Church, the Rolls Chapel, Lincoln’s Inn Chapel, the Charter-house, the Tower of London, and some other parts, are said to be entirely omitted. Before the last plague of 1665, the yearly bills were much more frequently filled with that disease, than, to our comfort, they have been since; owing, probably, to the open and more airy rebuilding of London after the great conflagration in 1666, and the greater plenty of sweet water. Possibly our statesmen may chuse to have the magnitude of London remain undetermined, otherwise, how easily could this defect be remedied, by only a very few lines, by way of clause, in any act of Parliament.

“ Westminster and London,” says James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, published in the year 1657, “ were once above a mile asunder; but by insensible coalition and recruit of people, they came at last to be united. The Union with Scotland, in the year 1603, did not a little conduce to make this union of London and Westminster; for the Scots greatly multiplying here, nestled themselves about the court; so that the Strand, from the mud walls and thatched houses, acquired that perfection of buildings it now possesses.”

By an act of Parliament of the first year of King James I. 1603, cap. xviii. against the importation of foreign corrupt hops, or of brewing with such, it appears, that there were then hops produced in abundance in England. It appears, however, by this act, that they were not as yet in such great plenty as in our days, seeing it makes heavy complaints of the sophistication of foreign hops, in the sacks of which were found great quantities of stalks, powder, sand, straw, &c. for increasing their weight; “ by means whereof,” says this act, “ the subjects of this realm have been of late years abused, &c. to the value of twenty thousand pounds yearly, beside the danger of their healths.”

In this same first year of King James I. the House of Commons (statute xxxiii.) granted him for life a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, for the guard of the seas, in so abject a title, (the words, ‘ your Majesty’s poor Commons,’ being frequently repeated) and so unworthy of the spirit of free-born Englishmen, that it is the less to be wondered at, that his son and successor made so free with this subsidy, without consulting his people.

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1603 The tonnage duty was three shillings for every ton of wine, and one shilling for an aume of Rhenish wine.

The poundage was one shilling on every twenty shillings value of goods exported and imported, woollen cloths exported excepted; as also fish exported, taken by English subjects.

By this same act, they granted him one pound thirteen shillings and four pence on every sack of wool exported; and the same for every two hundred and forty woolfells, to be paid by aliens only, who shall also pay two shillings for every twenty shillings value of pewter exported by them. Yet, the following year, King James, by proclamation, prohibited the exportation of wool, which, indeed, 'it was now high time to do, our own manufacture of it being become so considerable, and so much being sent into foreign parts, as to employ, or work up the greatest part, if not all, of our own wool at home.

About this time, the English East India Company first settled their factory at Surat, in the province of Cambaya, or Guzurate, and were soon followed thither by the Dutch: and here, at first, the Portuguese, (as in all other parts of India,) pretending to the sole and exclusive commerce to India, were very troublesome to both English and Dutch, by seizing their ships and merchandize, and murdering their people. Yet, in the end, both those nations, but more especially the Dutch, took a complete revenge on the Portuguese in India.

We may, on this occasion, briefly remark the very great benefits which both the cities and potentates of India have reaped from the coming of Europeans thither; and more especially the dominions of the Mogul, by the great increase of his customs, and of his towns and sea-ports. Even this famous town of Surat, though now the first port of the continent of India for maritime commerce, was little better than a village till that time, though since containing above two hundred thousand souls.—The Europeans, moreover, have instructed the East Indians in many sorts of manufactures, &c. and more particularly in the building of better and safer ships.

The Portuguese in India had been in possession of the coasts of the famous isle of Ceylon, as we have related, ever since the year 1505, when they erected their first fort at Columbo, where the best cinnamon on earth grows. Zoaers, the Portuguese General, obliged the Emperor, or King of Ceylon, to agree to an annual tribute, to be paid to Emanuel, King of Portugal, of one hundred and twenty-four thousand pounds weight of cinnamon, twelve rings set with most precious stones, and six elephants, (according to Baldæus's account, who was a Dutch preacher at Ceylon, from his original copy, printed at Amsterdam, in 1672, and published in the third volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages, p. 573) as, on the other hand, the Portuguese were thereby bound to assist that Emperor (as they called him sometimes, though at other times they called him only King of Candy, from the place of his usual residence) against all his enemies. But the Moors settled in Ceylon, being jealous of the Portuguese, began to influence that Emperor against them, so that peace and friendship were interrupted; nevertheless, the Portuguese, in spite of all opposition, continued at length to fortify themselves quite round that extensive island. The Hollanders, however, doomed to be the perpetual scourge of the Portuguese in India, first landed here in the year 1603, and went to Candy, the capital of that isle, to wait on the Emperor, for the purpose of contracting a friendship with him, which greatly excited the jealousy of the Portuguese; though they were not so soon supplanted as their fears suggested.

Their

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Their East India Company sent out this year twelve ships, which, however, miscarried in attempting Mozambique and Goa; yet they took several Portuguese ships.—They also drove the Portuguese from Amboyna and Tidore in the Moluccas. This year their Company divided fifteen per cent. on their capital of six million four hundred and fifty nine thousand eight hundred and forty-one guilders.

At this time, Sir Walter Raleigh laid before King James a small essay in manuscript, entitled, “Observations concerning the Trade and Commerce of England with the Dutch and other foreign Nations,” but being not much regarded at that time, he got it once more laid before that Prince a little before his execution, probably in hopes of pardon. Its principal object was to demonstrate the foundation of the five following propositions, or how many ways England supinely suffered other nations, who had little or no means or materials of their own to work upon, to carry away the trade of the world.

As, “I. That foreigners,” (he meant principally the Hollanders) “by the privileges they allowed to strangers, drew multitudes of merchants to live amongst them, and thereby enriched themselves.

“II. By their storehouses or magazines of all foreign commodities, wherewith, upon every occasion of scarcity, they are enabled to supply other countries, even those from whom they brought those very commodities.

“III. By the lowness of the customs of those foreign nations,”—here he still means the Dutch.

“IV. By the structure or roominess of their shipping, holding much merchandize, though sailing with fewer hands than our ships could; thereby carrying their goods much cheaper to and from foreign parts than England can; whereby the Dutch gain all the foreign freight, whilst our own ships lie still and decay, or else go to Newcastle for coals.

“Their prodigious fishery, of which they make such vast returns yearly.”

After these five propositions, he goes on to remark on the freedom from custom, allowed by the Dutch for any newly-erected trade.—“That even in France all nations may freely buy and sell, there being free of custom outwards twice or thrice in the year.—That at Rochelle, and in Britany, there is free custom all the year round;—and also in Denmark, excepting between Bartholomew-tide and Michaelmas.—That the Hans-towns imitate the Dutch in the said wise regulations, whereby they also abound in riches and all manner of merchandize, have plenty of money, and are strong in shipping and mariners, some of their towns having near one thousand sail of ships.

“That the Dutch and other petty states do engross the transportation of the merchandize of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the East and West India; all which they carry to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other northern parts, and bring back the bulky commodities of those northern regions into the said southern countries. Yet is England better situated than Holland for a general storehouse as aforesaid.—No sooner does a dearth happen of wine, fish, corn, &c. in England, than forthwith the Embdeners, Hamburgers, and Hollanders, out of their storehouses, lade fifty or one hundred ships or more, dispersing themselves round about this kingdom, and carrying away great store of coin and wealth,—thus cutting down our merchants, and decaying our navigation, not with their natural commodities, but with those of other countries.

“Amsterdam is never without seven hundred thousand quarters of corn, beside what they daily vent, though none of it be of the growth of their country; and a dearth of only one
“ year,

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1603 “ year, in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. is justly observed to enrich Holland for seven years after.—In the last dearth six years ago in England, the Hamburgers, Embdeners, and Hollanders supplied this kingdom from their storehouses; and, in a year and an half, carried away from the three ports of Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol, alone, near two hundred thousand pounds, and from other parts of this kingdom, more particularly including London, it cannot be so little as two millions of pounds more, to the great decay of your kingdom, and impoverishing of your people, discredit and dishonour to the merchants, and to the land.

“ They,” *i. e.* the Dutch, &c. “ have a continual trade into this kingdom with five hundred or six hundred ships yearly with merchandize of other countries, storing them up here, until the price rise to their minds; and we trade not with fifty ships into their country in a year.”

He goes on to observe very truly, “ That unless there be a scarcity, or high prices, all merchants avoid the parts where great impositions are on merchandize; which places are usually slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear rates, often in scarcity, and in want of employment for their people.—Whereas, the low duties of the wise states above-named draw all traffic unto them, and the great liberty allowed to strangers makes a continual mart.—So that, whatever excises, &c. they may lay upon the common people, they are sure ever to ease, uphold, and maintain the merchants by all possible means, thereby to draw the wealth and strength of Christendom to themselves. And although the duties be but small, yet the vast exports and imports do greatly increase their revenues; which vast commerce enables the common people not only to bear the burden of the excises and impositions laid on them, but also to grow rich.

“ In former ages, the city of Genoa, as appears by their ancient records and sumptuous buildings, had a vastly extended commerce, whither all nations traded, being the storehouse for all Italy and other parts. But after they laid so great a custom as sixteen per cent. all nations left trading with them, which made them give themselves wholly to usury; and at this day we have not three ships go thither in a year.

“ On the other side, the Duke of Florence having, at Leghorn, laid small customs on merchandize, and granted them great privileges; he has thereby made it a rich and strong city, and his state flourishing.”

Next, Raleigh comes to his favourite point, the fishery. “ The greatest fishing that ever was known in the world is upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but the great fishery is in the Low Countries and other petty states, wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom.

“ I. Into four towns in the Baltic, *viz.* Koningberg, Elbing, Stetin, and Dantzick, there are carried and vended in a year between thirty and forty thousand lasts of herrings, which, being sold but at fifteen or sixteen pounds the last, is about six hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and we send none thither, — — —

£. s. d.
620,000 0 0

“ II. To Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the ports of Riga, Revel, Narva, and other parts of Livonia, &c. there are carried and vended above ten thousand lasts of herrings, worth — — —

170,000 0 0

“ And we send none at all to those countries.

Carried over

£. 790,000 0 0

A. D.
1603

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	790,000	0	0
“ III. The Hollanders send into Russia near one thousand five hundred “ lafts of herrings, fold at about thirty shillings per barrel, is —	27,000	0	0
“ And we sent thither about twenty or thirty lafts.			
“ IV. To Staden, Hamburg, Bremen, and Embden are carried and “ vended of fish and herrings about six thousand lafts, fold at about fifteen “ or sixteen pounds per laft, — — — — —	100,000	0	0
“ And we none at all.			
“ V. To Cleves and Juliers, up the Rhine to Cologne and Franckfort “ on the Maine, and so over all Germany, are carried and vended, of fish “ and herrings, near twenty-two thousand lafts, fold at twenty pounds per “ laft, is — — — — —	440,000	0	0
“ And we none.			
“ VI. Up the river Meuse to Maestrecht, Liege, &c. and to Venloo, “ Zutphen, Deventer, Campen, Swoll, &c. about seven thousand lafts of “ herrings, at twenty pounds per laft, is — — — — —	140,000	0	0
“ And we none at all.			
“ VII. To Guelderland, Artois, Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, Ant- “ werp, and up the Scheld, all over the Archduke's countries, are carried “ and vended between eight and nine thousand lafts, at eighteen pounds “ per laft, is — — — — —	162,000	0	0
“ And we none.			
“ VIII. The Hollanders and others carried off all sorts of herrings to “ Rouen alone, in one year, (besides all other parts of France) five thou- “ sand lafts, is — — — — —	100,000	0	0
“ And we not one hundred lafts			
Total sterling money	£. 1,759,000	0	0

“ Over and above these, there is a great quantity of fish vended to the Streights.—Surely,
“ the stream is necessary to be turned to the good of this kingdom, to whose sea coasts alone
“ God has sent these great blessings and immense riches for us to take.—And that any nation
“ should carry away out of this kingdom yearly great masses of money for fish taken in our
“ seas, and sold again by them to us, must needs be a great dishonour to our nation, and
“ hindrance to this realm.”

This account of the magnitude of the Dutch fishery was quoted sixty years after this, by
the grand Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, as believing Raleigh had been at
great pains to inform himself thereof; which, coming from so great an author, authenticates
the other parts of this representation.

Raleigh goes on to other branches of the Dutch commerce, viz. “ That although the
“ abundance of corn grows in the East Countries, *i. e.* Poland, Livonia, &c. “ yet the great
“ storehouses for grain, to serve Christendom, &c. in time of dearth, is in the Low Coun-
“ tries;” of which enough has already been related.

“ The mighty store of wines and salt is in France and Spain; but the great vintage, and
“ staple of salt, are in the Low Countries: and they send near one thousand sail of ships
“ yearly

A. D.

1603 “ yearly into the East Countries with salt and wine only, beside what they send to other places; and we not one ship in that way.

“ The exceeding great groves of wood are in the east kingdoms,” *i. e.* chiefly within the Baltic, “ but the large piles of wainscot, clapboard, fir, deal, masts, and other timber, are in the Low Countries, where none groweth, wherewith they serve themselves and other parts, and this kingdom; and they have five or six hundred great long ships continually using that trade, and we none at all.

“ The wool, cloth, lead, tin, and divers other commodities, are in England; but, by means of our wool, and of our cloth going out rough, undressed, and undyed, there is an exceeding manufactory and drapery in the Low Countries, wherewith they serve themselves and other nations, and greatly advance the employment of their people at home, and traffic abroad, and in proportion suppress ours.

“ We send into the East Countries yearly but one hundred ships, and our trade chiefly depends on three towns there, viz. Elbing, Koningsberg, and Dantzick; but the Low Countries send thither about three thousand ships, trading into every city and port town, vending their commodities to exceeding profit, and lading their ships with plenty of their commodities, which they have twenty per cent cheaper than we, by reason of the difference of the coin; and their fish yields ready money. They,” the Hollanders, “ send into France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy about two thousand ships yearly with those East Country commodities, and we none in that course.

“ They trade into all cities and port towns of France, and we chiefly to five or six.

“ The Low Countries,” continues Raleigh, “ have as many ships and vessels as eleven kingdoms of Christendom have, let England be one. They build every year near one thousand ships, although all their native commodities do not require one hundred ships to carry them away at once. Yet although we have all things of our own in abundance for the increase of traffic, timber to build ships, and commodities of our own to lade about one thousand ships and vessels at once, (beside the great fishing) and as fast as they make their voyages might relade again; yet our ships and mariners decline, and traffic and merchants daily decay.

“ For seventy years together we had a great trade to Russia,” there was a trade with Russia, “ by the way of Narva, long before the voyage round the North Cape was discovered, “ and even about fourteen years ago we sent store of goodly ships thither; but three years past we sent out four thither, and last year but two or three ships;—whereas, the Hollanders are now increased to about thirty or forty ships, each as large as two of ours, chiefly laden with English cloth, herrings taken in our seas, English lead, and pewter made of our tin, beside other commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it,” Russia, “ be a cheap country, and the trade very gainful, yet we have almost brought it to nought by disorderly trading. So likewise we used to have eight or nine great ships go continually a fishing to Wardhuys, and this year but one.

“ God hath blest your Majesty with copper, lead, iron, tin, alum, copperas, saffron, fells,” *i. e.* skins, “ and many more native commodities, to the number of about one hundred; and other manufactures vendible, to the number of about one thousand; beside corn, whereof great quantities of beer are made, and mostly transported by strangers; as also wool and coals.

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“ Iron ordnance, a jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reason that no other country but England could ever attain unto it, although they had attempted it with great charge.”

Raleigh, moreover, tells the King, “ That there were about eighty thousand undressed and undyed cloths annually exported from England; whereby four hundred thousand pounds per annum, for fifty-five years past, (being above twenty millions) has been lost to the nation, which sum, had the said cloths been dressed and dyed at home, would have been gained, beside the further enlarging of traffic, by importing materials for dying, and the increase of customs thereon. Moreover, there have been annually exported in that time, in bayes, northern and Devonshire kerseys, all white, about fifty thousand cloths, counting three kerseys to one cloth; whereby five millions more have been lost for want of dying and dressing. Our bayes are sent white to Amsterdam, and there dressed, dyed, and shipped for Spain, Portugal, &c. where they are sold by the name of Flemish bayes; so we lose the very name of our home-bred commodities.” All this, from so able a person as Raleigh, might probably have set Alderman Cockayne, five years after, on his unsuccessful project for dying and dressing our cloths before exportation.

Speaking again of the fishery, he asserts, “ That the great sea business of fishing employs near twenty thousand ships and vessels, and four hundred thousand people yearly, upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with sixty ships of war, which may prove dangerous. The Hollanders alone have about three thousand ships to fish with, and fifty thousand men are employed yearly by them on your Majesty’s coasts aforesaid; which three thousand ships do employ near nine thousand other ships and vessels, and one hundred and fifty thousand persons more, by sea and land, to make provision, to dress and transport the fish they take, and return commodities, whereby they are enabled yearly to build one thousand ships and vessels.

“ King Henry VII. desiring to make his kingdom powerful and rich by an increase of ships and mariners, and for the employment of his people, moved his sea ports to set up the great and rich fishery, promising them needful privileges, and to furnish them with loans of money; yet his people were slack. That by only twenty fishing busses, placed at one sea coast town, where no ship was before, there must be to carry, re-carry, transport, and make provision for one buss, three ships. Likewise every ship setting on work thirty several trades. Thus those twenty busses set on work near eight thousand persons by sea and land, and cause an increase of near one thousand mariners, and a fleet of eighty sail of ships in one town, where none were before.” With how ample a fund did this great man supply us for commercial history, for the times he wrote in; and who, but—such a King, would have first imprisoned him for many years, and at length deprived him of a life so well spent in his country’s service?

In the conclusion, he strongly recommends what he calls a State-merchant, from which he promises a great increase of commerce, manufactures, shipping, and riches; yet, as far as appears from his general account of it, it seems to be no more, than for the King to give him leave to name a number of commissioners, to be vested by his Majesty with authority to take examinations upon oath, and in other respects to regulate commerce to the best advantage; which scheme seems much the same with the Board of Trade and Plantations erected in the year 1696.

With

A. D.

1603

With regard to this whole excellent essay of his on commerce, it was a masterly one for the time in which it was written; yet he is sometimes mistaken: for instance, his opinion of raising the nominal value of our coin above its intrinsic value, or, in other words, above the price of bullion in other nations, which he thinks would be a means to keep our coin to ourselves; seeing it is now, in our days, clearly understood, that it is only the real quantity of pure bullion which foreign nations will regard in our coins, and will deal with us accordingly. Yet in this point Raleigh may be excused, when so lately as the years 1695 and 1696, when the silver coins were so shamefully impaired as to require a general re-coinage, an otherwise able and diligent secretary of the treasury fell into the like mistake, as will be related in its place.

His theory is good, in respect of the great advantages accruing to the public, by the dying and fully dressing of all our cloths before exportation; nevertheless, we shall see that Alderman Cockayne's patent for that end, in the year 1615, proved unsuccessful, although those arts have since been gained by us gradually, and without force, which a compulsory law in King James the First's reign could not effect. King James's attempt also, in the year 1623, for erecting granaries of corn, in imitation of Holland, proved abortive. The fishery is much altered since Raleigh's time: people, even in Popish countries, are become more delicate in their palates, and less fond of a salt fish diet; yet it must be allowed, that there is still a great demand for salted fish in many countries.

Upon the whole, although some part of this essay may possibly lie under the censure of exaggeration, yet its historical and critical remarks render it very deserving of a place in this commercial history.

Beside the establishment of a company of Mines Royal, elected in 1563, and another for Mineral and Battery Works, in the year 1568, King James I. in this first year of his reign, incorporated with the Earl of Pembroke and others, for the better continuing the corporation of the Society of Mineral and Battery Works, of the tenth of Queen Elizabeth, 1568; yet notwithstanding the acts of the tenth and thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, and several grants of King James and of King Charles I. and II. with prohibitions of foreign iron wire and wool cards; and that, in 1668, the company of Mines Royal were united to that of the Mineral and Battery Works, of which Prince Rupert and the Earl of Shaftsbury were then elected governors; two acts of Parliament, nevertheless, in the years 1689 and 1693, declared no mines to be Royal, either of copper, tin, iron, or lead, even though gold and silver should be extracted therefrom; provided, however, that the crown may have the pre-emption of those metals, paying for copper ore sixteen pounds per ton, tin two pounds per ton, iron two pounds, and lead nine pounds per ton. These acts greatly discouraged the above-named societies, and gave rise to the Mine Adventurers Company, which is sunk also into a very languishing condition in our days.

Things relating to eatables and drinkables were generally still above twice as cheap as in our days. By a statute of the first year of King James I. cap. ix. "no victualler shall sell less than one full ale quart of the best beer or ale for one penny, and two quarts of the smaller sort for one penny."

By another statute of this year, cap. xxv. "when wheat is not above one pound six shillings and eight-pence per quarter, rye, peas, and beans fifteen shillings, and barley and malt fourteen shillings per quarter, they may be exported in English ships, paying custom two shillings per quarter for wheat, and one shilling and four-pence for the other kinds."

N. B. In

A. D.

1603 N. B. In the alliance concluded, in the year 1603, at Hampton-court, between King Henry IV. of France and King James I. of Great Britain, chiefly for the defence of the United Netherlands against Spain, there is nothing particular relating to commercial matters. Vol. ii. p. 128 and 131, of the Collection of Treaties, printed in 1732.

1604 Thuanus, in lib. cxxxi. acquaints us, "that an assembly of Hanseatic deputies now appointed a solemn embassy to foreign nations, for the renewal of their mercantile privileges; it was in the name of the cities of Lubeck, Dantzick, Cologne, Hamburgh, and Bremen. They first addressed King James of Great Britain, who, because they brought no letters from the Emperor, soon dismissed them."

In a letter of Sir Thomas Edmonds to Sir Ralph Winwood, that King's Minister in Holland, printed in the second volume of his (Winwood's) Memoirs, we have the Privy Council's final answer to those deputies of the Hans-towns, viz.

"That as their privileges were heretofore adjudged to be forfeited, and thereupon resumed by the King's predecessors, in respect of the breach of condition on their part, so it can no way stand with the good of the state, to restore them again to the said privileges. And with this answer they departed nothing contented."

The Hanseatics went from thence to the court of France, where they met with abundance of good words, but nothing else; and then they went to the court of Spain, where, probably for the Emperor's sake, they had some success.

King James I. having, as has been related, determined to make peace with all nations, we find, in the sixteenth volume, p. 579, of the *Fœdera*, a treaty set on foot at London between his Ministers and those of King Philip III. of Spain, and of the Archduke, Albert, and the Archduchess, Isabella Clara Eugenia, for the Netherlands. What was then concluded relating to commerce is in substance, viz.

"I. All ships of war, and letters of marque and reprisals, to be called in on both sides.

"II. King James's garrisons in the cautionary towns shall not supply the Hollanders with any military stores, nor any other assistance whatever, during their revolt from Spain.

"III. There shall be a free and uninterrupted commerce between the dominions of both parties, as it was before the late wars, and as agreeable to former treaties of commerce; with free access to each others ports, so, however, that no number exceeding six ships of war shall enter into any port on either side, without previous leave.

"IV. The merchandize of England, Scotland, and Ireland may be freely imported into the Spanish dominions, without being obliged to pay the new impost of thirty per cent. and shall pay none but the old duties.

"V. With respect to the merchandize which King James's subjects shall buy in Spain, they shall likewise be exempted from the said new impost of thirty pounds per cent. provided they bring away the said merchandize in their own shipping, and unlade them either in the British dominions or in the Spanish Netherlands; but they shall not carry them any where else, without paying the said new impost, unless it be to France, after Spain shall have adjusted her differences with that crown.

"VI. There shall be no interruption of merchants commerce in either country, on account of difference in religion.

"VII. The effects of persons dying in either country shall be carefully kept for their executors or administrators.

"VIII. Six

A. D.
1604

“ VIII. Six months time allowed, in case of a rupture, for merchants in either country to remove their effects.

“ IX. The ships of neither contracting party shall be detained in the ports of the other country, nor be made use of for war, without their respective sovereign’s consent.” In the second volume, p. 131 to 146, of the Collection of Treaties, in four volumes, octavo, published in the year 1732, there is a treaty with exactly the same title, consisting of thirty-six articles, of which this taken from the *Fœdera* is the substance.

Upon concluding this treaty, King James, in this same year, incorporated a company of merchants for an exclusive trade to Spain and Portugal; but this monopoly being found to be very prejudicial to commerce, it was, in the following year, so strongly remonstrated against by the House of Commons, that the patent was revoked, and the trade to those countries left free to all, as before, by an act of Parliament of the third year of King James, cap. vi.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 582, of the *Fœdera*, we find a licence and protection from King James I. “ to Sir Edward Michelborne and his associates, to go with their ships on the discovery of Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya, and the isles thereto belonging, and to trade with the said countries and people, not as yet frequented and traded unto by any of our subjects or people, without interruption; any restraint, grant, or charter to the contrary notwithstanding.” This licence was probably well paid for to a King always profuse, and ever necessitous, since it is directly contradictory to the following clause in Queen Elizabeth’s charter of incorporation to the East India Company, in the year 1600, viz. “ None of the Queen’s subjects but the Company, their servants or assigns, shall resort to India, without being licensed by the Company, upon pain of forfeiting ships, cargoes, &c.” Yet he and Captain John Davis went, in this year, with one ship and a pinnace to Bantam; but, according to Purchas, performed nothing memorable.

The English East India Company sent out their second voyage thither in this same year 1604, with four ships, under Sir Henry Middleton. At Bantam he laded two ships with pepper, going with the other two to the isles of Banda, famous for the trade of nutmeg and mace. At Amboyna, so eminent for cloves, he laded a good quantity; there he found the Dutch at war with the Portuguese about the sovereignty of that important isle. In their return homeward, one of their ships was lost, but the other three got safe home, in the year 1606.

In the same sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 601, we meet with the following record, which, like many others, shews the very great difference between those and the present times and seasons. Its title is, *Commissio pro Tobacco*, wherein King James sets forth, “ That whereas, tobacco being a drug of late years found out, and brought from foreign parts in small quantities, was taken and used by the better sort, both then and now only as physic, to preserve health; but it is now, at this day, through evil custom and the toleration thereof, excessively taken by a number of riotous and disorderly persons of mean and base condition, who do spend most of their time in that idle vanity, to the evil example and corrupting of others, and also do consume the wages which many of them get by their labour, not caring at what price they buy that drug.—By which immoderate taking of tobacco the health of a great number of our people is impaired, and their bodies weakened and made unfit for labour.—Besides, that also a great part of the treasure of our land is spent and exhausted by this only drug, so licentiously abused by the meaner sort. All which enormous inconveniences we do well perceive to proceed principally from the great quantity of tobacco daily

• brought

A. D.

1604 “brought into this our realm, which exceeds might, in great part, be restrained by some good imposition to be laid on it.—Wherefore, we command you our treasurer of England, to order all customers, comptrollers, searchers, surveyors, &c. of our ports, that, from the twenty-sixth of October next, they shall demand and take for our use, of all merchants, as well English as strangers, and of all others who shall bring in any tobacco, the sum of six shillings and eight-pence on every pound weight thereof, over and above the custom of two-pence upon the pound weight usually paid before,” &c.—As this King, as well as his son and successor, had a mortal hatred to tobacco, and as it was, moreover, all brought from the Spanish West Indies, it is no wonder he laid a tax on it equal to a prohibition, had it been legally imposed and strictly executed. He then little apprehended, that, in process of time, the tax on tobacco of his own colonies would yield a very considerable share of the public revenue. We may add, what is obvious to all, that he had no right to lay on such a duty without the consent of Parliament.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 605, we have this King's proclamation for reformation of the coin, and for coining new money, upon the late union of the kingdoms; (as he affected to term it) and on his new broad pieces of gold he caused to be cut the following words, viz. *Henricus rosas, regna Jacobus, i. e.* King Henry VII. united the red and white roses, but King James I. united the kingdoms, though it was nothing but an union of the crowns, he having, in this year 1604, assumed the stile of King of Great Britain, instead of King of England, Scotland, &c. by a solemn declaration inserted in this same volume of the *Fœdera*. Yet such was his instability, that, even after this time, we find many deeds, both in this and the next volume of that noble collection, with the last-named stile and title of King of England, Scotland, &c.

In this same record King James observes, “That, at his first coming into England the preceding year, the Scottish gold coin, called a six pound piece, was current in England for ten shillings of silver.” Which is a confirmation of what was related under the year 1601, viz. That the gold and silver coins of Scotland were then fixed at the proportion, to those of the same denomination in England, as twelve is to one.

The new English gold coins now struck were pieces of twenty shillings, ten shillings, five shillings, four shillings, and two shillings and six-pence.

And the silver coins were pieces of five shillings, two shillings and six-pence, twelve-pence, six-pence, two-pence, one-penny, and an halfpenny.

As the two lowest of those coins, both in the gold and the silver, must have been very small, there being much the same quantity of pure metal and of alloy in them as in those of our own time, they were extremely liable to be lost, and are therefore now scarcely to be found, even in the cabinets of curious collectors.

According to Thuanus, lib. xxxii. the country of Canada, or New France, which had been first settled in 1603, was, in this and some succeeding years, more particularly explored than had been formerly done, chiefly for the finding of a north-west passage to China and the Moluccas, as had before been attempted by others, from the early enterprize of the Cabots, father and son, by direction of King Henry VII. of England, down to this time.

The barbarous cruelties committed by the Spaniards in Chili, as well as in other parts of America, where the native Chilians, in revenge, destroyed many of their settlements, had, by this time, so far incensed those natives, that they had destroyed five of the thirteen Spanish towns in that country, with much slaughter.

We

A. D.
1605

We have already seen the charters of two temporary English Levant or Turkey companies expire: and, as such limited grants are always discouraging to the adventurers, King James, therefore, in the third year of his reign, 1605, incorporated for ever a new company, by the designation of the merchants of England trading to the Levant Seas. It is what is called in England a regulated company, there being as yet no joint-stock companies existing; every member trading on his own particular bottom, though under such regulations, as to the times of shipping or lading, &c. as should be settled at their own general courts. "This charter grants to a number of persons therein named, and their sons, and all others thereafter to be admitted, or made free of the company, annually to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, who shall manage all matters relating to the trade, freedom, &c.—All the King's subjects, being merchants, under the age of twenty-six years, on requiring the same, and paying twenty five pounds to the company; and if above twenty-six years of age, paying fifty pounds, shall be made free of this company; and all their apprentices shall be admitted to its freedom, on payment of twenty shillings only."

Thus a most profitable commerce to England was established in perpetuity, by which great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and of latter times, much other merchandize, as watches, jewels, &c. have been annually exported thither. The Venetians, for many ages, supplied Constantinople, and other parts of the Levant, with woollen cloth, and other merchandize, until the English commenced their Levant trade; who being able to afford their cloths cheaper than the Venetians could theirs, they drove the latter totally out of the cloth trade to Turkey. The author of the *Trade's Increase*, published in the year 1615, says, "That at first this company's ordinary returns were three to one; and this has generally been the case in newly discovered trades."

It is true, that Turkey is not a country from which a great and direct balance is to be expected; yet the immense quantities of raw silk brought from thence, has been the means of bringing our silk manufacture to its present magnitude; and as we have also from thence cotton, mohair-yarn, and dying-stuffs, in great quantities, we may justly esteem this trade profitable to the public, for the advancement of many sorts of manufactures. From the Levant come also physical drugs, coffee, carpets, &c.

In Captain John Smith's second volume of *Voyages*, he relates, that Captain Ley settled with some Englishmen on the river Weapoco in Guiana; but supplies miscarrying, they were forced to abandon that settlement.

A pound weight of gold, by the coinage of this second year of King James, in the Mint at the Tower of London, was coined into thirty-seven pounds four shillings by tale, in pieces called unites, of twenty shillings; of double crowns, at ten shillings; British crowns, five shillings; thistle crowns, four shillings; and half-crowns, two shillings and six-pence; being of twenty-two carrats fine, and two carrats alloy.

And a pound weight of silver, into sixty-two shillings by tale, of the old standard of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, and eighteen pennyweights alloy; the silver pieces were crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, twopences, pence, and halfpence.

The next year he coined the gold of the fineness of twenty-three carrats, three grains and a half, into forty pounds the pound weight, by tale, in pieces called rose-rials, of thirty shillings; spur-rials, of fifteen shillings; and angels, of ten shillings.

In the sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, the following pensions and salaries were now settled by King James, whereby some sort of judgment may be formed of the rate of living in those times, viz.

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1605

In p. 606, on his second son, Charles, then but five years old, being created Duke of York, forty pounds per annum is settled, that he may the more honourably sustain that new dignity, says the King.

In p. 611, on the Duke of York's nurse, fifty pounds yearly; on his sempstress, twenty pounds; and the like on his chamber-keeper, and on his laundress; and on his cook, thirty-six pounds yearly.

In p. 616, a pension to Dr. Spotiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, of eighty pounds: to Ulrick, Duke of Holstein, a pension of two thousand pounds, during his life; equal, says this record, to ten thousand German dollars.

In p. 637, to Sir-Lewis Lucknor, master of the ceremonies, a salary of two hundred pounds per annum.

As every thing relating to the gradual improvement and increase of the great metropolis of the British empire, does, in a great measure, indicate and testify a gradual increase of its general wealth and commerce, we shall not scruple to take notice, that in this third year of King James, an act of Parliament passed, cap. 22. for paving of St. Giles's and Drury-lane; wherein St. Giles in the Fields was then still deemed a separate town or village from the great contiguity, and was till now unpaved, and very foul and miry. What we now call Broad St. Giles's, is in this act called "The street in that part of the town of St. Giles, leading to "Holborn."

In the Introduction to the Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East India Company, Philip III. King of Spain, issued a severe declaration, prohibiting the inhabitants of the United Provinces from any trade to the dominions of Spain, or to the East or West Indies. But the Dutch East India Company were so far from being overawed thereby, that it rather inspired them with fresh resolution and diligence. Whereupon they almost immediately sent out eleven ships, prepared as well for war as for commerce: they were soon followed by eight more, well supplied with soldiers, who were to remain and keep garrison in the East Indies, where they first possessed themselves of the fort of Amboyna; and after taking several Spanish and Portuguese prizes, they entirely dislodged those two nations from the Molucca isles. But, without fatiguing the reader with an account of all the several voyages of that Dutch Company, and the numberless defeats of, and captures from the Spaniards and Portuguese, both in India, and on their voyages to and from India; we shall here only summarily observe, that they gradually gained so great an ascendant over them in that part of the globe, as put them in full possession of an immense commerce there: so that they at length established their factories and settlements from Balfora, at the mouth of the river Tigris, in the Persian Gulph, and so along the coasts and isles of India, even to Japan, making alliances with many Indian Princes; being moreover become sovereigns in many parts of India, as of the coasts of the fine isle of Ceylon, of Pellicate, Masulipatan, Negapatam, and many other places along the coasts of Coromandel; of Cochin, Canannore, Cranganore, and other places along the coasts of Malabar; of the best part of the great isle of Java, with Batavia, their great emporium there, the center of all their Indian commerce. They are sovereigns also of the Moluccas, and other spice islands; until at length they became so potent, as to have been able to send out a fleet in India of forty or fifty capital ships, and a land-army of thirty thousand men. In this year they again divided fifteen per cent. on their capital to their proprietors.

The riches brought home to Europe by the several nations now trading to the East Indies, excited the emulation of the court of Denmark to attempt a shorter way thither by the north-
 † west,

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1605 west, although so often before fruitlessly attempted by others. King Christian IV. this year, sent out three ships into Frobisher's Straits, which traded with the natives, some of whom they brought home to Copenhagen. They repeated these attempts thither for several succeeding years, but made no material discovery.

About this time coaches came to be in general use by the nobility and gentry at London; yet hackney-coaches in the streets of London were not as yet known, nor stage-coaches to and from the country.

1606 Further attempts for the supposed north-west passage to China, were not as yet laid aside by England. The people of Hull, who traded much and early in the fishery on the coasts of Iceland and Norway, made also some essays for that passage on the coasts of Greenland: and in the year 1606, the Russia and East India Companies joined in sending out one John Knight, who had been employed for the same purpose, the preceding year, by the court of Denmark; but he returned without any manner of discovery or benefit; only, they now first began to kill morfes, or sea-horses, with lances, whose teeth being in those times esteemed better than ivory, they brought home many of them, as also much of their oil, with thirty tons of lead ore from Cherry Isle, so named from Sir Francis Cherry; a ship of his having discovered it in the year 1603. In 1608 and 1610, the Russia Company took possession of Cherry Isle, and brought home a considerable quantity of morfes teeth and oil. In Gull Island they discovered three lead mines, and one of coal.

In the third year of King James, an act of Parliament passed, with directions how a passage may be made by water from London to Oxford; but as this law did not answer expectation, it was repealed, as we shall see, by one of the twenty-first of this reign, cap. 32.

In this year a new treaty of peace and commerce, and an alliance, was concluded between King James I. of England, and King Henry IV. of France, for their mutual defence against Spain, and for supporting the United Netherlands. It is in the sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 644, &c. What relates to commerce, is in substance as follows, viz.

" I. The duties and customs in both countries to be the same as in former treaties.

" II. In the ports of London, for England, and of Rouen, &c. for France, all controversies between merchants, shall be referred to two merchants of each nation, who shall be called Conservators of the Commerce, and shall take an oath for the faithful execution of their said office, and shall be appointed anew every year. They shall see to the justness of weights and measures; and those in France to the goodness of English woollen cloth; and that which shall appear to be bad, shall be re-exported to England, but without confiscation, however, or the paying of any duty at the removal or return of such cloth.

" III. If in any ship of either party, there be found goods not entered, which should have paid custom, only the said goods, but none of the other goods in such ships shall be forfeited.

" IV. Merchants dying in either country, may freely bequeath their effects, according to the laws and customs of their own respective countries.

" V. All letters of reprisals shall be called in on both sides."—See also vol. ii. p. 147 and 156, of the Collection of Treaties, published in 1732.

N. B. In this treaty the isles of Guernsey and Jersey are included by name.

In the same volume, p. 659, we have the first instance to be found in the *Fœdera*, of an English minister appointed to reside in Turkey: being " King James's letters-patent to Thomas Glover, to be his envoy and agent in the dominions of Sultan Achmet, the Grand

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1606 "Signior, who," says this record, "has freely given his consent, that our merchants may trade to his dominions. Liberty is hereby given to the said Thomas Glover, to reside in what part of Turkey he shall think best, and to appoint consuls for the good government of the English in the other proper ports." This was in consequence of the newly incorporated Levant Company of the preceding year, erected in perpetuity.

• After the last recited treaty between England and France, Mezerai relates, that King Henry the Fourth of France, applied himself to the procuring of money to be more plentiful in his kingdom, and of quicker circulation; whereby his subsidies might be increased. Moreover, commerce appearing to him to be one of the most certain means leading to that end, he ardently desired to make it flourish, having now erected a council for that purpose.

"And because he was not potent enough on the ocean, and that the expence of obtaining the same was great, and the profit a long time, and very uncertain in its coming, he believed he should succeed better and sooner by the improvement and increase of his home manufactures, of which, about this time, he set up several sorts: as,

"I. Tapestries, of the richest fabric, in Paris, by means of divers excellent artists, whom he invited from Flanders.

"II. Gilt-leather hangings.

"III. Mills for working and cleaning of iron.

"IV. Gauzes and thin linen cloth.

"V. Pottery, or fine earthen-ware.

"VI. Glass-houses for chrystalline.

"VII. Cloth and serges, stuffs and silks, in divers parts of the kingdom, with several other works."

Captain Gosnold having, since his last voyage to the coast of Virginia, in the year 1602, given an advantageous description of the country, as Raleigh and others had done before, the gentlemen and merchants of England began to entertain fresh hopes of planting a permanent colony there: and both the London and Bristol merchants had, for three or four years past, traded, as Gosnold had also done, for such commodities as the Indians on the coasts of that country could supply. Captain Gilbert also, in this year 1606, was the first who sailed up, and landed in the great bay of Chesapeake, where he lost his life. Moreover, Captain Weymouth, fitted out by the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Wardour, in the year 1605, had traded also on those coasts with the Indians, by bartering his beads, knives, combs, &c. for their furs, skins, &c. to vast profit. At length, after much solicitation, Captain Gosnold, in this same year 1606, obtained of King James a charter for two companies: the first, called the South Virginia Company, comprehending the now named provinces of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, lying between latitude thirty-four and latitude forty-one north; the principal patentees being Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Edward Wingfield, Esq. and the ingenious Mr. Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster.—These were called the London Adventurers.

The next company was called the Plymouth Adventurers, who were empowered to plant and inhabit as far as to forty five degrees of north latitude, in which compass was included what is now called Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England: but these last were not settled till some years after this grant.

The first, or London Company, which more properly ought to be called the Virginia Company, did, in this same year 1606, send out two ships, in which went Mr. Percy, the Earl

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1606 Earl of Northumberland's brother, and four more of the council of that company, carrying with them a clergyman, several artificers and tools, provisions, ammunition, &c. They landed and fortified themselves three miles from the mouth of Powhatan, now James river, within the great bay of Chesapeake, and named their first settlement James-town, as it is still named in our days. This therefore was properly the first English colony on the continent of America which took root, and has proved permanent to the present times, all former attempts having proved abortive. Here one hundred men settled, with all necessaries, and Captain John Smith, who has written the first account of the country, was left to be their principal director: and the Earl of Southampton, joining himself to this company, procured Sir Thomas Dale, an experienced soldier in the Netherland wars, to be their first governor. Some of the other principal managers were Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Danvers, Sir Maurice Abbott, Alderman Abdy, &c. These gentlemen prevailed on the great Sir Francis Bacon to write his excellent Instructions concerning New Colonies, which are printed amongst his other essays.

It is very true, that the yellow isinglass dust found in James river, and other golden dreams, suspended, for a time, the proper improvement of that infant plantation, which was also greatly obstructed by their many squabbles with the native Indians, then very numerous there: but, as they were regularly supplied with necessaries and recruits from England, they at length overcame all difficulties; the greatest of which was, perhaps, their own intestine divisions and bad conduct, which often brought them into great distress.

In this year the Dutch East India Company is said to have divided to its members seventy-five per cent. on its capital of six millions six hundred thousand guilders: so that the first subscribers were now re-imburshed ninety per cent. of their original subscription, including the former dividend of fifteen per cent. in the year 1605, exclusive of the fifteen per cent. in 1603, got chiefly by prizes rather than commerce: so prodigious already was their success in India.

In the fourth year of King James, the Company of Merchant-adventurers of the city of Exeter obtained an act of Parliament, cap. 9. for confirming a charter which Queen Elizabeth had granted them, in the second year of her reign, 1560, for an exclusive trade to the dominions of France. This was a proper monopoly legally established, but as far only as related to the rest of the inhabitants who were not free of that company; for which this statute assigns the grounds, viz. "The inconveniencies arising from the excessive number of ignorant artificers, &c. who in that city took upon them to use the science, art, and mystery of merchandize."

In the same session of Parliament, and the very next statute, the town of Southampton obtained power to exclude every one from merchandizing, and buying and selling in that town, who shall not be free of the same town; with an exemption, however, of the barons and freemen of the Cinque Ports, whose privileges of buying and selling there are hereby preserved entire. Both which monopolies, though merely local, would, nevertheless, in our more experienced days, be deemed by wise men, an unreasonable restraint.

Our great Camden now first published, in Latin, his celebrated work entitled Britannia; between which time and our own days, the state or condition of many English towns is greatly altered for the better, by means of the general increase of commerce. For instance, Camden, speaking of Lyme, in Dorsetshire, calls it a little town, scarcely to be reputed a sea-port town or haven, though frequented by fishermen: yet this same once contemptible place is now become

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1606 become a greatly enlarged town, and a port of good shipping, having a fine pier, and many respectable merchants.

The town and port of Poole, also in the said county, is greatly increased in ships and merchants, since a little before Camden's time; when, according to him, the bulk of its inhabitants were a few fishermen.

The sea-port town of Sunderland had no existence in Camden's time, otherwise it could not have escaped the notice of that accurate author; and the same may be observed of Falmouth, now a well frequented port. Of Bristol we have elsewhere related the great improvements; and yet much more of Liverpool; also of Newcastle, and many others, both sea-ports and inland towns, where manufactures now greatly flourish; as Norwich, Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, Manchester, &c.

It must, however, be admitted, on the other hand, that some few English towns have suffered a great declension, which in old times were much more considerable; particularly the cities of York and Lincoln: the latter especially must have had a sudden as well as a very grievous decay in Camden's time; who, observing how much the city of Lincoln was sunk and decayed, under the weight of time and antiquity, adds, "That of fifty churches which were remembered to have been in it by our grandfathers, there are now scarce eighteen remaining." Since Camden's time they are reduced to thirteen, and those, in general, of no very admirable structure.

1607 Since we are upon this subject of the increase and declension of cities, Thuanus, who likewise wrote in 1607, speaking of the famous commercial city of Dantzick, observes, "That from a small and obscure beginning, it has since so greatly increased, that at this day it may be esteemed the most frequented and richest emporium not only of the north and west, but even the whole earth."—*Sed totius orbis emporium frequentissimum ditissimumque hodie habeatur*. Frankfort edition, 1614, vol. iii. octavo, p. 324.

Which character was surely stretched too far, since it is more than probable, that Amsterdam was at that very time much more frequented by shipping, of greater magnitude, of a more extensive commerce, and more opulent than Dantzick. But, be that as it may, Dantzick is since, in some degree, declined from its former prosperity, though still a noble and opulent city.

In Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State, vol. ii. p. 351, we meet with a state of the debt due from the United Netherlands to the crown of England, as it stood in this same year 1607; partly contracted on account of the troops sent to their assistance, and partly also for the expence of the English garrisons in the cautionary towns; the whole now amounting to eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds sterling money.

The Dutch East India Company, this year, is again said to have divided seventy-five per cent. to its proprietors. How vast must the profits of that trade then have been!—Yet others write, that they divided only twenty-five per cent. at this time.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 660, of the *Fœdera*, we see King James's charter of licence, for seven years following, to Richard Penkevill, of Cornwall, Esquire, and his colleagues, "For the sole discovery of a passage to China, Cathay, the Moluccas, and other parts of the East Indies, by the north, north-east, or north-west. He and his associates were hereby incorporated by the peculiar name of The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North Passage. They were to enjoy for ever all the lands they should discover, not already found by any Christians, reserving to the crown the supreme sovereignty, and also
" certain

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certain prerogatives, duties, &c.”—But as nothing followed, that we can learn, from this charter, we need say nothing further about it.

Whether Captain Henry Hudson, who is perpetuated by giving a title to the vast bay that bears his name, was any way connected with the last-mentioned fellowship, we shall not take upon us to determine. In this same year, however, he sailed as far north as eighty degrees and a half, in quest of the said passage; and he made a similar attempt the following year, 1608, to a little purpose, after having in vain tried a north-east passage by Nova Zembla.

There having been of late years many enclosures made of heaths, commons, and other waste grounds in England, the poor peasantry or cottagers of several counties, in this same year, made a kind of riotous insurrection on that account; which, however, was soon quelled.

The English East India Company now equipped three ships, which they sent out on their third voyage to India. But as it would be equally tiresome and unprofitable to relate what is to be found in so many other works, it is perhaps more than enough to remark, that the superior industry of the Dutch in India, had already been beforehand with us at the Spice islands, of which they soon after this time made themselves sovereigns, as they remain at this day:—And that the Portuguese Jesuits at the Mogul’s court, still continued equal enemies to both English and Dutch in India.

Under this year, Mezerau, though a Popish author, writing of the reign of King Henry IV. of France, highly commends the state of Venice, for so wisely consulting the true interest of their people. For, finding many inconveniencies from the indiscreet zeal of persons, especially on their death-beds, they did not scruple to prohibit, in the year 1603,

First, The building of churches, convents, or hospitals, without the Senate’s permission.

Secondly, In 1605, that no ecclesiastic be allowed to leave, bequeath, or engage any goods to the church.

Thirdly, That none shall henceforth give any estate in lands to the clergy, nor to religious orders, without the consent of the Senate, who would allow of it upon good consideration.—And upon Pope Paul the Fifth’s storming thereof, the Senate answered, most wisely, “That it was not just, that such lands as maintained the subjects, and was to bear the charges of the state, should fall into mortmain:” quoting also the like practice of the Emperors Valentinian and Charlemagne; of all the French Kings from St. Louis to Henry III. of King Edward I. of England; of the Emperor Charles V. &c.—And, which is most memorable, although the Pope interdicted the Republic, and excommunicated the Senate, in the year 1607, yet many of their bishops and clergy continued firm to the Senate, notwithstanding all the thunder of the Vatican.

1608 The manufacture of alum was, in the year 1608, first invented and successfully practised in England; being happily encouraged and propagated in Yorkshire by the Lord Sheffield, Sir John Bourcher, and other landed gentlemen of that county; to the very great benefit of England in general, and to the singular great emolument of the proprietors thereof to this day.—King James was a great encourager of these alum works; having, by the advice of his ministers, assumed the monopoly of it to himself, and therefore he prohibited the importation of foreign alum.

But that King was not at all successful in his laudable zeal for the propagation of silk in England, in imitation of King Henry IV. of France. He, in this year 1608, sent circular letters into all the counties of England for the planting of mulberry trees; for which end, he caused printed instructions to be published, as also for the breeding and feeding of silk-worms..

“ Having

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1608 "Having seen," says King James, "in a few years space, that our brother, the French King, hath, since his coming to that crown, both begun and brought to perfection the making of silk in his country; whereby he hath won to himself honour, and to his subjects a marvelous increase of wealth." This was very true; but experience has shewn, that neither that King, nor any of his successors, have been able to propagate silk, in any quantity, north of the river Loire, and much less so far north as about Paris.

Hitherto the English were but little skilled in dying and dressing their own woollen cloths: they therefore usually sent them white into Holland, where they were dyed and dressed, and then sent back to England for sale. This may seem somewhat strange, that those who made the finest cloth in the world, could not perform the finishing parts at home. But the fact was really so. Alderman Cockayne, and some other merchants, reflecting on the great profit made by the Hollanders in this branch of trade, and knowing also King James's profuseness, and his constant necessities, because of his utter aversion to the asking money of a Parliament; they proposed to the King to undertake the dying and dressing of cloths at home, and of how great profit it would be to the public and to his Majesty; whereupon Cockayne obtained a patent for it, exclusive of all others: and the King was to have the monopoly of the sale of such home-dyed cloths. In order thereto, the King issued a proclamation, prohibiting any white cloths to be sent beyond-sea; seizing, at the same time, the charter of the Company of Merchant-adventurers, which empowered them to export white cloths. The Hollanders, and German cities, on the other side, resenting this, prohibited the importation of all English dyed cloths. Thus was commerce thrown into confusion; Cockayne being disabled from selling his cloth any where but at home: beside that, his cloths were worse done, and yet were dearer than those finished in Holland. There was a very great clamour therefore raised against this new project by the weavers now employed, &c. so that the King was obliged to permit the exportation of a limited quantity of white cloths: and a few years after, in the year 1615, for quieting the people, he found himself under the necessity of annulling Cockayne's patent, and restoring that of the Merchant-adventurers, who seem to have gained over the Lord Chancellor Bacon to their side; and, in a letter to King James, printed in his Resuscitatio, concerning Cockayne's new company, he complains, "That they at first undertook to dye and dress all the cloths of the realm; yet, soon after, they wound themselves into the trade of whites. This feeding of the foreigner," (meaning the Dutch) says that great man, "may be dangerous. For, as we may think to hold up our cloathing by vent of whites, till we can dye and dress; so the Dutch will think to hold up their manufactures of dying and dressing upon our whites, till they can cloathe."

In this opinion his Lordship was a true prophet; though in what he adds, we may somewhat dissent from him.

"I confess, I did ever think, that trading in companies is most agreeable to the English nature, which wanteth that same general vein of a republic which runneth in the Dutch, and serves them instead of a company; and therefore I dare not advise to adventure this great trade of the kingdom, which hath been so long under government, in a free or loose trade." And thus, merely by proceeding too precipitately, an art, which afterwards was gradually brought to absolute perfection in England, was now deemed impracticable for our people to perform.

In the same sixteenth volume, p. 667, of Rymer's *Fœdera*, King James entered into a new defensive treaty with the States of the United Netherlands: by which "he engages to defend

"them,

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1608 “ them and their country against all invasions and injuries whatever; and to assist them with
 “ twenty ships of war, each from three hundred to six hundred tons burden; also, with six
 “ thousand foot, and four hundred horse. And they, on the other side, engage to assist him
 “ with four thousand foot, and three hundred horse. But this treaty was not to take place
 “ till after the present peace.”—Meaning the peace now treating of between Spain and the
 States.

Another treaty, of this same date, concerns the arrears of debts due to King James by the
 States, as well as commercial privileges.

“ I. The States hereby acknowledge eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and
 “ eight pounds sterling to be due to the King,”—as we have observed under the preceding year
 from Winwood’s Memorials,—“ of which sum he will expect nothing for the first two years
 “ after the peace,” (*i. e.* with Spain as above) “ in order for their affairs to be better esta-
 “ blished: and after the said two years, he will be content with annual payments of sixty
 “ thousand pounds, until all be paid off.

“ II. The English Merchant-Adventurers shall enjoy all their wonted privileges in the
 “ Seven Provinces, for the mutual advancement of the commerce of both nations.”

This year the Dutch East India Company is said to have divided forty per cent. on their ca-
 pital to all their proprietors.

Captain Henry Hudson, who, as we have already related, sailed up and gave name to Hud-
 son’s Bay, and made also several discoveries in North Virginia, as it was then called, where
 he also gave the name to Hudson’s River. He is said to have made a formal sale of lands lying
 on that river in the year 1608, including therein Martha’s Vineyard and Elizabeth’s Island,
 (now part of New England) to certain Hollanders: who, thereupon, began to plant and im-
 prove it very fast. They named the country New Netherland, and built there the city of New
 Amsterdam, since named New York, and the Fort of Orange, about one hundred and fifty
 miles up Hudson’s River, since named the city of Albany. Certainly, if any such sale was
 made by Hudson, or any one else, it could not be valid; since it was conveying part of the
 King’s dominions to a foreign nation, without the participation of the crown and kingdom.
 But, in those early times, such matters were too little regarded, the country of Virginia being
 so extensive, and our court little knowing, foreseeing, or considering of how much value such
 unsettled lands might afterwards prove. In much later times, however, the same supineness
 has proved a noble harvest to the French in North America, to our inestimable damage. And
 a similar negligence in us, and much more in the court of Spain, has likewise made the French
 so formidable in the West Indies so lately as in our father’s days.

In this manner did the Hollanders go on, greatly improving their New Netherland, without
 any effectual check or disturbance from England even until King Charles the Second’s first war
 with Holland. The States General, in the placart or patent establishing their West India
 Company, expressly included New Netherland therein: which, however, we shall see in its
 proper place, they were unable to keep, as their title to it was so very imperfect.

1609 In the year 1609, Captain Henry Hudson made a third attempt for a north-west passage to
 China; but, being again obstructed by ice, fogs, and cross winds, he failed back to the isle
 Faro, and from thence to Newfoundland, &c. and so home.

In this year, Sir Robert Cotton, the truly eminent and most learned Antiquary of his time,
 wrote an ingenious and judicious essay, intitled, The Manner and Means how the Kings of
 England have, from Time to Time, supported and repaired their Estates. It was probably

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1609 written for King James's private use, who had certainly great need of means to repair his estate, as he was always in a necessitous condition : occasioned by his thriftless and injudicious extravagance. This essay was printed in his posthumous works, in 1651. He therein started a thought to that King, which helped, for a while, to supply his necessities, and which he put in practice two years after, viz. in the year 1611, " For his Majesty to make " a degree of Honour Hereditary, as Baronets, next under Barons, and grant them in tail; " taking of every one, a thousand pounds in fine, it would raise with ease one hundred thousand pounds."

In case of a settled peace in America, might not a new degree of honour, (or, perhaps, an old one, limited to our island and continent plantations) raise a considerable sum, to be applied solely for making the most needful improvements in our several colonies?

The ingenious author of *The present State of England*, printed in the year 1683, part iii. p. 259, to whom we are indebted for several notices of the same kind, fixes the æra of mulberry trees being first planted in England, to have been in this year 1609: a fruit now so common every where, and so hardy as to thrive in some of the closest parts of the very heart of the city of London.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 678, of the *Fœdera*, we meet with the last instance of the crown of England's taking the benefit of the old statute of the twenty-fifth of King Edward the Third, " For levying an Aid of twenty Shillings on every Knight's Fee immediately held of the King; and the same Sum on every twenty Pounds yearly in Lands, " held immediately of the Crown in Socage. For making the King's eldest Son a " Knight."—(*Pour faire Fils Chevalier.*) This aid was in favour of Prince Henry, King James's eldest son, not yet created Prince of Wales, though fifteen years old. And it was levied with all possible dispatch all over England; being a seasonable supply of the King's wants.

In this year the Dutch East India Company is said to have divided only twenty per cent. on their capital.

In the second volume of Captain John Smith's voyages, he relates, " That Mr. Harcourt, " of Stanton-Harcourt, with sixty persons, settled on the river Weapoco, in Guiana, where " Captain Ley had settled in the year 1605; and, returning to England, he obtained, by " Prince Henry's interest, a patent for all that coast, together with the river of Amazons, for " him and his heirs. But that colony could not exist, for want of being duly supported " from home: which had likewise been the case of Captain Ley's settlement, four years before."

King James I. (as some think in resentment for the Hollanders having rendered Cockayne's scheme abortive, or, as others, to get money from them; or, thirdly, perhaps purely from his naturally arbitrary disposition) having issued a proclamation, prohibiting all foreign nations from fishing on the coasts of Great Britain; the next year the Hollanders found themselves obliged to enter into a treaty with him, for their paying an annual sum for leave to fish on his coasts. And when James would afterwards have broke this treaty, they supported it, by conveying and guarding their fishing vessels with ships of war.

After above thirty years war between Spain and the United Netherlands, at length, (principally through the mediation of the Kings of England and France) a truce was concluded for twelve years, upon the foot of *uti possidetis*, i. e. all things during that term to remain just as they now were. This truce was infinitely honourable and advantageous to the States; and

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1609 and though disreputable to Spain, yet it gave that crown a breathing time for war, which, according to Mezerai, had cost Spain more treasure and the loss of more men than all those provinces were worth, and which, had it continued longer, would have utterly ruined their trade to the East Indies, and would also have totally obstructed their flotas from the West Indies, without which Spain could not subsist. The Hollanders having, in a few years past, taken and destroyed more than thirty of their great galleons; and the Dutch Admiral Heenkerk having, in the year 1607, with twenty-six ships of war, attacked the Spanish Admiral, Alvarez d'Avila, though one third part stronger, even under the cannon of Gibraltar, destroying thirteen Spanish ships and two thousand men.—Spain was also under an apprehension, that, by continuing the war longer, the Hollanders might, through necessity, give themselves up to France, and thereby, with the loss of the Seven Provinces to France, lose also the rest of the Seventeen Provinces. For, as Sir William Temple observes, “The greatness of the Spanish monarchy, so formidable under Charles V. and Philip II. began now to decline, by the vast designs and unfortunate events of so many ambitious counsels: as, on the other side, the affairs of King Henry IV. of France were now at the greatest height of felicity.”

On the other hand, the Dutch, notwithstanding their continued success, had powerful motives to conclude this truce.

I. They were greatly in debt.

II. The French court became weary of the annual contributions for supporting them in that war.

III. King James had well nigh forsaken them, because of his infatuated favourite scheme of the Spanish match for his son.

IV. King Henry the Fourth, of France, whose interest it was to disarm Flanders, on which Mezerai owns, he intended to seize, made use of both intreaties and menaces to bring the States into this truce.

The greatest difficulty which Spain found in this business was, the permitting the continuance of the Hollanders trade to the East Indies, which point had broke off a similar treaty two years before. At length, however, the truce was concluded, on the foot of every one keeping what they then possessed, or *uti possidetis*.

This year is also very memorable for the first founding of the most famous bank of Amsterdam; a bank, which, as well in contemplation of its never-violated credit, of its immense treasure, and its extensive usefulness in commerce, may be justly considered as the first in Europe. The commerce of that famous city was by this time become so vast, that the merchants found great payments in silver very inconvenient: money of that metal having generally ever been, and probably ever will be, a considerable part of most payments; and gold coins hazardous in any quantity to keep in their possession. It was therefore prudently judged by the magistrates and merchants of that great city,

I. That if an office were established for the receipts and payments of all sums of money of six hundred guilders and upwards, (afterwards reduced to three hundred guilders and upwards) to be duly registered in books to be kept open daily at stated hours, which would be a legal proof of all such transactions, many disputes and law-suits would be prevented.

II. If all bills of exchange, (as well foreign and inland, and limited in quantity as above) were to be paid only in this office, it would prove a great security to both payers and receivers, by preventing many frauds in the payments intrusted to private persons.

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III. To save the time, trouble, and hazard, attending the frequent carrying of cash to this office of record, they saw it expedient to lodge their main cash in that office altogether. And, for this end, books were opened, wherein each person had a distinct account, kept by debtor and creditor; the whole, or any part thereof, to be transferable to others at pleasure, who thereupon should have accounts in bank opened for them, and they again to have the same liberty of transfer.

Ricard, in his *Traité general du Commerce*, printed in quarto, at Amsterdam; in the year 1706, p. 170, says expressly, “ That the city of Amsterdam, by authority of the States, of the 31st of January, 1609, established themselves perpetual cashiers of its inhabitants, and that all wholesale payments in commerce and in bills of exchange should be made in that bank.” When the new Stadthuys was erected, this bank office was removed into a large vault of that magnificent structure; “ where,” says Sir William Temple, in his *Observations on the United Provinces*, cap. ii. “ is the greatest treasure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the world: and whoever is carried to see this bank, shall never fail to find the appearance of a mighty real treasure, in bars of gold and silver, plate, and infinite bags of metals, which are supposed to be all gold and silver, and may be so for aught I know. but the Burgo-masters only having the inspection of this bank, and no man ever taking any particular account of what issues in and out, from age to age, it is impossible to make any calculation or guess what proportion the real treasure may hold to the credit of it. Therefore the security of this bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole town or state of Amsterdam, whose stock and revenue are equal to that of some kingdoms, and who are bound to make good all monies that are brought into their bank. —This bank,” continues Sir William Temple “ is properly a general cash, where every man lodges his money, because he esteems it safer and easier paid in and out than if it were in his own coffers at home; and the bank is so far from paying any interest for what is there brought in, that money in the bank is worth something more in common payments than what runs current in coin from hand to hand.” (He might have added, that there is paid to this bank, one stiver for every draught or payment from one person to another, and no less than ten guilders of every person at his first opening an account in bank. And no person is permitted to pay or receive any sum less than three hundred guilders, without paying six stivers for leave to do it.) “ No other money passing in the bank but in the species of coin the best known, the most ascertained, and the most generally current in all parts of the Higher as well as of the Lower Germany.”

Now, although this author writes with prudent caution concerning what he could not certainly determine, yet it is generally taken for certain by all others who have written on this bank, that there is either cash, or bullion, and pawned jewels, lodged in the vaults of the Stadthuys, equal to the amount of the whole credit of this bank; which some will have to amount to thirty-six, others to but thirty millions sterling. But as they shut their books twice in a year, for a few days, to strike a general balance, their true capital is then certainly known, though probably kept secret by order of the magistrates, for prudential considerations. Ricard, before quoted, (in his second edition, p. 171) is very express in this particular point; and, as a proof of it, says, “ That in the very height of the war in 1672, when the French King had already taken the city of Utrecht,” within twenty-one miles of Amsterdam, “ there was a very great demand” (or run as we term it in London) “ by the creditors on that bank, to
“ draw

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1609 “ draw out their money ; justly fearing, that, if the French King should become Master of Amsterdam, they should lose all ; yet the bank paid all who came for their money.”

✂ The proper definition of this bank, is not a bank of current money, to be received and issued daily, like those of London, Venice, &c. but is purely a deposit of money, the credit whereof passes from hand to hand daily, by signed tickets, carried to the cashiers of the bank, directing them to write off any sum intended to be paid, from the account of the Ower to that of the Receiver. But although it be, without doubt, an excellent institution for safety, ease, dispatch, and record, yet it cannot be said to increase the general quantity or circulation of money, as some other banks certainly do : if it be presumed, as above, that a quantity of treasure equal to the total of their credit ever remains in it ; any further than the value of the uncoined bullion, and of the jewels said to be pawned there, (by several Princes, Nobles, &c.) amounts to. With the above-named dues, the expence of the management of this bank is defrayed ; and what surplus there may be in any one year, goes to the support of the poor of that city. Bank money, *i. e.* credit in the bank's books, is daily bought and sold, by means of brokers, who have their offices near the bank ; the money whereof is commonly, of late, near or about five per cent. better than the real current coin of Holland ; which premium is termed the *Agio*, (a term borrowed from the bank of Venice). The *agio* varies in quantity according to the demand for bank money, and also according to the quality or goodness of the coins to be paid for it. And this advance or *agio* in bank credit will always prevent any from demanding current cash of the bank for it.

By means of this bank, the magistrates of the city of Amsterdam are possessed of the bulk of the property of their inhabitants, and thereby have the strongest security for their fidelity, who think their cash more secure in this bank than in their own custody.

The once famous Mr. John Law, who, from an obscure foreigner, came to be comptroller-general of the finances of France in the year 1720, in a treatise, entitled, *Money and Trade considered*, first published at Edinburgh, and long after at London, says, “ he has been informed, that the invention of banks was owing to Sweden : for the bulk of their money being copper, inconvenient on account of both its weight and bulk ; for remedy whereof a bank was set up, where the money might be pledged and paper credit given to the value, which passed in payments and facilitated trade. And that the Dutch, for the same reason, set up the Bank of Amsterdam : for although their money was silver, yet their trade was become so great, that they found payments in silver inconvenient.—Banks,” says this author, “ where money is pledged equal to the credit given, are sure : because, though demands were to be made of the whole, such a bank cannot fail, or stop payment.” This is very true ; but then such a bank can only stand on a national bottom ; and its expence must either be defrayed by the public, or else, like that of Amsterdam, a small tax might be paid for that end upon every alteration of property : but banks, founded upon private advantage, must necessarily have a prudent latitude for circulating a certain quantity of paper credit with a smaller quantity of cash. As for Mr. Law's opinion, that Sweden first invented banks, it is so far from being barely probable, that it is in a manner past all doubt, that the free cities of Italy were, in very early times, the inventors of banks (*Lumber-houses*, or *Lombard-houses*) and bills of exchange, long before the countries on the north end of Europe knew any thing of commerce ; which Sweden knew least and latest of all the rest. For, although it must be confessed, that the precise dates of those inventions in Lombardy are not exactly to be traced, excepting that of Venice, which we have seen was in the year 1157 ; yet we know for certain,

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1609 that the Italians were in the practice of those mercantile arts, before Sweden had any sort of regular commerce or communication with the rest of Europe, more especially with nations without the Baltic Sea; and even possibly before their copper mines were worked: seeing the first mention we meet with of those mines was not till the year 1396, as we have observed in its proper place.

There is indeed a bank now at Stockholm, but it is far from being of an ancient date; wherein their merchants make their payments by draughts on it. This mode saves them the trouble of carrying their money from place to place; which would be a considerable inconvenience in Sweden, where payments are often made in ponderous copper dollars that would require a wheel barrow, or, perhaps in some instances, a cart to make such payments.

The city of Hamburg's bank, though not to be compared with that of Amsterdam, is however an imitation of it, and pretty near it in point of standing. It has an agio too, and takes in none but the very purest coin. It is said also to lend money upon pledges, at a moderate interest, and that none but citizens can be admitted to have an account in their books.

There is also a bank at Rotterdam, though not very considerable: it was erected in the year 1635; wherein bills of exchange are paid in large money, and only ten per cent. in shillings.

In an essay of the famous Sir Robert Cotton, written in this same year 1609, probably for King James's private information, he proposes, for that King's emolument, the coining of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in copper halfpence and farthings, by which the King would gain ten thousand pounds, and by an annual increase of twelve thousand pounds of those coins, he would gain yearly one thousand pounds. In order to render this profit to the King effectual, he proposed the restraining of all retailers of victuals and small wares, from using their own tokens, (a practice then universal, especially in London). "For," says he, "in and about London, there are above three thousand persons that, one with another, cast yearly five pounds apiece in leaden tokens, whereof the tenth remaineth not to them at the year's end; and when they renew their store, it amounteth to above fifteen thousand pounds. And all the rest of this realm cannot be inferior to the city in proportion.—Hereby," he observes,

"First, Those retailers made as much advantage of their own tokens, as is now proposed for the King to make by the said copper coins;" which, he had before observed, were already in use in all the absolute monarchies of Christendom.

"Secondly, The buyer hereafter shall not be tied to one seller and his bad commodities, as they are still; when his tokens, hereafter made current by authority, shall leave him the choice of any other chapman.—Besides, it cannot but prevent much waste of silver, that (by minting silver pence and halfpence occasioned) there will be no occasion hereafter to cut any bullion into proportion so apt for loss: what that hath been may be conjectured, if we mark but of the great quantities, from the penny downward, since Henry the Eighth's time stamped, how few remain: whereas of all the coins, from three-pence upward, which are manual, plenty pass still in daily payment." See our remarks on the too-small gold and silver money, coined by King James, under the year 1604.

These remarks soon after put an end, in a great measure, to those private leaden tokens, and introduced the legal copper coins, as at present. It also put a stop to the coining of such minute gold and silver pieces, so easily to be lost. But our otherwise great author was certainly mistaken in imagining, that because the leaden tokens of private retailers were mostly lost, that

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1609 that metal being naturally very perishable, the national copper coin would be so likewise; or that a new annual coinage thereof, to the above-named value, would be requisite; or, lastly, that the public would require so great a sum to be circulated, as one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in halfpence.

Ireland being reduced to a peaceable condition, King James, for its continuance, and for re-peopling and improving thereof by Englishmen and Protestants, made an offer to the city of London of his forfeited lands there, in the province of Ulster; which the court of Aldermen and Common Council gratefully accepted of, after sending persons thither to survey the same; and raised on the citizens twenty thousand pounds for carrying on so profitable and honourable an undertaking for that city; for which end, they have greatly improved the lands, towns, rivers, and salmon fishery there; and they have ever since had an annually elected committee of six Aldermen, and eighteen commoners, styled the Irish Committee, two of whom to be styled Governor and Deputy-governor; and their estates there have been gradually much improved, to the very great benefit of this city.

The suburbs of London daily increasing, and with them also the dangers from fires; water also, in sufficient quantities, thereby becoming more difficult to be had, notwithstanding the many springs brought in leaden pipes into that city, as well as the many wells, with pumps, almost every where dug within the city and suburbs; an act of Parliament was therefore obtained, in the third year of King James, cap. xxviii. and in the year 1605, "for bringing a fresh stream of running water to the north parts of London from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell, &c. in the county of Hertford.—Giving power to the Lord Mayor, &c. of London, to lay out such convenient ground for the making of the trench for the said New River, not to exceed ten feet in breadth, leaving the inheritance in the owners thereof, who are to allow a free passage through their grounds to and from the said new cut at all times, with carts, horses, &c. for making and repairing the same; for which, satisfaction or composition shall be made to the said owners of the lands, and of the mills standing on the streams from which water shall be taken, to be valued by commissioners as herein directed. The Lord Mayor, &c. shall make and keep up convenient bridges over the said new cut, at fit places, for the use of the King's subjects as well as of the proprietors of the lands on each side, &c."

In the year following, another act of Parliament passed, cap. xi. purporting, "That since the making of the preceding statute, upon view of the grounds, through which the waters are to pass, by men of skill; it is thought more convenient, and less damage to the ground, that the water be conveyed through a trunk or vault of brick or stone, inclosed, and in some places, where need is, raised by arches, than in an open trench or sewer. Power therefore is hereby vested in the Lord Mayor of London, &c. for that effect." Yet, notwithstanding this last-named expensive opinion; and also another act of Parliament, of the seventh of this King, 1609, cap. ix. granting to King James the First's newly erected Divinity-college, at Chelsea, power to bring water, in pipes, from the river Lea, for supplying of London therewith for their benefit, which, and also the College itself, came to nothing;—the said New River was in three years time, viz. in this year 1609, brought into the head or reservoir at Clerkenwell near Islington, in the first designed open cut or trench, the other plan being found to be much too costly as well as too tedious to be executed: and from thence it has been conveyed into all parts of the city and suburbs in elm pipes. The projector and ma-

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1609 nager of this New River was Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, who was thereupon knighted by King James.

Although this article may seem to some not immediately to relate to the history of commerce, yet it in some sense demonstrates the great increase of the wealth of London by commerce, to be able to undertake so vastly expensive a work; a work suitable to the power and grandeur of ancient Rome in its zenith of glory;—and to complete the whole trench or canal in three years time, though running the length of about fifty miles in its various windings, from near the town of Ware to Clerkenwell, with above two hundred bridges over it.—We could not therefore think this succinct account of it would be unacceptable to the reader. The proprietors of this New River were afterwards incorporated, and the whole is divided into shares, which are saleable and transferable to very good advantage.

In the years 1609—10—11—12, Captain Jonas Poole sailed as far as seventy-eight degrees forty-three minutes, in the hope of discovering a north-west passage, but at the same time wisely employed part of his time in killing whales, &c.

In this same year 1609, ambassadors are said to have come from Japan into Holland, and concluded, at the Hague, a commercial treaty with the Dutch East India Company. It seems indeed almost incredible to many,

First, That so small a state should, between the year 1579, when its people openly revolted from Spain, and this year 1609, when the famous truce before-named was concluded, for twelve years, with that crown, not only be able to make head against the mightiest potentate of Europe, and at the same time so enlarge their union, by taking in the two provinces of Overijssel, and Groningen, where many strongly fortified places were first to be conquered, at a vast expence of blood and treasure.

Secondly, To enlarge their frontiers in Flanders by the conquest of the important and formerly famous town and port of Sluys, as also of Hulst, and several other places in what is since named Dutch Flanders.

Thirdly, To block up the river Scheld by the forts of Lillo, &c. by which measure the famous commercial city of Antwerp was absolutely barred from all maritime commerce.

Fourthly, On the frontiers of Brabant, to conquer the strong places of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, Bois-le-duc, &c. and for above three years to hold out the town and port of Ostend against the power of Spain, at a great expence.

Fifthly, To annoy Spain with powerful fleets in her own ports, and to attack and plunder some of the Canary Isles, and that of St. Thomas, under the equinoctial line. And yet, during all those immense expences, to grow immensely opulent, and to be courted by the most distant potentates of the known world, as well as by many nearer home. What can more effectually demonstrate the inexpressible advantages of a general and extensive commerce to a nation, than these and similar instances? whilst, at the same time, they shew the great propensity of those Netherland provinces to trade and industry; who, attended with an happy union of hearts and counsels in those early times; thrust themselves into every corner of the earth where any commerce could be had;—pushing on so immense a fishery also as supplied all Europe:

Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.

Hor.

i. e. Shunn'd poverty, through seas, and rocks, and fire!

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1609 To which may be added, so great and extensive a commerce to, and such numerous conquests in, India, as amazed all the world; whilst at home they wonderfully cultivated all sorts of manufactures great and small; and being situated as it were in the middle of Europe, they very soon made Amsterdam become, what it still in a great measure is, the grand storehouse or magazine of almost all the merchandize of the universe,—whither there daily arrived numbers of laden ships from all parts, and from whence others daily sailed to every quarter of the globe. Even in this same year 1609, they had about one hundred ships employed in the Gold-coast-trade, at Guinea and the Cape de Verd Isles, and were so successful in that commerce, that they soon began to think of establishing a West India Company.

The English East India Company now sent out but one ship, first to Bantam, and from thence to the isles of Banda, &c. but finding the Hollanders absolute lords there, they were refused admittance to traffic. Yet the Dutch not being as yet masters at the isle of Pooloway, this ship obtained there a cargo of mace-and nutmegs. They left factors there, for future trade, and returned home, after stopping again at Bantam. This is usually called the fifth voyage of this company.

1610 Although the fifteen years exclusive trade, granted by Queen Elizabeth's charter to the East India Company, was not to expire till 1615; yet King James, on the thirty-first of May, in the year 1610, was prevailed on to grant that company a renewal of their charter, in this seventh year of his reign, setting forth, “the profit and honour which this trade brought to the nation, whereby his Majesty was now induced to render this company perpetual,—with the usual powers of making bye laws;—of having a common seal, and the other powers in the former charter.” Yet, as appears by Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, vol. iii. p. 516, they had not as yet adopted the mode of trading under one joint stock, but went on in the method of several co-partnerships and lesser stocks.

This new charter so much encouraged the East India merchants, that they now built the largest merchant ship that ever England had, being of one thousand one hundred tons burden, named the Trade's Increase, and, with three others, made their sixth voyage to India.

The King also at this time built the finest ship of war that ever England had before, carrying sixty-four cannon, and was of one thousand four hundred tons burden, named the Prince. Thus we may, in part, see by what gradual steps the navy royal of England arrived at its present magnitude and grandeur.

The opposition and ill usage which Sir Henry Middleton, the admiral, as he was then called, of this sixth East India voyage, received from the Turks at Mocha, on the Red Sea, and Surat, from the Portuguese, whose fleet he was forced to fight, &c. are to be found in all our books of voyages: and the like may be said of the seventh voyage, in the year 1611.

On the accession of King Lewis XIII. to the crown of France, in this same year 1610, M. de Voltaire, in his Introduction to his Essay on the Age of Louis XIV. gives us a compendious view of the state of France at that period, viz.

“I. That King was not possessed of a single ship.” But as this author too frequently overshoots the mark, the Duke de Sully's Memoirs say, he had only about sixteen ships of war at Brest and Rochelle, and twenty gallies in the ports of the Mediterranean.

“II. Paris did not contain four hundred thousand souls; nor was it embellished with so many as four fine edifices.

“III. The rest of the cities of the kingdom were like the towns on the other side the Loire.

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“IV. The

1610 IV. " The entire body of the nobility were fortified throughout the provinces, in their respective castles, surrounded with moats; and oppressed the laborious peasants round them.

" V. The roads were almost impracticable, and the towns under no regulation.

" VI. The state was without money; and the government was as much without credit amongst foreign nations, as defective at home.

VII. " The ordinary revenue of Lewis XIII. did not exceed forty-five millions. Silver, it is true, being then valued at but about twenty-six livres the mark, these forty-five millions amounted to about eighty-five millions of the present money of France.

" Henry IV. father to this King, was endeavouring to recover France from this state of barbarity, when he was this year assassinated in his capital, in the midst of a people whom he would have rendered happy."

King James I. ever entertaining high and arbitrary notions of the extent of his prerogative, thought he had a right to grant many patents for very unjustifiable monopolies, *i. e.* for the sole vending or making of certain merchandize and manufactures. His people hereupon became extremely uneasy and loud against all kinds of those pernicious grants, which indeed were become very great grievances to the subjects. This obliged that King, in this year, to revoke all his monopolies, by proclamation. Which revocation, however, was afterwards forgotten (as will be seen) by him and his Ministers.

In the early part of this century, there was a prevailing spirit of adventuring on new plantations from England. Even the barren and inhospitable island of Newfoundland was, in printed accounts, represented as proper for plantation. This drew in the great names of Henry Earl of Northampton, the Lord Chief Baron Tanfield, Sir Francis Bacon, then Solicitor-General, &c. to join with a number of Bristol merchants, for obtaining from King James a grant of part of Newfoundland, lying between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. Mary's; and a colony was accordingly sent thither: yet to this day they have never been able to make a proper cultivable and useful plantation there, any further than is absolutely necessary:

First, For the famous fishery on its banks.

Secondly, For its situation in respect to our continent colonies, and to the French North American dominions: and,

Thirdly, For shelter and relief of our own shipping: and, in all these respects, that island is highly necessary to be possessed by Great Britain, and extremely dangerous in any other hands. This patent was in substance,

" That whereas divers of his subjects were desirous to plant in the southern and eastern parts of Newfoundland, whither the subjects of this realm have for upwards of fifty years past been used annually, in no small numbers, to resort to fish; intending thereby to secure the trade of fishing to our subjects for ever; as also to make some advantage of the lands thereof, which hitherto have remained unprofitable. And the land being at present destitute of inhabitants, whereby the King has an undoubted right to dispose of it. Wherefore he now grants to Henry Earl of Northampton," and forty-four others herein named, their heirs and assigns, to be a corporation, with perpetual succession, &c. by the name of the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the cities of London and Bristol, for the Colony or Plantation in Newfoundland, from north latitude forty-six to fifty-two degrees, together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of any part of the coast; and all mines, &c.—Saving to all his Majesty's subjects the liberty of fishing there, &c."

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1610 Mr. Guy, of Bristol, went thither, as conductor of the first colony, who is said to have contracted familiarity and friendship with the natives, living at a distance from the southern and eastern coasts; and it is pretended that while he remained there, viz. for two years, they went on very well.

In this same year, the gallant Spanish Governor of the Philippine Isles attacked the Dutch Admiral Willart, (who had sunk a Spanish galleon, richly laden, from China) killed him, and took three of his four ships: whereupon the Spaniards retook from the Dutch the islands of Tidore and Banda. This was the last successful struggle of Spain, in those parts, against the Dutch.

In the sixteenth volume, p. 694, of the *Fœdéra*, we have a treaty of commerce and of a defensive alliance between England and France, at London, and for the confirmation of former treaties: it was begun in the life-time of King Henry IV. of France; but, as he was murdered before its completion, it was perfected by his son Louis XIII. a minor, under the authority of the Queen-regent. It is in substance, viz.

“ I. King James stipulates, in case of France being invaded, to supply six thousand foot soldiers, armed with either bows, guns, or pikes: and with eight ships of war, with one thousand two hundred fighting men in them: both which were to be at the expence of France.

“ II. On the other hand, France shall supply King James, in the like case, with the same number of soldiers and ships, when demanded.” Voltaire, as we have just seen, expressly affirms, that, at this time, France had not one ship of war. This is the same as the fourteenth article in vol. ii. p. 161—177, of the *Collection of Treaties*, in four volumes, octavo, published in 1732.

“ III. If any potentate shall detain or arrest any ships of England, Scotland, or Ireland; the French King shall, in such case, arrest and detain the ships of such potentate in his harbours until those of British subjects be released: and King James promises the like for the French King’s subjects.” The manner of modern treaties of peace and commerce is much more cautious than that of this third article, which surely stipulates too much on both sides.

“ IV. Free liberty to the English subjects in France for the private exercise of the Protestant religion.

“ V. Three months time allowed, in case of a rupture, for the merchants, on both sides, to bring away their effects.

“ VI. Security shall be given by the commanders of the ships of both parties setting sail, not to commit piracy or any other violence to the other party.” With several other articles against piratical acts.

“ VII. The English ships trading to Bourdeaux and into the river Garonne, shall not hereafter be obliged to land and deposit their arms and ammunition there: neither shall the French ships in England be put to the same inconvenience: neither shall these pay the imposition or petty dues in England, called head-money, warranted by no law of England.

“ VIII. Lastly, with respect to all other commercial matters, the treaty of 1606 shall take place.”

† The reader is to take notice, once for all, that although, in the printed *Collection of Treaties*, in four volumes, published in the year 1732, several of such treaties differ in length

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1610 and form from those in the *Fœdera*, the substance being still the same in both; yet we have judged it safest and most authentic to copy the substance of them from the *Fœdera*, rather than from a printed collection without the stamp of authority, which the *Fœdera* undoubtedly possess.

In the same year, 1610, the Dutch East India Company is said to have divided fifty per cent. on their capital.

Captain Hudson now made his third and last attempt for the discovery of a north-west passage to China. He entered the straits and bay of his name, and went one hundred leagues further than any one had done before, and proceeded till he was stopped either by ice or shoal water. He wintered in the bay, took possession of the country, and traded with the natives; giving English names to many ports, bays, and promontories, which they still retain on all European maps; such as Cape James, Cape Henry, Queen Anne's Foreland, Desires Provoked, the Isle of God's Mercy, King James's Foreland, Queen Anne's Cape, &c. He was supplied with swans, geese, ducks, partridges, &c. But great discord arising between him and the majority of the ship's company, they mutinied, and most cruelly turned him and eight of his men, who were mostly sick, into an open boat, and they were never heard of more.—Those mutineers returned home with the ship, though in great distress for want of provisions, &c. the greater part of the ringleaders against Captain Hudson losing their lives in the homeward voyage.

In this seventh year of King James, the London Adventurers to Virginia, or the first colony, obtained that King's charter, which incorporated them by the name of The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony of Virginia. This was what was then properly called the Virginia Company. "They were hereby empowered to grant and convey lands there to the adventurers and planters; to appoint a council resident in Virginia, to place and displace officers, &c." The sanguine hopes entertained of that colony in those times, kept up their spirits, and enabled them to bear a great expence and many disappointments patiently; and although those first adventurers were far from being gainers, yet the nation has since reaped a noble harvest from their endeavours. In the tenth year of this King's reign, he granted them all the islands on the coast of South Virginia.

1611 In this year the Russia Company sent out a ship to discover Spitzbergen, whose inhospitable shores we have already described under the year 1598.

And the next year, that company, for the first time, sent two ships thither, purposely for the killing of whales, carrying with them six Biscayners, expert in the whale fishing: but they lost both their ships, though their men and boats, &c. were saved by a ship of Hull, then also at Spitzbergen.

The Dutch East India Company's ambassadors or envoys, in a solemn embassy to the Emperor of Japan, in the city of Meaco, are said to have now obtained very advantageous terms of commerce, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Spanish and Portuguese agents there.

Henry, Prince of Wales, now sent out his servant, Sir Thomas Button, to attempt a discovery of a north-west passage to China. He entered the bay which bears his name to this day, on the south side of Hudson's Bay, where he wintered, at a place called Port Nelson, so named by him from the name of the captain of his ship, whom he buried there. He discovered a great continent to the south and west of that bay, to which he gave the names of New North

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1611 North Wales, and New South Wales. He also erected a cross here, on which he fixed the arms of England, for the purpose of ascertaining our right thereunto.

In vol. xvi. p. 710, of the *Fœdera*, we find that King James, in imitation of what was done in King Edward the Sixth's time, granted pensions to several foreign Protestant divines, famous for their learning, &c. having now settled a pension of three hundred pounds per annum, during pleasure, on the famous Isaac Casaubon: and, in the same year, bestowed on him a prebend of Canterbury.

In the same volume, p. 716, in King James's defensive alliance with several German Electors and Princes, in this year, he engaged to supply them with four thousand foot-soldiers, on account of their interesting themselves in the disputed succession to the duchies of Juliers, Berghs, and Cleves: the pay of those troops, in sterling money, was to be as follows, viz.

- | | | |
|---|-------|----------|
| 1. The colonel-general, or commander in chief, per day, | - - - | £. 5 0 0 |
| 2. A colonel, per day, | - - - | 1 0 0 |
| 3. A lieutenant-colonel, | - - - | 0 6 0 |
| 4. A serjeant-major, | - - - | 0 5 0 |

And the whole four thousand soldiers, with a captain to each company, per day, 156 6 8

In the tenth voyage of the East India Company, in this year, at Surat, our people had an opportunity of observing the immense commerce of the Portuguese in those parts; seeing no fewer than two hundred and forty sail of their merchant ships in one fleet, bound for Cambaya: nevertheless, two of our ships soon after fought and defeated four of their great galleons, and twenty-six frigates from Goa, sent in pursuit of them; which caused great joy to the Indians at Surat, by whom the Portuguese were much hated, and who were soon to lose the bulk of this mighty commerce.

Siden Muley, King of Fez, having about this time made himself master of the kingdom of Morocco, with much slaughter; and King Philip III. of Spain having, by agreement, supplied him with money and assistance therein, in recompence thereof, the strong fort of Larache, or Alarache, on the African shore, was delivered into King Philip's hands.

About this year, or perhaps the preceding one, according to some, Philip III. of Spain, through the instigation of his bigotted clergy, committed a most fatal mistake in point of true politics, in expelling the most industrious and useful people of his kingdom, viz. the Moors and Jews still left in that country; which expulsion was also attended with great cruelty.

We have seen, under the year 1492, that a period was then put to the Moorish dominion in Spain; and that vast numbers of both Moors and Jews were then expelled that country, although there still remained great numbers of both those sorts of people in Spain, especially in the provinces of Castile, Andalusia, and Valencia. A subsequent rebellion of them in 1568, was not quite suppressed, as we have also seen, till two years after, wherein also vast numbers of both Moors and Jews were slaughtered. The remainder of both those people were either expelled, or were obliged to profess the Catholic religion by baptism; and if they afterwards relapsed, they were delivered over to the horrible barbarity of the inquisition: they were therefore stiled new Christians, some of whom became ecclesiastics, and were in high stations; though, it is said, they were all either Mahometans or Jews in their hearts, and that one million two hundred thousand of both those kinds of people still remained in Spain, under the disguise of being new Christians.

King Philip II. could never be prevailed on to proceed to extremities against those unhappy people, though it had been often proposed by his council; but his son, Philip III. being a

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1611 much weaker Prince, and consequently much led by the clergy, was drawn into this cruelty. These unhappy objects of tyrannical bigotry, were said to have solicited the protection of France, of England, of the Dutch, of the King of Morocco, and of the Grand Signior; being justly apprehensive that their inveterate foes, the clergy, would sooner or later bring about their destruction. Rumours also had been spread at this time of their intending, on a Good Friday, to butcher all the old Christians. Upon such surmises, and on similar pretexts, King Philip seized on all their estates, and expelled them his kingdom in the most cruel manner.—Priests were dragged from the altars—judges from the benches—husbands from the arms of their wives—and wives from their husbands;—not sparing even such officers of the crown as were allied to the most ancient Christian families. Many of those miserable people were transported to Barbary, where they joined the race of those before expelled, in their revenge for Spanish cruelties. Mezerai says, “That scarce a fourth part of them were able to preserve their wretched lives: for being looked upon as infidels by the Christians, and as Christians by the infidels, to whom they fled, they encountered cruelties and death in various shapes. Some were drowned by the very mariners who pretended to transport them; others were massacred by the Moors of Barbary.” In Winwood’s Memorials, vol. iii. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cottington, the English minister at Madrid, writes to Mr. Trumbull, the English resident at Brussels, “That the Spanish King had made vast preparations for destroying the Moriscoes of the kingdom of Valencia; having, for that end, assembled eighty-five galleys, twenty ships, and seventy thousand soldiers. At one instant they seized on all the towns and villages in the kingdom,” (Valencia) “proclaiming therein, that within three days, upon pain of death, they should repair to the sea-side, there to be embarked. Many, fearing what should afterwards be done to them, attempting to fly, were immediately executed: the rest, which, they say, will be at least eighty thousand households, have daily their hands bound, and so put on board. What they will do with them, or whither they will carry them, is yet kept secret. Some say there is a commission given to put them all on shore in Barbary; and others, which I rather believe, that it is to cast them all into the sea.”

“*Postscript.*—I can almost assure you, that they have and will throw into the sea, of men, women, and children, above three hundred thousand persons. A cruelty never before heard of in any age;” says Lord Cottington.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum ?

In another letter to the same, he says, “That three of the best galleons, and three smaller ships were lost in a tempest, all fraught with Moors: our Moriscoes,” (or Moors) “notwithstanding we have embarked at least eighty thousand of them, are now above twenty thousand strong in the mountains.”—In another, “our Moors, on the Mountains, are, through famine, forced to come down: their King is hanged in Valencia, with some few others, and the rest are embarked for Barbary: we now begin to clear Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia, of Moriscoes also.—They are to be gone within thirty days.”—In another, “We here turn out our Moriscoes, without suffering them to carry in specie, or in letters, any kind of gold or silver.”

Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV. makes the number of those Moors, expelled by King Philip III. to have been near eight hundred thousand persons: “though, on the contrary,” says this author, very justly, “he ought rather to have invited more to come into his king-
“dom,

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1611 "dom, if it be true, that the number of subjects constitutes the wealth and strength of monarchs."

This, and former expulsions, deprived Spain of vast numbers of her most ingenious and industrious people, who, had they been treated with moderation, might have been gradually brought over to the Catholic religion. Now, if to these losses of people be added, those great numbers sent out for the planting and continually recruiting of their vast American colonies; we cannot be surprized, that there are now, by some accounts, scarce five millions of people in all the kingdom of Spain, though about thrice as large as the island of Great Britain, wherein are about twice that number of people. By such depopulations, and by their bigotry, laziness, and pride, that fine country, from being once one of the most populous, as well as best cultivated in all Europe, is become a barren solitude. Mezerai observes, that the Moors in Spain had so far improved the lands, as to make them yield more by one third part, to the landlords, than the Spanish tenants could do; wherefore, when King Philip III. now expelled them, he gave the nobles and gentry one fourth part of the plunder, by way of recompence. The Moors left behind them in Spain very illustrious marks of their long dominion there; seeing most of the eminent cities, castles, and palaces, and also cathedral churches, which formerly were mosques, remaining even to this day, were built by them; they being accounted more ingenious, as well as more industrious in business, than the Spaniards.

We thought ourselves obliged to dwell the longer on this article, of the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from Spain, that it might prove a useful memento to us, and to all wise nations, never to suffer a bigoted clergy to poison the court and country with their persecuting principles. A numerous, frugal, and industrious commonalty being the greatest riches, glory, and strength of a well-ordered state.

The great King Henry IV. of France had, in the year 1604, erected an East India Company in France, which nevertheless did not take place in his reign; but his son, Louis XIII. further encouraged the Company by a new charter: and in 1615, this Company sent out ships and took possession of the great isle of Madagascar, which, not answering expectation, the Company and trade was wholly dropped.

In most, if not all, the new branches of trade discovered by the English, in the latter part of the last, and the former part of the present century, we may observe, that the Dutch generally followed close at their heels. This has been seen in the Russia trade, the north-east and north-west attempts for a passage to China, &c. in planting in America, in the circumnavigations of the terraqueous globe, and in the East India commerce. It is true, De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, if he was the author of that judicious book, as is generally believed, reports the Dutch to have made early attempts for the whale-fishing, at Spitzbergen, to which parts, whether a cluster of isles, or a continent, is still uncertain, they probably gave that name. Yet as the mariners of the port of Hull were, long before, much in the fishery, at and about the North Cape of Norway Lapland, it seems probable, that the Dutch learned the way to Spitzbergen from them, as they had before the way to Russia, although the latter looked on Spitzbergen as only a part of the vast region of Greenland; and therefore, even in our own days, we still continue generally to call it Greenland.

The Hollanders, being emboldened by their late truce with Spain, now venture down to the Levant seas for traffic; and, in imitation of the English, they now send, for the first time, an ambassador to the Grand Signior at Constantinople, where he concluded a favourable treaty of commerce for his masters.

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1611 This year is generally fixed on as the first time that the Dutch or Hollanders gained footing in Japan; and it is said, that by the year 1616, they were the only European people permitted to trade or reside there. The invidious story of their artful answer to the Japanese, upon being asked if they were Christians, is much more like a Portuguese calumny than the real truth. For, as the Hollanders had wormed the Portuguese quite out of all trade or resort to Japan, it is far from being improbable that their priests invented that detestable calumny, to render them odious every where; and we have the greater reason for this supposition, as the Portuguese Jesuits, we know, were also very liberal of their false and cruel invectives against both the English and Dutch, at the court of the Great Mogul, and elsewhere in India, upon a vain presumption that their nation, being the first discoverers of a passage by sea to India, had the sole right to trade thither.

In this same year, the absolute sovereignty of the dukedom, now kingdom of Prussia, was confirmed by Poland to the electoral house of Brandenburg.

In the same year the galleys of the Duke of Florence destroyed forty-two belonging to the Turks, and took one.

Many eminent historians and chronologers flourished at and about this time; as Helvicus, Calvifius, Thuanus, Spondanus, &c.

1612 From the year 1598, to 1612, the English went on, unrivalled, with their whale-fishing at Greenland. But in the last year, when the Hollanders first resorted thither, some of the English Russia Company's ships, outward-bound, seized on the whale-oil of the Dutch, and on their fishing-tackle, &c. and obliged them to return home, with a menace, that if ever they were found on those seas hereafter, they would make prizes of both ships and cargoes; their master, the King of Great Britain, having the sole right to that fishery, in virtue, as they alleged, of the first discovery thereof, and of Spitzbergen; and in the following year the English seized on, and brought home two of those Dutch ships, deeming them legal prizes.

The Hollanders now join the Hans-towns in a complaint to Christian IV. King of Denmark, of the heavy additional toll which, since the commencement of his war with Sweden, he had imposed on all ships passing the Sound. Whereupon that King gave them the choice of a hard alternative, viz. either to continue to pay that new toll, or else to let their merchandize be thenceforth carried up the Baltic in Danish bottoms. The Lubeckers being, from their situation, peculiarly affected by that toll, loudly complain to the Emperor, whose redress, if ever to be hoped for, being like to be, as usual, very slow, they make a league with the Hollanders for the mutual protection of their commerce and navigation, determining to send an armed force to the Sound for that end: for the expence whereof, seven-eighth parts was to be borne by Holland, and the other eighth part by Lubeck. This alliance was to last eleven years, during which the other Hans-towns might come into it. Accordingly, afterwards, the cities of Magdeburgh, Brunswick, Rostock, Straelsund, and Lunenburgh, agreed to pay each one per cent. and Wismar, Gripswald, and Anclam, each one half per cent. at their assembly held at Brunswick: Hamburg and Bremen are also mentioned by Werdenhagen, vol. ii. without ascertaining their quotas. The Lubeckers also earnestly represented to the Emperor, that the Danes had seized and detained their ships and merchandize bound to Sweden: and the King of Denmark replied, that the Lubeckers had fair notice before-hand, that if they carried on any correspondence with his enemies, he would make prize of them. And with respect to the toll, which he had laid on ships passing the Sound, during his war with Sweden, that was no more than what other Princes do, in like cases. "For that he was
"sovereign

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1612 " Sovereign Lord of the Baltic Sea (*Maris Baltici*) or Sound; the dominion whereof was
 " transmitted to him by his ancestors; seeing a great part of his territories border on that sea:
 " wherefore he will never suffer his title to his said sovereignty in the Baltic to be called in
 " question." Probably, however, he meant only that part of it called the Sound.

My Lord Moleworth, in his account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692, chap. iii. says, " This passage of the Sound, (or Ore Sound) being agreed to be the only passage into
 " and from the Baltic Sea, the great belt became quite neglected.—But there being no fixed
 " rule or treaty whereby to be governed with regard to the different bulk of the ships of so
 " many different nations, the Danes, in process of time, began to grow arbitrary, and exacted
 " more or less, according to the strength or weakness of those they had to deal with, or to their
 " friendship or discontent with the several nations to whom the ships belonged: the Emperor,
 " Charles V. thereupon concluded (at Spire) a treaty with Denmark, in behalf of his Nether-
 " land subjects, who had great traffic in the Baltic, whereby every ship of two hundred tons and
 " under, with her lading, should pay two rose nobles, *i. e.* about thirty shillings sterling, at its
 " entrance into, or return from the Baltic; and every ship above two hundred tons, with her
 " lading, should pay three rose nobles; which agreement remained in force till the Seven Pro-
 " vinces shook off the Spanish yoke, of which the Danes taking advantage, raised the toll on
 " the Hollanders to an extravagant height. This brought on the alliance between the Dutch
 " and Lubeckers already mentioned, which, in the end, brought the Danes to reason. Yet, in
 " after-times, the Hollanders paid more or less, according as fortune was favourable or adverse
 " to them, till the year 1647, when the first formal treaty was made by them with Denmark, as
 " sovereigns, for forty years, at the expiration whereof, in the year 1687, another treaty was
 " made, and that expiring in 1691, there remained in force only the ancient treaty of Spire.
 " As for England's treaties with Denmark on this point, they were grounded on and have
 " reference to those of the Dutch, with a covenant," says his Lordship, " that England shall
 " be treated (*tanquam gens amicissima*) on the foot of the most favoured nation, excepting
 " always Sweden, whose ships paid no toll at all, as by their treaty of the year 1644." Yet
 " since, (*viz.* in the year 1720) the Swedes engaged, by treaty to pay as all other nations.—It is
 " but about one hundred and seventy years ago that the Danish court first began to raise the toll,
 " and to impose a separate tax on the merchandize of each ship. For that end, in the year 1640,
 " the Danish court printed a book of rates, *viz.* a ship of two hundred tons laden eastward with
 " salt, to pay three hundred and thirty-four rixdollars and twenty-four stivers. Ditto, laden
 " with rye from the east, one hundred and eighty-four dollars and twenty-four stivers. So that
 " the charges of a ship of that burden, with its outward and homeward cargoes, amounted to
 " five hundred and nineteen rixdollars: and, at that time, the whole tax yielded about three
 " hundred thousand rixdollars to the Danish treasury. Hereupon, the Dutch united with Swe-
 " den, in 1643, and attacked Denmark by sea and land, so that, the Danish court was obliged to
 " reduce the tolls, (on an average, we presume) to two hundred and forty-four rixdollars in all,
 " on ship and cargo. The Hollanders, however, not satisfied with that reduction, brought
 " Denmark to a new treaty in the year 1646, by which, each ship and cargo was reduced to
 " one hundred rixdollars in all, both outward and homeward. Since which reduction, the en-
 " tire toll of the Sound has not yielded two hundred and fifty thousand rixdollars. The Danes
 " raising this toll so high, proved, it seems, the occasion of their losing some of their best pro-
 " vinces to Sweden.—The English and Dutch have ever paid this toll with reluctance, and
 " would never allow of any kind of searching, or even stopping their ships, and the Danes (says

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1612 his Lordship) are content to take the Master of the vessel's word for the quality and quantity of his lading, not thinking it prudent to urge the point further, lest we should enquire too narrowly into their original right, and into their ability to maintain it. For whilst we and the Dutch are content to pay this toll, all the other petty princes and states do it without murmur: but if we once break the chain, they would shake off their part of it likewise. Now if, from what his Lordship says in the ninth chapter, the whole revenue of Denmark was but two million two hundred and twenty-two thousand rixdollars, it cannot be surprizing that the toll of the Sound, when at the highest, has been often said, to be the brightest jewel in the Danish crown.

By the interest of a Dutchman, who was this year in great favour with the King of Ceylon, his countrymen, of the Dutch East India Company, found means to obtain a favourable treaty with that King, who thereby engaged to deliver annually to that Company all the cinnamon of the island,—to exempt them from several taxes,—and to allow free commerce thither to no other European nation without their leave,—and also to dispose of all his precious stones to them alone,—and, lastly, to allow them half the customs of the island, &c. (says Baldæus, a Dutch preacher at Ceylon, who published his Account of Ceylon at Amsterdam, in the year 1672). Yet the contests of the Dutch for securing their conquests of the Molucca Spice Islands prevented their being able at this time to improve that treaty so far as to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon, who were guarded against the encroachments made by the Dutch, and had also violent quarrels with the said King of Ceylon.

The very high and peremptory words of the Danish court we have, verbatim, translated from Werdenhagen: but although the crown of Denmark was then sovereign of both shores of the Sound, (as being possessed of Schonen, since yielded to Sweden) yet then and ever since, the rest of the potentates of Europe have rather, by common consent, acquiesced in this toll, (says Lord Moleworth) on account of a lighthouse maintained by that crown, as of old also on account of guarding those seas against pirates, and perhaps for other political reasons, than from the bare claim of the Danish sovereignty.—See Queen Elizabeth's instructions to her ambassador treating with the Danes, in the year 1602, at Bremen, p. 207.

An equilibrium seems now to be requisite to be preserved, by the other powers of Europe, between the two northern crowns; since, should one sovereign possess both, as was once the case before commerce was become considerable in Europe, it would be too much in his power to impose tolls at his pleasure in that Sound, through which, at present, every sovereign in Europe may possibly judge they have a right to claim an independent freedom of navigation; from which claim, when impositions were complained of, have sprung several expeditions of English and Dutch fleets into that sea within the last one hundred and twenty years. Of this famous Sound, being four miles in breadth, and every where of sufficient depth, (according to some) it is said, the castles on each shore could not effectually command the channels, even when one sovereign possessed both shores, without Denmark's keeping a guardship of sufficient force, to oblige all merchant ships to stop and pay the toll there: but then the opposing thereof would oblige foreign nations to send a naval convoy with all their trading ships thither.

In conclusion, the Hollanders having brought King James the First, of England, to join with them and the Hans Town in this complaint, which they laid before the States of Denmark, then possessing a free constitution, in the year 1613,—his Danish Majesty, the same

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1612 year, annulled the said new toll, leaving only the ancient toll which subsisted before the war with Sweden.

In the years 1613 and 1615, there were two treaties concluded between the Dutch Republic and the Hans Towns, for this end, viz. the first with Lubeck alone; the second with that city and several other Hans-towns, both being for their mutual defence against any such encroachments. Which defensive treaties, though they did not mention Denmark expressly, had, however, the desired effect for many years to come.

The reader is to take notice, that the above dates of this memorable transaction are taken merely on Werdenhagen's credit, who seemed so much master of this subject, as to venture to correct Thuanus concerning the same.

This effort of the declining Hans-towns to draw the Dutch into a confederacy with them for the freedom of commerce, by the powerful conjunction of England, produced the desired effect. Yet, in general, it was unlikely that any durable confederacy, and much less an union, as some then proposed, could take place between the Dutch and so great a number of widely dispersed towns, whose interests were, and are almost as different as their situations; over-awed also, as they were, by the greater potentates near them, since they have become so strong in shipping. Such an union, therefore, could not be advantageous to the Dutch, whose aim always was, to gain ground every where in commerce, and who now for more than a century have engrossed the greatest part of the trade of the Baltic, and have thereby rendered most of the Hanseatic ports on that sea as empty of good shipping, as their exchanges are now of rich merchants.

About this time also, (says Werdenhagen, vol. ii. part 5, p. 105) the Swedes treated as enemies all such merchant ships as did not take out licenses from their King, for liberty to trade thither. So that the Easterling Hans-towns, being pressed with difficulties on every side, were obliged to relinquish a considerable part of their ancient commerce, which gradually brought on their present great declension.

Ireland, having been very much exhausted of people by former wars and rebellions, King James the First, finding it now in peace, thought it a proper time to improve it: he accordingly divided the whole kingdom into counties, appointed regular circuits of the judges; and (says Sir James Ware, in his Historical Relations) "the benefit and protection of the laws of England were communicated to all, as well Irish as English; whereby the Irish were reclaimed from their wildness,—to cut off their glibs and long hair,—to convert their mantles into cloaks,—and to conform themselves to the manner of England, in all their behaviour and outward forms.—The possession and limits of lands were settled, whereby the hearts of the people were also settled, and they were now encouraged to build and plant, and to improve the commodities of the lands; whereby the yearly value thereof is already increased double of what it was within these few years; as is also the crown revenue.—Encouragement has been given to the maritime towns and cities, as well to increase their trade of merchandize, as to cherish mechanical arts and sciences.—Also he granted markets and fairs in all counties, and erected corporate towns among them.—So that, until the beginning of his Majesty's reign," *i. e.* King James the First, in whose reign our said author wrote, "Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience to the crown of England."

Sir John Davis justly remarks, in many places of his useful treatise on this subject, what bad policy it was in England, that, for the space of three hundred and fifty years, at least, after

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1612 the first attempt of Ireland's conquest, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired the same.—As if it was intended to keep a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and Irish ; so that a continual war was kept up between them till this happy time that a “complete conquest was now made of that entire island.”

- Moreover, for the prevention of future rebellions, King James having, in the year 1609, proposed to the city of London, the making of an English settlement in a part of the province of Ulster, then much depopulated and deserted ; and the city having accepted of his Majesty's proposal, and raised, as we have seen under the year 1609, the sum of twenty thousand pounds for the making of a new settlement there, (the late rebellious old Irish inhabitants of Ulster being all transplanted into the province of Connaught, where to this day their posterity inhabit) sent thither about three hundred persons, of all sorts of handicrafts and occupations, in the year 1612, principally intended for the re-peopling of Derry (thence on this account named London-derry) and Coleraine,—two hundred houses to be built in the former, and one hundred in the latter. The King also erected Derry into a bishoprick, and Coleraine into a corporation.

A corporation was accordingly established in London for that end, under the name of,—The Governor and Committee of the Irish Society, to be annually elected out of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council, for the management of the lands and fisheries of that part of Ireland. Yet, it seems, King James thought the magistrates of the city of London were not expeditious enough therein : for, in the year 1613, he sent for that newly erected corporation to Greenwich, and reprimanded them for their dilatoriness, &c. Whereupon the city sent over to Ulster an Alderman and a Commoner, with some surveyors, who settled that new colony to the satisfaction of both the King and the city : and the lands and the fisheries have been since greatly improved, to the considerable benefit of that part of Ireland ; it being a very valuable estate possessed to this day by the city of London, in its corporate capacity, conducted, as above-mentioned, by a Governor, Deputy, and Committee.

In this same year 1612, a contract of marriage being concluded between the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King James I. of Great Britain, and Frederic, Elector Palatine, it was agreed, that her portion should be forty thousand pounds sterling ; which the record in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi, p. 722, says, “ was according to the custom of England,” (*secundum consuetudinem Angliæ*). Now, where to find this custom, before this one instance, will, we imagine, be very difficult or rather impossible. The last marriage of any female of the royal family was that of Queen Mary, in the year 1554, to Philip, son to the Emperor Charles V. afterwards Philip II. King of Spain : but, as that Princess was actually in the second year of her own reign, there neither was nor could be any portion stipulated with that Emperor, who, indeed agreed, that her dowry should be sixty thousand pounds, Flemish money, per annum, viz. forty thousand pounds out of Spain, and twenty thousand pounds from Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Holland. The very latest proper instance then of any marriage portion of ladies of the royal family is that of Henry the Eighth's will, (under the year 1546) which we have given in its place, whereby he bequeaths “ ten thousand pounds to each of his two “ daughters at their marriages, or a larger sum, at the discretion of our executors.”—*Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 110.

The next preceding treaty of marriage was between King Henry the Eighth, in the year 1522, and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, then on a visit to England (as delivered by Rapin, and

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1612 and other historians) for the marriage of the latter with King Henry's daughter Mary, (when she should be twelve years of age,) whereby King Henry stipulates to give with her a portion of four hundred thousand crowns; a much larger sum than forty thousand pounds. We need not observe that this contract never took place: and, indeed, seems not to have been any other than an ostentatious compliment.—The next immediately preceding this treaty of marriage, was that under the year 1518, (*Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 632) whereby King Henry the Eighth stipulates to give a portion of three hundred and thirty thousand French crowns with his said infant daughter Mary, to the Dauphin, King Francis the First's son.—And the next preceding one, was in the year 1514, (*Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 423) whereby Mary, the second daughter of King Henry VII. was to have four hundred thousand gold crowns when married, as she afterwards was, to King Louis XII. of France. In 1508, as we have seen, this same lady was, by her father's treaty, to have two hundred and fifty thousand gold crowns, when married to Charles, grandson of the Emperor Maximilian: *ibid.* vol. xiii. p. 173.—And the next preceding treaty of marriage was in 1500, (*Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 787) when King Henry the Seventh contracts with King James the Fourth, of Scotland, to give his eldest daughter Margaret in marriage, her portion to be thirty thousand gold nobles, being exactly ten thousand pounds sterling.—And the next and last marriage treaty we shall mention, was between King Edward IV. of England, and King James III. of Scotland, in 1474, whereby Cecily, Edward's daughter, was, on her marriage with James, the infant Prince of Scotland, to have twenty thousand marks sterling, (*Fœdera*, vol. xi. fol. 824.) Thus we see, that, as far as history and records can make out, there was no such custom as is above alleged: and that the royal portions were sometimes more and sometimes less than the sum in question, according to the humour or political views of the contracting parties. Possibly, King James himself had some political reason for inserting that clause in this said contract with the Elector. Unless by the said words, “according to the custom of England,” no more was really intended by the King, than what the Kings of England were accustomed to give, as portions, in general with their daughters on their marriage; which custom was the same in every other court in Christendom, and therefore that clause could not fairly admit of this construction. This therefore was the first identical forty thousand pounds ever given as a royal marriage portion. According to the said contract, “the Lady Elizabeth's household “was to consist of thirty-six men servants and thirteen women servants, besides those belonging to the stables.”

And, (*Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 724.) the same year, we find King James taking the benefit of a statute of the twenty-fifth year of King Edward the Third, which enabled the King to levy a reasonable aid for the marriage of his eldest daughter; having issued his precepts to the sheriffs of the several counties for the levying thereof: which was the very same with that he levied in 1609, for making his eldest son a knight, viz. twenty shillings on every knight's-fee; and the like on every twenty pounds per annum on all lands held of the crown in soccage. Which aid was also (we conceive) the last of the kind raised by any of our Kings.

In p. 725, *ibid.* we find it agreed, that the before-named forty thousand pounds was to be paid in two years, by four payments of ten thousand pounds each half year. And the lady's dowry was to be ten thousand pounds sterling yearly; besides one thousand five hundred pounds yearly to be paid her during the Elector's life, for her privy purse. The salaries of her officers are also fixed thereby in sterling money, viz. master of her household, per annum, sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence.—Her secretary, fifty pounds.—The next

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1612 of her horse, fifty pounds.—To four gentlemen, (waiters) each twenty pounds.—To her chaplain, fifty pounds.—And to her physician, fifty pounds, &c.

In the following year, that afterward-unfortunate Elector and his spouse were conveyed over to Flanders in great state, by the Lord Admiral, Earl of Nottingham, with eight of the King's ships, beside transports with baggage, &c.

. In this same year, or, as some are of opinion, two years sooner, the Danes first began to resort to the East Indies, whither they have ever since carried on a commerce, and have a good fort and town, begun to be settled in or about the year 1617, on the coast of Coromandel, called Tranquebar; though their trade is not at this time very considerable.

In the same year 1612, the cluster of small and very rocky islands, situated between Europe and America, and named the Bermuda or Summer Isles, in the north latitude of thirty-two and one-half degrees (five hundred miles directly East from Carolina) was first planted by the English. They had, almost one hundred years before, been discovered by one Bermuda, a Spaniard, but were never settled before this time. Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, in their voyage to Virginia, in the year 1609, were ship-wrecked there, and lived there nine months; and having built a ship of their cedar wood, they sailed from thence to Virginia. They left two men in the largest isle, who were found alive in 1612, when they first planted a colony there. And from the first-named gentleman they were named the Somers Isles, now vulgarly the Summer Isles, though the first name of Bermuda is mostly used. Sir George Somers was, it seems, a second time driven on those isles, and died there. But those who were with him, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of them, that the Virginia Company (who, as first discoverers, claimed the property) sold them to about one hundred and twenty persons, to whom King James I. granted a charter. And, in this year 1612, they settled one hundred and sixty persons on the largest of them, named St. George's isle, and sent afterwards five hundred more people thither, in the year 1619; whereupon they instituted an assembly, with a governor and council. Some have reckoned the islands four hundred in number; but most of them too small to have any name, they being all circumscribed within the compass of little more than about forty-seven leagues. St. George's, the largest, is naturally fortified almost quite round by rocks; and where there is any landing place they have forts and batteries; and their only two harbours are also very well fortified. They at first planted some tobacco; but it did not answer expectation. They are said to have had the finest oranges in the world, also mulberries, olives, &c. and the noblest of cedar trees. Yet they produce very little staple commodities fit for exportation, excepting their cedar sloops, with which they trade, and sell them at the West Indies, and some provisions: with the gain of which trade they are enabled to pay Great Britain for all the necessaries they are constantly supplied with. It was afterwards, like Virginia, made a regal government, and so it still continues. As these isles lie so remote from America, there were no people found thereon when the English planted them; but they found plenty of hogs, which the Spaniards had left there, as they likewise did on many other uninhabited isles, that they might afterwards, in case of shipwreck or storms, find sustenance thereon. Two misfortunes the Bermudians have attending them, viz. First, A want of fresh water. Secondly, They are often attacked by furious winds, storms, thunder, &c. At their principal island of St. George, as well as at their chief town, large ships may safely enter, and be secure from enemies, both harbours being so well fortified, that an enemy may be easily kept out: and
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1612 this is, probably, the principal reason for Britain's keeping those inconsiderable and much worn out isles; they lying so much in the way of our enemies, (in whose power they ought never to be) as well as of our own shipping; there being no productions there but what may be had in our other plantations. Their tobacco is, by no means, so good as that of Virginia.

The English East India Company now sent thither one ship, carrying Sir Robert Shirley, who was dispatched by King James, as his ambassador to Persia, and with him Sir Thomas Powell, who obtained of the Persian court certain privileges for that company. This ship returned home with a lading of pepper, from Sumatra and Bantam, in the year 1614; being usually reckoned the twelfth voyage of this company.

In the same year, James Hall and William Baffin sailed as high in Hudson's Bay as latitude sixty-five degrees twenty-minutes, for the purpose of obtaining a passage to China, in vain. They also made trial of a supposed mine there, which had been dug by some Danes, but found it totally unproductive.

The Spaniards and Portuguese still continuing to insist, that none but themselves had any right to sail beyond the Equinoctial Line; in order to confute that declaration the learned Hugo Grotius, on the part of his own country of Holland, came forth with his ever-famous small Latin treatise, entitled, *Mare Liberum, sive de jure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana Commercium, Dissertatio*.—i. e. The Freedom of the Sea, or a Discourse concerning that Right which the Hollanders claim of trading to India. He begins with an address to the Princes and free people of Christendom; and, in thirteen chapters, learnedly illustrates the freedom of navigation on the open seas to all mankind. "That neither the Portuguese nor Spaniards had any kind of exclusive right of dominion in the East Indies; neither,

" First, By the title of prior discovery: nor,

" Secondly, By virtue of the Pope's donation: nor,

" Thirdly, By right of war or conquest: nor,

" Fourthly, By virtue of any claim of prescription or custom.—That, by the law of nations, commerce is free to all mankind: and therefore by no equitable rule ought they to restrain the freedom of the Indian commerce, which the Hollanders are determined to maintain, whether in peace or war." He clearly proved, (which indeed it was very easy to do) "that the Portuguese were far from being the original discoverers of the East India seas.

" First, From Alexander the Great's discoveries thereof, and of the Persian and Arabian Gulphs.

" Secondly, From Caius Cæsar's having found marks in the Red Sea of the wrecks of ships, belonging to the Gaditani; who could come no other way thither but by the Cape of Good Hope. He cites Coelius Antipater's ocular testimony of a maritime commerce in ancient times between Spain and Ethiopia;—and what Cornelius Nepos writes, viz. that in his time, Eudoxus, flying from Lathyrus, King of Alexandria; took shipping in the Red Sea, and sailed round Africa to Gades in Spain.—That while Carthage flourished, it is most clear, that those people, deeply skilled in maritime affairs, were not ignorant of those seas: particularly, that Hanno sailed from Gades to the furthest parts of Arabia, round by that now called the Cape of Good Hope; and would have gone further, had not his stores and provisions failed him.—Next, the regular annual voyages of the Romans from Egypt to India, by the Red Sea, after Augustus had conquered Egypt.—And that Strabo asserts, that in his own time a company of merchants of Alexandria traded with ships from

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1612 "the Red Sea to the furthest Æthiopia, as well as to India." Grotius subjoins, that at the time of the Portuguese first sailing to India, the several seas between Europe and India were known, and could not possibly be unpractised by the people of the respective countries bordering on those seas, viz. Moors, Ethiopians, Arabians, Persians, and Indians: and that, "*inventio nihil juris tribuit, nisi in ea quæ ante inventionem nullius fuerant; i. e.* a discovery gives no right to any thing but what belonged to no-body before such discovery."—Cap. ii.—What then can fairly be said for Europe's discoveries in America, where there were many millions of native Indians, and more particularly in Mexico and Peru, in both which countries there were established monarchies, for some centuries prior to the Spaniards first invasion of them?

"Lastly, Neither is it certain, that unless the Portuguese had made the discovery (as they term it) of India, none else would have done it. For the time was then come when almost all arts, and particularly the situation of the earth and seas, were much better understood and daily improving.—The Venetians, who had learned much of India, were then upon further enquiries; the indefatigable industry of the people of Bretagne, and the bold attempts of the English, all plainly shew, what in time would have been effected." Among his other reasonings, he quotes Alphonsus Castrensis, a Spanish Divine, as inveighing against the absurdity and injustice of those nations who claim an exclusive navigation in certain seas; as the Genoese, in their Bay; the Venetians, in their Gulph; and, principally, the Portuguese, in the East Indian seas; as well as all other nations (Spain itself not excepted) who pretend to such an exclusive right on the sea, (which is common to all) contrary to the law of nature, or natural justice, and to that natural and divine rule, of doing to others as we would they should do to us.—Toward the conclusion, Grotius, speaking of the necessity of vindicating by all possible means the freedom of navigation and commerce, thus addresses his own nation, viz. "Go on, thou most invincible nation on the Ocean, in boldly asserting and defending that freedom which is not thine alone, but is equally the right of all mankind."

In this treatise there is not a word expressly mentioned of England's claim to any kind of sea dominion; the author's whole drift seeming professedly to be against Spain and Portugal. Yet there is one expression in this fifth chapter, which seems to have been pointed at King James's having obliged the Hollanders to pay a tribute for the liberty of fishing on our coasts, where he asserts, "That the reasons given for the freedom of navigation hold equally good for that of fishing on the seas, which also ought to remain common or free to all."

What somewhat confirms this conjecture was, that, in the year 1615, one William Welwood published, at London, a small treatise, in Latin, of twenty-eight pages, in quarto, with the following title, (probably by King James's own direction) viz. "*De Dominio Maris Juribusque ad Dominium præcipue spectantibus, Assertio brevis et methodica. Cosmopolis, 1615.*" In his dedication to Queen Anne, he signs Gulielmus Welwood; and, as it is an answer to Grotius, we shall here give the substance of it; though three years later in point of time.

He endeavours to prove, "that the sea is capable of distinction of property, or of private dominion, as well as the land; contrary to the opinion (he owns) of many ancient lawyers, orators, and poets; as Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Plautus, Ovid, &c. whom he boldly accuses of ignorance of the law of nature."—And he fixes that dominion to be one hundred miles every way from the shore of the country adjacent, and claiming the same. But all the rest of
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1612 the sea beyond that limit, he, and the civilians Bartolus and Cepola, whom he quotes, leave perfectly free to all mankind to use indifferently without all doubt or controversy.—These points he speaks of as the sense of all nations, “excepting,” says he, “only one nation, “who, though her native soil abounds with milk, is nevertheless indebted to other countries “for all other necessities, and is even enriched and become haughty with the spoils of all “nations, having despised all distinction, in her open or free sea,” *in mari suo libero*, “and “has even had the boldness to stile herself invincible!” cap. i.

In his third chapter, he complains, “That the Britons are robbed in their own seas by “foreign fishers, who like an inundation crowd her shores with their fishing vessels; inso- “much, that the fish thereby are so much diminished, that whereas thirty years before they “were wont to come in shoals up to our very houses, now it puts our poor fishers to the toil “and hazard of going many miles out to sea in quest of them—That the Scots, formerly “observing and considering this damage, obliged the Dutch, by treaty, to keep at eighty “miles distance from their shores in their fishery.” We wish this treaty were to be found. “And themselves to pay a tribute at the port of Aberdeen,” so say some of the Scottish histo- rians, “where a tower was erected, for that and other purposes, at which the Dutch paid “that tribute even in the memory of our fathers; although by the distractions, &c. of suc- “ceeding times the same be now quite neglected.”

In his fourth and last chapter, he endeavours to prove, by quotations from civilians, &c. “That the sea,” *i. e.* the passage of strangers within his above-named limits, “is tributable, “(and that Cepola particularly affirms this of the Venetian Gulph) both on account of safe- “guards from pirates and of the expence of maintaining beacons, and likewise for leave to “fish within such limits.”

But, as neither he nor any one else ever undertook to fix exactly any certain mark whereby to know the limits so claimed in the sea, this occasioned the Hollanders in those days to say scoffingly, that if the English would please to drive in or fix stakes or palisadoes round the seas they claimed as their property, they would willingly submit to their claim. Otherwise, whilst the sea remained so unfixed, indivisible, and uncertain, they should continue to use it in com- mon with all other nations, both for navigation and fishery. To say the truth, what has been observed by others carries obvious demonstration and reason with it, viz. That a claim to any uncertain dominion implies a kind of nullity in it; and would also be productive of an infinity of contentions: seeing it is impossible for the most innocent and intelligent to know exactly the limits of such a claimed dominion; nor, consequently, can they always be able to avoid encroaching on it, since the claimers themselves are unable to fix any mark to their limits.

We shall have occasion to say somewhat more concerning the claim of the sea dominion under the year 1635.

Until this time the English East India trade was carried on by several separate stocks, mak- ing particular running voyages; but in this year they united all into one general joint capital stock. Yet it seems to have been a great oversight, that even for some years after this con- solidating of stocks, they did not, like the Portuguese and Dutch, erect any forts nor per- manent settlements in India. They sent but one ship in this year on the said joint stock account,

The consideration of the voyage of Richard Chancellor, &c. in the last century, from Russia, down the great river Volga and across the Caspian Sea into Persia, where he attempt-

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1613 ed to trade with our English manufactures, &c. for Persian and Indian merchandize, did, in this year, put Sir Henry Neville upon a scheme of the same nature, for bringing the whole trade of Persia and the inland parts of India up the river Hydaspes, (a branch of the Indus) and from thence over land to the river Oxus, which falls into the Caspian Sea; then across that sea and up the Volga to a small land carriage, which would bring them to the river Dwina, and so down to Archangel. This project was communicated by one John Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, at the Hague, and is printed in his Memorials of Affairs of State, volume third, but this letter-writer very justly thought it a matter of no small difficulty. This scheme, however, as far as relates to Persia across the Caspian, has in our days been found practicable for the bringing of raw silk from thence by our Russia Company; till the continual troubles in Persia have again rendered it impracticable for the present.

In this year, sixty-two persons from England had a grant of lands in and wintered at Newfoundland: they pretended to have raised wheat, rye, and garden-stuff there: yet it is since found that neither wheat nor any other grain will prosper on that island. Those planters, however, soon grew weary of their attempts, which by no means answered their expectations, and therefore transferred their grant to other new adventurers.

In this tenth year of King James's reign he coined the pound weight of gold into forty-four pounds by tale of the old standard of twenty-three carrats three and one-half grains fine. He also coined gold this same year of baser allay, viz. of twenty-two carrats fine, into forty pounds eighteen shillings and four-pence by tale; the pieces being units of twenty-two shillings; double crowns, eleven shillings; Britain crowns, five shillings and six-pence; Thistle crowns, four shillings and four-pence three farthings; and half Britain crowns, two shillings and nine-pence each. A very strange fancy, of having gold coins of different fineness; which however we shall see was practised also by his son.

In the treaty of peace and commerce, concluded in the year 1613, between King Christian IV. of Denmark, and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, under the mediation of King James I. of Great Britain, and therefore inserted at length in the *Fœdera*, we find the following articles. See the sixteenth volume, p. 738, &c.

" I. The Swedish King yields up for ever his pretensions to the sea coast of Norway Lap-land, including therein the government of Wardhuys, near the north cape."

☞ The boundaries of Lapland, or Lapmark, as it is sometimes called, had, it seems, been before disputed between Sweden and the crown of Denmark, as sovereign of Norway; and even by this article they are left very vague and uncertain, any further than the sea coast. It is even a question, whether in our own times that savage country's exact boundaries be as yet ascertained between the three nations of Denmark, Sweden, and Russia.

" II. It shall be free for both parties to trade to each other's country, without paying any custom or duty.

" III. The Swedes shall freely pass the Sound with their ships without paying toll there, either for their persons or goods; excepting in the case of foreign liquors, for which the Swedes must pay the same toll as Danish subjects themselves do.

" IV. The Swedish King stipulates to pay King Christian of Denmark one million of dollars," *decies centenis millibus thalerorum*, " in six years time, for all the forts and territories which the latter now yields to the former."

The English Russia Company having, in this year 1613, obtained of King James the First a charter excluding all others, natives as well as foreigners, from sailing to Spitzbergen; they prosecuted

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1613 prosecuted the whale fishery with such resolution, that in this same year they equipped seven armed ships; with which they drove from those seas not only fifteen sail of Dutch, French, and Biscayners, but even four English separate fishers, to whom they gave the Dutch appellation of interlopers. They also set up a cross, with the King's arms on it, at Spitzbergen, calling it King James's Newland. And they obliged certain French ships, which they had permitted to fish there, to pay them a tribute of eight whales. This was that company's second equipment expressly for whale fishing in that sea.

Every one will, at once, see the absurdity of King James's pretensions to a monopoly of the fishery for whales in that extensive ocean, as well as the calling a land his Newland, where no human creature ever did nor ever can subsist, for the space of one winter, although twice fatally attempted.

In this same year, Captain Saris, in the English East India Company's service, arrived the first of any of our nation at the port of Firando, in the isle of Bungo or Ximio, a part of the empire of Japan, where the vice-roy or governor received him civilly, and obtained for him the privilege of being introduced to the Emperor at Meaco, his capital city, to whom he delivered our King's letter and presents, and who made suitable returns, and gave liberty for the English Company to trade to Japan. At Firando, Saris settled an English factory for the Company's future commerce. Yet he made great complaints against the Portuguese Jesuits there, and also against the Dutch, who did him all the ill offices in their power. Our company continued for some years to trade thither; but were afterwards excluded all resort thither, with all other Europeans, the Dutch only excepted. Saris returned home to Plymouth the following year, with a lading of pepper from Bantam, being the first voyage on the joint stock account; no voyages being from henceforth permitted on separate stocks.

Complaints being made in England of the decrease of the exportation of English woollen cloth, and of the increase of the woollen manufactures of Holland, so far that the Dutch had laid a considerable duty on all foreign woollen cloth imported into Holland, where also great immunities and privileges were granted to all foreign manufacturers settling there; a motion was made, in the Privy Council, by the Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer, and a consequent order of that board was made, that a general state should be taken, for this year 1613, of the exports and imports of all England, in order to know on which side the balance lay: which stood thus, as given us in an ingenious treatise, intitled, *The Circle of Commerce*, published in the year 1623, p. 121, by Edward Misselden, Esq; an eminent merchant, viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
I. Exported to all the world, between Christmas 1612 and Christmas 1613, to the value of	—	—	—
II. The custom on those goods,	—	—	—
III. The impost paid outwards on woollen goods, tin, lead, and pewter,	—	—	—
IV. The merchants gains, freight, and other petty charges,	—	—	—
	2,090,640	11	8
	86,794	16	2
	10,000	0	0
	300,000	0	0
Total exports,	2,487,435	7	10
Imported, during that time, in silks, Venice gold and silver stuffs, Spanish wines, linen, and other merchandize, with all the custom thereon,	2,141,151	10	0
Balance gained this year to the nation,	346,283	17	10
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1613 Now although this balance seems larger than that exhibited under the year 1354, the twentieth of King Edward III. yet the silver money-of that balance, being thrice the weight or quantity of ours, amounted to no less than seven hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred and forty-four pounds one shilling of our money: and it is further to be observed, that the total of the imports then was not one seventh part of the exports.

* We have likewise, from the very same credible author, the total amount of the customs of England for this year 1613, viz.

At the port of London :—Outwards,	—	—	—	61,322	16	7
Inwards,	—	—	—	48,250	1	9

Total custom of the port of London	109,572	18	4
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At all the out-ports :—Outwards,	25,471	19	7	}	—	—	38,502	9	4
Inwards,	13,030	9	9						

Total amount of the customs of England in 1613,	148,075	7	8
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Thus we see, that London paid then very near thrice as much for customs, as all the rest of England together.

The Dutch East India Company now divided thirty-seven per cent. on their original capital stock. So that, says the French author of a treatise on the East India Trade, published in the year 1664, he who in 1602 put in four thousand guilders into this company, had in this year received ten thousand four hundred guilders, in dividends, and yet had his original share in the company remaining entire.

1614 In the *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 774, we have King James's commission, in the year 1614, to Sir Henry Wootton, his ambassador extraordinary to the States of the United Provinces and others, to treat with the commissaries of their High Mightinesses, concerning the differences arisen between the subjects of the two nations, "on account," says the King, "of the free commerce of our subjects to the East Indies obstructed by the Hollanders, and also on account of the fishery in the North Sea, near the shores of Greenland, of right solely belonging to us and our people, but interrupted also by the said Hollanders."

George Spilbergen now sailed from Holland, with five ships, through the Streights of Magellan, and did great mischief to the Spaniards in the South Sea, &c. and from thence he sailed round the terraqueous globe, settling by the way a factory at Ternate, the chief of the Molucca Isles, and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1617. This is the second voyage round the globe performed by the Hollanders.

This year 1614 produced the discovery of a new species of woollen manufacture in England, on the following occasion, viz. The States General of the United Netherlands having issued a placart, prohibiting the importation of any English woollen cloth, that was dyed in the cloth, because it prevented their farther manufacturing of our cloths, by dying and dressing them as formerly, upon pain of confiscation of the goods, and of twenty-five guilders per cloth beside. Whereupon the English clothiers ingeniously discovered the art of making of mixtures dyed in the wool, rather than lose all the advantages of dying and dressing. This has ever since got the appellation of Medley Cloth. All woollen cloth before this time being only of one single colour dyed in the cloth, as black, blue, red, &c.

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The Russia Company now sent thirteen ships to Greenland, and the Dutch eighteen ships, four of which were ships of war of the States, where, in spite of our Company's exclusive claim, they fished there, by main force.

About this time the fine island of Barbadoes in the West Indies, was said to be first discovered and settled on by some English people. Others say, it was discovered before by one of Sir William Courten's ships, but had then no inhabitants, nor any beasts but hogs, left there by the Spaniards as usual, for their own future convenience; and Courten's heirs affirm, that he then planted and fortified it, but was dispossessed, in the year 1629, by the Earl of Carlisle. It is the mother of all our West India sugar islands, and the chief of the Caribbees; and it has proved of exceeding great consequence to the kingdom by its excellent productions. On its great improvement we shall hereafter have occasion to enlarge.—See the years 1626, 1627, 1629, 1641, 1659, &c.

In the same year 1614, the Lord Napier, of Scotland, invented those excellent artificial numbers, called Logarithms, which are so useful in the operations of trigonometry, &c. by performing in the easiest manner, by addition, the office of multiplication, and by subtraction, that of division; so that they are of great and special utility to mariners at sea, in calculations relating to their course, distance, latitude, longitude, &c.

The famous market for live cattle, horses, and hay, in London, named West Smithfield, was become so miry and nasty, that it was now found necessary to pave it, for the first time.

The English East India Company's second voyage, on the joint-stock account, was with four ships, performed this same year, with which they defeated a Portuguese fleet in India, by whom they were attacked: at Surat they loaded indigo and Cambaya cloths: and at Bantam, mace and silk. Great complaints were made against the Dutch by our people, both at Bantam and Macassar, the particulars whereof are in all our voyagers accounts.

England's East India commerce becoming very considerable, King James I. at the East India Company's request and expence, appointed Sir Thomas Rowe his and the Company's Ambassador to the Great Mogul, whom the English record, in vol. xvi. p. 775, of the *Fœdera*, calls the Great Magoar, “for treating with him about an intercourse of the commerce of England to and from East India.” This record takes notice, “That the East India Company had resolved to use the further service of Sir Thomas Rowe, in some of their ships, for further discovery into the Red Sea, &c.” This was the first royal embassy from England to that remote country, and will probably be the last, the Company ever since managing their concerns at the eastern courts by their own proper and more private agents. This able minister, however, sent the Company very good intelligence and instructions concerning the mercenary and treacherous temper of the Mogul and his Ministers, and for the advancement of their trade; all which are to be found at large in the printed collections of voyages. He remained in India several years, in which time the following European goods were the most acceptable in India, viz. knives of all sorts and fashions; toys, of the figures of beasts; rich velvets and fattins; good fowling-pieces; polished coral and amber beads: saddles with rich furniture; swords with fine hilts, inlaid, &c. hats; choice pictures; wines of Alicante, &c. cloth of gold and silver; flowered silks of gold and silver; French shaggs, and fine English Norwich stuffs; fine light armour; emeralds, &c. finely set in enamelled work; fine Arras hangings; large looking-glasses; quivers of arrows and fine bows; figures of brass or stone; fine cabinets; embroidered purses; needle-work; French tweezer cases; table books; per-

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1614 fumed gloves, belts, girdles, bone-lace; dogs of various natures; plumes of feather; comb cases richly embroidered; prints of kings, &c. cases of strong waters; drinking and perspective glasses; fine basons and ewers: in general, any thing curious for workmanship, not then known in India; all which things will sell for ready money, at good prices, says Sir Thomas Rowe, and others.

• It seems the Portuguese, by their tyranny and cruelty, had by this time, rendered themselves extremely odious to all the East Indian nations; who were well pleased to see the English and Dutch daily gaining ground of them: yet we also still find complaints against the Hollanders in India, by our people.

The English Company, by this time, had factories at the following places, viz. Bantam, Jacatra, since called Batavia, Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Asmere, Brampore, Calcut, from whence the cloth named Calico took its name, Masulipatan, Patan, Siam, Benjar, Soccadania, Macassar, Achcen, Janbi, Tecoo, Banda, and at Firando in Japan.—From many of which places our Company have since withdrawn their factories, as being the most proper judges of the fitness thereof: and from some others of them the Dutch have long since wormed us out. The four ships of this voyage traded at Bantam and Sumatra, for pepper, &c. and returned in 1617.

Sir Thomas Rowe freely advised our East India Company to send no more special ambassadors to India, as they cannot live in due honour there; for that a meaner agent will, amongst those proud Moors, better effect their business.

Captain Peyton, the writer of this voyage, tells us, that the Portuguese were, at this time, sovereign lords of many parts in Africa and India, whereas our Company was only settled on sufferance at some of them.

PLACES POSSESSED BY THE PORTUGUESE, viz.

“ *On the North-East Coast of Africa,*

“ 1. They had a trade on the river Quame, in twenty-one degrees, fifty minutes, south latitude, for gold, ambergris, ivory, and slaves; and at Mozambique, for the like.

“ 2. At Mombaza, for the same, in exchange for Guzarat commodities.

“ 3. At Magadoxa, for the same, and for several sorts of drugs. And that from all those places they drove a trade to Cambaya, to the Red Sea, and to many other parts.

“ *In the Gulph of Persia,*

“ 1. At Ormus. They make a profitable trade thence to Persia, Arabia, and India. Hither they bring quantities of pearls from Balfora, and with them and other Persian commodities, they send a ship or two annually to Diu in India; and next to Goa: this is their best port.

“ *In Arabia,*

“ At Mascat they have a strong fort, though no great trade: but being domineering masters here, they keep all in servile awe, giving out their passes or licenses for the going up and down of their ships.

“ *In Indostan, &c.*

“ 1. At Diul, near the mouth of the Indus, and at Diu, in Guzarat, they have very strong castles.

“ 2. At Daman they have also a strong castle, and entirely inhabit this place, with a territory of one hundred villages.

“ 3. Serra

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3. Serra de Bazion, a little south of Daman, they are possessed of; and, (between it and Chaul) the three ports of Gazien, Banda, and Maia.

“ They likewise possess the large city and castle of Chaul.

“ At Daubul, they have a factory, but no fort.

“ Goa is their Indian metropolis, the seat of their Vice-roy, and of all the gallantry of the nation, and the general rendezvous of all their forces. Goa has also a large share of trade; and, in short, here are the strong sinews that hold together the parts of their Eastern Empire.

“ At Onor and Barcelor, they have forts, and trade for pepper, ginger, and drugs. They have also Mangalor and Cananor, fortified and traded to as the former.

“ And though they are quite shut out from Calcut, and are besieged at Cranganor, yet they have the strong city and castle of Cochin, with a considerable trade, and a favourable situation for it.

“ They have Coulan, Quilaon, and Taccatra, well fortified, and mostly filled with Portuguese, both laity and clergy.

“ On the great isle of Ceylon, the ports and forts of Punta de Galla and Columbo are wholly theirs; and they are daily increasing their dominion in this island, where they have a warm trade for cinnamon and drugs.

“ Turning the corner of Cape Comorin, and going up the other side of the continent, at Negapatan, they have a factory; and Malapore, (or St. Thomas) a walled city, is their own.

“ Up toward the Ganges, they have several small residences, good factories in some places, and every where some advantage or other, that makes it worth their while to settle there.

“ In the kingdom of Bengal they are possessed of a good town.

“ In Pegu they have a factory, and also at Aracan, and upon the river of Martaban.

“ At Junfuloa, they have a great factory, from whence they load vast quantities of tin for the Malabar coast.

“ At Malacca, they are masters of the city and castle, both very strong: whereby they are masters of the best part of the trade of the adjoining countries.

“ At Macao, an island on the coast of China, near the mouth of the river of Canton, they have a city and castle, and a great trade with the Chinese.

“ In Japan, they have no fort nor castle, but only a factory; that wise Prince” says our author, “ keeping them at arm’s length.

This abridged account of that nation’s dominions and trade in India, compared with what little they have left there in our time, will shew their shameful sloth and negligence in afterward suffering the Hollanders and the Indian Princes gradually to deprive them of almost all the before-named possessions, and, which naturally followed, of all their commerce. So that they have now little more remaining to demonstrate their former grandeur in India, but the almost universality of the Portuguese language along those coasts to this day. An interesting lesson or memento for all other nations!

1615

We have elsewhere observed, that, from the very commencement of England’s commerce to East India, there was a spirit raised at home against it:—see the year 1601. And in this year 1615, a small tract was published, intitled, the Trade’s Increase, wherein we meet with the following plausible objections to it, viz.

“ That to follow the East India trade, they had neglected that to Russia, in which, last year, there were only two ships employed, instead of seventeen great ships formerly employ-

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1615 “ ed by the Company, beside those of interlopers. Whereas the Dutch, in this year, sent
 “ out thirty-five ships thither.” To which it was replied, by Sir Dudley Diggs, “ That the
 “ East India Company had spent one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in discoveries
 “ only towards Russia,—and do yet make good a stock for defending their fishing of the
 “ whale at Greenland, which at their own charge was first discovered, and the Biscayners
 “ sent for by them, to teach our nation to kill the whales.”

¶ This is an irrefragable proof, that the Biscayners were the first whale-fishers in Europe since the revival of commerce.

The English Turkey Company's complaints against the East India Company seem to be better, or at least more speciously grounded; viz. that the trade of the latter had lessened theirs to the Levant, to which part they now sent thirty ships fewer than formerly, whereas the Dutch now employed above one hundred sail to the Levant; though he owns, they were principally laden with English lead, tin, Norwich stuffs, &c. “ He complains of the loss of several East India ships, and of the death of many of their sailors; whereby,” says he, “ when the royal fleet was to be fitted out for conveying the Lady Elizabeth to her spouse the Elector Palatine, there was forced to be a general press.”

The above-quoted author, in speaking of obsolete restraints on the fishing on the coasts of other nations, observes,

“ I. That the ancient custom of the Hollanders and Flemings, before they began their
 “ fishing for herrings on our (*i. e.* the English) coasts, was, to crave leave of the Governor
 “ of Scarborough Castle.

“ II. On that part of the coast of Norway called Malstrand, all strangers may fish only till
 “ Christmas; after which they must pay a certain tax, on every last of herrings, to the King
 “ of Denmark.

“ III. And I can remember that certain of our merchants of Hull had their ships and goods
 “ taken away, and themselves imprisoned, for fishing about the Wardhuys,”—*i. e.* at the Danish North Cape of Norway-Lapland.

This author was probably retained by King James, for countenancing such ill-judged restraints on the freedom of commerce of the world, long since universally exploded.

To all which Sir Dudley Diggs replied, in a masterly manner, in this same year, in a treatise, entitled, *The Defence of Trade*, inscribed to his kinsman Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Company. Wherein, after accounting for the loss of ships and men, “ he gives a list of all the ships they had employed from the beginning, being only twenty-four in number, four of which had been lost.—That one of their ships was of one thousand two hundred and ninety three tons burden; one of one thousand one hundred; one of one thousand and sixty; one of nine hundred; one of eight hundred, and the rest from six hundred down to one hundred and fifty tons.—Their ship of eight hundred tons was bought of the Levant Company; and he conceives the ground for having such large ships in the Levant trade to be, because our royal navy was not sufficient as yet to protect our trading ships from the Barbary rovers.” And the like also may be alleged for the East India ships.—He says, “ That our East India Company's greatest stock,” *i. e.* value of goods and money exported, “ in any one year, was but thirty-six thousand pounds, and that the nation saves annually seventy thousand pounds in the prices of pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, merely for home consumption.—That of the said spices they exported, last year, to the value of two hundred and eighteen thousand pounds, beside indigo, callico, China silks,
 “ benja-

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1615 “benjamin, aloes, &c.” (but no mention as yet of either porcelaine or of tea). “A considerable addition this to the national stock. To which should be added the King’s custom, and also the employment given to ships and mariners in the said re-exportations. •

“That, beside cinnamon, the Company computed that we annually consumed, at home, the following quantities of spices, viz.

	<i>Pounds Weight.</i>
Pepper, formerly 8s. now but 2s. per lb. wt.	450,000
Cloves	50,000
Mace,	15,000
Nutmegs,	100,000.

Total, 615,000 *Pounds Weight.*

And that the cloves, mace, and nutmegs, are proportionably reduced in price, since our direct trade to India.

Next, he gives the outlets and cargoes of the Company’s trade for the year 1614, viz.

“In bays, kerfies, and broad cloths, dyed and dressed, to the kingdom’s best advantage,	-	-	-	-	-	-	£.	14,000
“2. Lead, iron, and foreign merchandize,	-	-	-	-	-	-		10,000
“3. Ready money in all the ships, (and which was less than is allowed by their charters)	-	-	-	-	-	-		12,000
							Total	£. 36,000
“4. The same year, their shipping and furniture cost them, in fitting out,								34,000
“5. And for victuals, and other extraordinary charges,	-	-	-	-	-	-		30,000
							Total, in the year 1614,	£. 100,000

23 The before-quoted anonymous, but acute author, whom Sir Dudley Diggs now answered, gives us a list of our ships employed in other branches of trade.

“1. We trade to Naples, Genoa, Leghorn, Marseilles, Malaga, &c. with only twenty ships, chiefly with herrings; and thirty sail more, laden with pipe staves, from Ireland.”—The timber of Ireland is long since exhausted.

“2. —To Portugal and Andalusia, we send twenty ships for wines, sugar, fruit, and West India drugs.

“3. —To Bourdeaux, we send sixty ships and barks, for wines.

“4. —To Hamburgh and Middelburgh, thirty-five ships are sent by our Merchant-Adventurers Company.

“5. To Dantzic, Koningsberg, &c. we send yearly about thirty ships, viz. six from London, six from Ipswich, and the rest from Hull, Lynn, and Newcastle; but the Dutch many more.

“6. —To Norway, we send not above five ships, and the Dutch above forty; and great ships too.

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“7. —Our

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“ 7. —Our Newcastle coal trade employs four hundred sail of ships, viz. two hundred for supplying of London, and two hundred more for the rest of England.

“ And beside our own ships” says this author, “ hither, even to the mine’s mouth, come all our neighbouring nations with their ships continually, employing their own shipping and mariners. I doubt not, continues he, “ whether if they had such a treasure, they would not employ their own shipping solely therein. The French sail thither in whole fleets of fifty sail together; serving all their ports of Picardy, Normandy, Bretagne, &c. even as far as Rochelle and Bourdeaux. And the ships of Bremen, Embden, Holland, and Zealand, supply those of Flanders, &c. whose shipping is not great, with our coals.

“ 8. —Our Iceland fishery employs one hundred and twenty ships and barks of our own.

“ 9. —And the Newfoundland fishery, one hundred and fifty small ships.” (Yet Gerard Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, printed in the year 1622, p. 247, says, that this very year there were two hundred and fifty ships from England at the Newfoundland fishery, the tonnage of which amounted to fifteen thousand tons:—and that the French, Biscayners, and Portuguese, can make two voyages yearly with four hundred ships.

“ 10. —And our Greenland whale fishery, fourteen ships.

“ 11. As for the Bermudas,” says he, “ we know not yet what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not what to do with it. The present profit of those two colonies not employing any store of shipping.—The great expence that the nobility and gentry have been at in planting Virginia is no way recompensed by the poor returns from thence.”

How much is the case altered since this author wrote? And how great a fund of authentic Mercantile History have such old tracts supplied us with, which otherwise might have been lost; many of which have been collected with great labour and expence, and therefore ought to be made a beginning to a Public Mercantile Library, as mentioned in the preface to this work, in order to preserve such valuable memoirs from destruction.

“ 12. —Lastly, This author urges our pushing on the fishery, by motives drawn from the immense profit of the Dutch from their fishery, in which have been numbered in sight, two thousand sail of busses, employing thirty-seven thousand fishermen, going out to sea at once.”

Judicious readers need not to be told, that such memoirs as these, concerning the state of trade and shipping, in different periods, drawn from facts, written by such able authors as lived at the respective times, tend most effectually to illustrate the immense increase of, and surprizing alterations in our commerce, colonies, &c. and the like also in those of other nations.

In this same year, one Doctor William Vaughan, a servant, as he styles himself, of King James, attempted a settlement on Newfoundland, at the expence of his own fortune; (as he writes in a small quarto book, published in the year 1626, entitled, *The Golden Fleece*) he carried thither a number of his countrymen of and from Wales, and gave his said plantation the name of Cambriol, being in the south part of that island: his scheme was, for the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland to go hand in hand with his plantation. He tells us also, that the Lord Falkland, and Sir George Calvert, afterwards created Lord Baltimore, had made a settlement on the north end of that island at a great expence, in the years 1621 and 1622. Yet, as we have elsewhere observed, no solid plantation has any person ever been able to settle on that cold and barren island to this day. In the same year, Sir Henry Maynard, with five stout ships was sent thither for protecting the fishery, which was so considerable, that there were

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1615 one hundred and seventy English ships there together. If the acute author of the said Trade's Increase, published in this year is to be believed, our trade to Spain and Portugal was very low at this time, scarcely employing five hundred seamen; owing, he thinks, to our long wars with that crown in Queen Elizabeth's days.

The Russia Company now sent out two ships and two pinnaces to Spitzbergen; still, by our voyagers, called Greenland, and the Dutch sent thither eleven, and also three ships of war to protect them. At the same time, the court of Denmark sent three ships of war thither, being the first Danish ships seen there; yet they also pretended to demand toll of the English ships, but were refused it, still alleging that Greenland, *i. e.* Spitzbergen, belonged solely to England. This humour of an exclusive claim to that remote, dangerous, and vastly extended sea, where there was no land territory that was habitable, and which therefore could not easily be supported, held on through all King James's reign, and was at least as unreasonable as even the Portuguese exclusive claims southward; in such instances, vainly copied by our own and other nations, at the same time that we condemn both Spain and Portugal for doing the same; so blind are most men whilst their own immediate interest is in question.

By the dexterity of Pensionary Barnevelt, the Dutch Ambassador-extraordinary in England, and of Caroon, their Ambassador in ordinary, the cautionary towns of Flushing, Briel, and Rammekins, were, in this year 1616, evacuated by King James's order—the sum due by the States General to England had been adjusted, by Queen Elizabeth, to be eight millions of guilders. But King James, like his voracious ministers, being ever in want of money, and not caring to trust to a Parliament for his unreasonable demands, was prevailed on to accept of two millions seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand guilders, in lieu of the said eight millions; and also remitted eighteen years interest on the same. This was a most politic step in the Dutch, since, whilst England held those fastnesses, the States were very much at the mercy of our nation,—see *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 783-4. And, instead of this shameful composition by our then government, a million of sterling money was less than was justly due, and would have been a cheap purchase to the Dutch, had our King and his Ministers insisted on it.

1616 The last record for our purpose in the sixteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, is, “a commission from King James I. (p. 789) to Sir Walter Raleigh, and such as he shall join with him, to undertake a voyage unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere in America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to discover some commodities in those countries that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms. We being credibly informed, that there are diverse merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh in his enterprize, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth. And we being also informed, that diverse other the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and diverse captains and other commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to venture their lives with him in this journey, We have granted full power to him, and free liberty, to carry and lead out of this realm, or elsewhere, all such of our loving subjects as shall willingly accompany him, together with ships, arms, ammunition, wares, merchandize, &c. And he to be the sole Governor and Commander of the said people, with power of martial law, &c. And also power to appoint under him such captains, officers, &c. as he shall judge proper: and to bring home gold and silver, precious stones, and other merchandize, and to dispose thereof at his and his partners pleasure; paying to us one fifth part of the gold, silver, and precious stones, and also the usual

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1616 "duties for the other merchandize. And we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, "that these our letters patent shall be firm and sufficient in-law, &c."

So much has been said and written by others, on the barbarity of this King towards that great man, Sir Walter Raleigh, that we need make no remarks at present on this grant to him.

* In the same year 1616, William Baffin sailed on the discovery of a north-west passage to China, &c. even so far northward as the seventy-eighth degree of north latitude; and gave name to a bay in those seas. Yet he returned home without being able to find any passage. This new undertaking was at the charge of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Wolstenholme, &c. Directors of the Russia Company, &c. In his letter to the last named gentleman, he says, "That having, in three years time, coasted all, or near all, the circumference of Davis's freights, he found it to be no other than a great bay, and no hopes of "a passage.—But that some advantage may be made of this voyage, since there are here very "great plenty of those whales called, by the Biscayners, the grand bay whales; the same may "be pursued, and good store of oil may be made between the middle of July and the last day "of August." There is not, however, one word of whale-bone or whale-fins.—Thus there wanted not men of quality, gentlemen, and merchants, even in those earlier times, to encourage every probable scheme for the advancement of the nation's commerce.

Nor were the Hollanders at all behind us in new enterprizes: for, in this same year, William Cornelitz Schouten, and James Le Maire, performed the third Dutch circumnavigation of the globe. Such as were not of their East India Company, being prohibited to go to India either by the Cape of Good Hope eastward, or westward through the Streights of Magellan, some now began to think there might be another passage thither westward, somewhere south of those Streights. This was first started by Le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, joined by William Cornelitz Schouten, a merchant of Hoorn. They fitted out two ships, one of which was lost by fire at Port Desire, under the command of the latter, in the year 1615; and, passing on south of the Magellanic Streights, he found a new and safer freight, which he named after his partner Le Maire, through which he passed into the South Sea, having sailed almost into the sixtieth degree of south latitude before he got round the Cape, which he named after his town of Hoorn, on the isle named Terra del Fuego, lying in fifty-seven degrees forty-eight minutes: thence crossing the great southern ocean, they came to Jacatra, since named Batavia, where, notwithstanding this new and great discovery, their ship and goods were seized by the President of the Dutch East India Company, in the year 1616. So he and his men took their passage home in one of that Company's ships, having performed their whole circumnavigation in two years and eighteen days.

This new discovered south-west passage to India was afterwards shortened, in 1623, by a way through the freight of Nassau, to the north-west of Le Maire's freight: and it was yet further shortened, by discovering a new freight, named Brower's Strait, in the year 1643; both of these freights being found by Hollanders. Yet, since the powers of Europe have made treaties about the East India commerce, that south-west passage is not made use of, unless for illicit commerce with the Spanish territories in the South Sea, or in case any of the other powers should be at war with Spain.

In this same year 1616, the Dutch East India Company are said to have made a dividend to their proprietors of no less than sixty-two and one-half per cent. which (excepting that of seventy-five per cent. in 1607) was the highest ever made by that company. Sometimes those

large

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1616 large dividends were made but once in two years, and sometimes in three years; but of later years they make annual dividends, and sometimes twice in one year.

Very early in this seventeenth century, according to Morgan's History of Algiers, vol. ii. p. 628, the Algerines, and, by their example, those of Tunis and Tripoli, began to show themselves at sea with square sailed ships, contrary to ancient usage; in consequence of which the use of galleys and galliots was laid aside by them.—Those corsairs soon grew so powerful, that, in the year 1616, we find a letter of Sir Francis Cottington, the English Minister in Spain, to the Duke of Buckingham, advising, that their whole fleet consisted of forty sail of tall ships, their Admiral being of five hundred tons burden; with which they struck terror all along the Spanish coasts, dividing their force into two squadrons, with one of which they blocked up the port of Malaga, and with the other they cruised between Lisbon and Seville. Considering the mean state of the naval strength of the Christian powers of Europe in those times, this was truly a formidable fleet: but those rovers are scarcely able in our days to send out such a fleet; and, on the other hand, the Christian powers are since become much more formidable in shipping.

In this same year 1616, the English East India Company sent out five ships, viz. one of one thousand tons, one of nine hundred, one of eight hundred, one of four hundred, and one of one hundred and fifty tons burthen; and this was called their fifth voyage on the joint-stock; yet we have not met with any account of their fourth voyage. In this fifth voyage, they took a Portuguese ship, laden with elephants teeth, which they landed at Surat, together with their own loadings of coral, cloth, tin, wines, strong waters, &c. Thence they went to Jacatra; but the Dutch, having a fort there already, used our factory, settled there by a grant from the King of Bantam, so rudely, says our voyagers, that our people were obliged to attack their fleet; and ours being joined by Sir Thomas Dale, with six more ships from England, and other ships of the company's at Bantam, it consisted of thirteen sail of good ships, with which we beat the Dutch fleet near Jacatra, as we also did in another engagement on the coast of Sumatra. Yet, in the end, five of our ships were taken by the Dutch, we having before taken one of theirs. In the mean time, a ship of ours from England, brought an account of agreement at home between the two companies, which put an end to these hostilities. Afterwards our ships at Firando in Japan, joined with the Dutch, who now shewed our people all friendship, in applications to the Emperor, who granted all their requests. On their return to Bantam, in the year 1621, they found a French ship trading there; and ours returned that year home, laden with pepper, silk, cloves, and benjamin. In this same voyage, one of our ships sailed to Mocha, in the Red Sea, and settled a factory there, for the first time, by permission of the Turkish Aga.

In the same year, eight ships sailed from London and Plymouth, for the country since named New England, and carried from thence great quantities of fish and oil for Spain and Portugal; as they did also in the year 1618: yet that country was not as yet settled.

The accounts our voyage writers give in those times are often vague and confused. They pretend, that the princes and chiefs of the Banda isles did, in a solemn writing, resign those isles, so famous for nutmegs and cloves, in full propriety to the King of Great Britain for ever; declaring, that they never acknowledged the Dutch as their sovereigns; and that, in token of their subjection, they would annually send a branch of nutmegs to our King. Whereupon our people erected forts, and warned the Dutch to come thither no more. Yet the latter found means to surprise both our ships at Pooloway; and at Bantam, instead of a friendly accommodation

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1616 accommodation of those differences, the factories of the two companies fell to fighting: and the Dutch insisted on the isle of Poleroon as the condition of restoring our two ships; and, moreover, in 1618, they took two more of our ships.

1617 In the second year of the reign of King James I. in the year 1604, that Prince had, by a new charter, confirmed all the former charters of the company of Merchant-adventurers; and, in the fifteenth of his reign, 1617, he again confirmed all their former powers and privileges, for their trading to the Netherlands and to Germany, with the woollen manufactures of England, exclusive of all who were not free of that company. Both which charters, nevertheless, still reserved to the Mayor, Constables, and Fellowship of the Merchants of the Staple of England, full liberty to trade into the said limits. "Yet according to Malynes, their professed enemy, the Merchant-adventurers Company increased their arbitrary proceedings more and more, and enlarged the sums to be paid for the freedom thereof, &c. So that the Merchants of the Staple gradually lost their privileges, and all others were compelled to conform to the rules and measures of the Merchant-adventurers Company, whose members were at this time about four thousand persons:" that is, in fact, almost all who traded in the woollen manufacture to Germany and the Netherlands.

We have at length got into the seventeenth volume of the *Fœdera*, in the first and second pages of which, we find King James's creation of the great Sir Francis Bacon, who was at that time Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, to be Lord High Chancellor of England, with the very same appointments as he had before as Lord Keeper, and as other Lord Chancellors had enjoyed, viz. "Five hundred and forty-two pounds-fifteen shillings for salary, and two hundred pounds," or fifty pounds each term, "for his attendance in the star-chamber; also three hundred pounds over and above the said allowance, with sixty pounds per annum, for twelve tons of wine."

And p. 5, of the same volume, King James, in that year, grants "to William Segar, Garter King-at-arms, in consideration of the smallness of the fees of his office, an annual pension of ten pounds: and to William Camden, Clarencieux King-at-arms, twenty pounds yearly, for the like reason; and the same to Richard St. George, Norroy King-at-arms.—Also an annual pension of thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence to each of the heralds."

King James, being on his progress to Scotland, issued out the following extraordinary proclamation, which, in our days, as elsewhere observed, would be thought not a little arbitrary, viz. "He strictly commands all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who have mansion-houses in the country, to depart within twenty days after the date thereof, with their wives and families, out of the city and suburbs of London, and to return to their several habitations in the country, there to continue and abide until the end of the summer vacation, to perform the duties and charge of their places and service; and likewise, by housekeeping, to be a comfort unto their neighbours, in order to renew and revive the laudable custom of hospitality in their respective countries. Excepting, however, such as have necessary occasion to attend in our city of London for term business, or other urgent occasions, to be signified to, and approved by our privy council."

On this occasion we shall only further remark, that King Henry IV. of France, after the peace of Vervins, issued a similar proclamation in the year 1598, (which possibly King James thought a good precedent, having likewise, on several other occasions, testified a fondness for imitating that able Prince in matters of state policy, perhaps without duly considering the difference

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1617 ference of the constitution, temper, &c. of the two kingdoms) commanding his nobility and gentry to retire to their estates, improve their lands, and keep the peace of their respective countries.

We shall just observe, under this same year, from p. 9, of the seventeenth volume of the *Fœdera*, that we now meet with the first commission to Sir John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, from King James, for treating with King Philip III. of Spain, for a marriage between Charles Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Maria of Spain, King Philip's daughter; a treaty, which, after being in agitation about eight years, was fruitless at last, and proved of no small detriment to the public.

In this same year, 1617, the Hollanders first settled and fortified the isle of Gorée, on the African coast, near Cape Verde. The English long after, viz. in the year 1663, took it from the Dutch, but restored it in 1664. In the year 1677, the French took it from the Dutch, and held it till the year 1758, when it was retaken by Great Britain; and in 1762, it was again stipulated to be yielded up to France.

It is but a small and barren isle, said to be without either wood or good water: yet its having a safe harbour and anchorage, rendered it convenient to the French, because of their factories on the coast of the neighbouring continent, (the principal whereof, viz. Fort Louis, in the river of Senegal, the English took from the French in the year 1758) at which factories the French traded for gold, slaves, hides, ostrich-feathers, bees-wax, gum Senegal, an extremely useful commodity, millet, ambergrease, &c. and was, by the preliminaries of the year 1762, agreed to be ceded to Great Britain.

In this same year, the quarrels at Spitzbergen about the whale-fishing, ran very high between the English and the Dutch, the former seizing on part of their oil: and this is the first time we find mention of fins or whale-bone being brought home with the blubber or oil, although probably before this period, it had been employed for women's stays, &c. by means of the Biscay whale-boats.

8 In the next year, King James, as King of Scotland, incorporated a number of English, Scots, and Zealanders, to be a new company to fish at Spitzbergen, and much shipping, provisions, &c. were contracted for: yet, after all their preparations, this Scottish patent was annulled; and it was agreed, that the East India adventurers should still join stock with the Russia Company, and be one joint company for the whale-fishery. Thirteen ships were thereupon sent thither: but the Zealanders proving superior there, and being exasperated at the last year's seizing of their oil, &c. and their disappointment by rescinding the above-named Scottish patent, they attacked, overpowered, rifled, and dispersed the English ships, most of them returning home empty.

The manner of managing the whale-fishing of both nations was then quite different from what it is in our days: the whales, in those early times, having never been disturbed, say our voyagers, resorted to the bays near the shore, so that their blubber was easily landed at Spitzbergen, where they erected cookeries, (that is coppers, &c. for boiling their oil) which cookeries they left standing from year to year, and only brought home the purified oil and the whale-bone. The English, having been first in that fishery, kept possession of the best bays: the Hollanders, coming later, were obliged to find bays further north; yet the Danes, who came later into this trade than the Dutch, got in between the English and Dutch: the Hamburgers came after the Danes; and after them came the French, and also the Biscayners, who, though they were older whale-fishers than any in Europe, except the Norwegians, had not, however,

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1618 however, practised this method, but by the example of the English and the rest; and who were forced to set up their cookeries still further off. But, since those times, the whales are less frequent in the bays, and are most commonly among the openings of the ice, at a greater distance from land, which obliges the ships to follow them thither: so that the blubber is now cut from the whales which are taken, in small pieces at the ships sides, and their casks filled therewith, and thus brought home to be boiled and purified, and the whale-fins also to be cleaned. This latter method, however, of fishing, being often found dangerous and hazardous to shipping, it discouraged our English adventurers, who then traded in a company, so that they soon after relinquished that fishery; and so it remained till the reign of King Charles II.

The English East India Company sending out six ships in the year 1618, for India, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale: we find, in the seventeenth volume. p. 56, of the *Fœdera*, that King James I. to give a greater weight to that voyage, granted to him a special commission to govern that fleet, as well by common as by martial-law: also to seize on the ships and merchandize of any others of his subjects who should be found navigating within the company's limits without their licence; half the value of such seizures to belong to the crown, and the other half to the company.

We have seen King James's commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year 1616, for the project of finding the rich gold mines of Guiana; and in the year following, he sailed out on that adventure, with twelve ships, two of which deserted him before he arrived at Guiana, where, however, he could never find the marks he had left there; although his son and Captain Kemys sailed a vast way up the river Oronoque in quest of them, to no purpose. But being narrowly watched by Count Gondemar, the Spanish minister at King James's court, and perhaps, as many probably think, given up to be a sacrifice to the projected match between Charles Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain; King James was induced, in 1618, to issue the following proclamation, in substance, viz. "That whereas he had licensed Raleigh and others, to undertake a voyage to Guiana, where they pretended great probabilities to make discovery of rich gold mines; in which licence we did, by express limitation and caution, restrain them from any act of hostility, wrong, or violence, upon the territories of any Princes in amity with us, and more particularly of those of our dear brother, the King of Spain: all which, notwithstanding, we are since informed by common fame, that they have, by an hostile invasion of the town of St. Thomé, being under the obedience of our said dear brother, the King of Spain, and by killing of divers of the inhabitants thereof, his subjects, and after burning and sacking the said town, maliciously broken and infringed the peace and amity which hath been so happily established, and so long inviolably continued, between us and the subjects of both our crowns: we have therefore held it fit, to make a public declaration of our own utter dislike and detestation of the said insolencies and excesses. And, for the clearing of the truth of the said common fame, we do hereby strictly charge all our subjects, that have any particular understanding and notice thereof, immediately to discover the same to some of our privy council, upon pain of our highest displeasure."—*Fœdera*, vol. xvii. p. 90.

Upon Raleigh's return, without gold, King James disavowed his having given him authority to sail to Guiana, although he had privately received of him a scheme of the whole design, with a particular description of the country and river of Oronoque, &c. He could not, however, be put to death on account of this enterprise, because he had King James's commission

518 sion for it; but as he had been found guilty in the year 1600, of a supposed conspiracy with Lord Grey, &c. for dethroning King James, in favour of that King's mother Lady Arabella Stuart, and kept twelve years in the Tower of London, where he wrote his celebrated first part of the History of the World, to please the court of Spain, he was, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, executed on that old sentence, in the year 1610, to the no small disreputation of King James, and the infinite regret of all good men.

In the same seventeenth volume, p. 102, of the *Fœdera*, King James grants an exclusive patent to John Gilbert, "for the sole making and vending of an instrument which he called a "water-plough; for the taking up of land, grass, &c. out of the river Thames, and other "rivers and havens:" (probably the same now used by the bathmen) "and of an engine "also invented by him, for the raising of waters, in greater quantity than heretofore known, "and to be moved and driven either by some stream of water, or, for want of that, by strength of horses."

In the same year, and in the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 117, we have a proclamation of King James, for restraining of buildings, on new foundations in London, or within two miles of any of the gates of that city: also for restraining the tumultuous conflux of people thither. Wherein the same reasons are assigned as in the restraint published in the year 1602, by Queen Elizabeth; but which, in modern times, would not be esteemed of sufficient weight to require any such restraints in either case.

The King hereby also prescribes the manner of building of all houses in London for the future, in respect to the height of the stories, and thickness of the walls: the latter to be either of brick or stone; with the form of the windows and doors, &c. He also directs all sheds and other nuisances to be removed. "All which regulations that he made," says the King, "upon pain of such censure as our high court of law and equity shall inflict."

In vol. xvii. p. 119, of the *Fœdera*, King James gives a special commission to his chancellor, and several other lords and gentlemen, "for the removal of nuisances in the grounds "called Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, situated in a place much planted round about with the dwell- "lings of noblemen and gentlemen of quality; whose grounds," says he, "if they were re- "duced into fair and goodly walks, would be a matter of very great ornament to the city, and "also of pleasure and freshness for the health and recreation of the inhabitants thereof, and "for the sight and delight of ambassadors and strangers coming to our court and city. The "said commissioners are therefore directed to lay out the said Lincoln's-Inn-Fields into regu- "lar walks, &c. in such form as, by Hugo Jones, Esquire, the surveyor-general of our works, "and one of the said commissioners, shall be shown by way of map. The expense thereof to "be defrayed by collections or contributions from the most substantial inhabitants of the ad- "jacent parishes of St. Martin's, St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Mary le Savoy, St. Clement's, "St. Andrew's, St. Dunstan's, and St. Brudenell; and a list of such as will not contribute, shall "be laid before us. A treasurer to be chosen out of the contributors. The matter of the "rolls is hereby directed to collect the contributions of the two foregoing parishes, the two in- "of court, and the eight acres of Chancery."

The above-mentioned buildings near London's-Inn-Fields were originally erected under the direction of Hugo Jones, Esquire, who certainly was an honour to our nation, for his eminent skill is manifest from some of which buildings remain entire at this time, on the east side of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; and also on the south side of the adjoining street called Great Queen Street.

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1618 In p. 121, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King James's special licence to David Ramsay and Thomas Wildgoose, "for the sole use and benefit of certain discoveries and inventions.

" I. For ploughing of land without horses or oxen.

" II. For improving of barren grounds.

" III. For raising of water from any low place to the houses of noblemen and gentlemen, and to cities and towns: and,

" IV. To make boats, for the carriage of burdens and passengers, to run upon the water as swift in calms, and more fast in storms, than boats full sailed in great winds."

At this time the fishery of the United Netherlands was got to a very great height, for which we have the undoubted authority of the Grand Pensionary De Witt, in his book entitled, *The Interest of Holland*. Sir Walter Raleigh had taken much pains to gain all possible knowledge of it for King James's information; and De Witt seems to give credit to Raleigh's account of its magnitude, as appears by the following paragraph, viz.

" And indeed, if that be true, which Sir Walter Raleigh affirms, who made diligent enquiry thereinto, for King James's information, viz. That the Hollanders fished on the coasts of Great Britain with no fewer than three thousand ships, and fifty thousand men, and that they employed and sent to sea, to transport and sell the fish so taken, and to make returns thereof, near nine thousand ships more, and one hundred and fifty thousand men beside, by sea and land: and, if we hereunto add what he saith further, viz. That every twenty busses do, one way or other, maintain eight thousand people, and that the Hollanders had, in all, no fewer than twenty thousand ships at sea, as also, that their fishing, navigation, and traffic by sea, with its dependencies, since that time to the year 1667, increased one third more; I say, if that be so, we may then easily conclude, that the sea is a special means of Holland's subsistence."

In another place De Witt asserts, "That in the province of Holland, the fishery alone maintains four hundred and fifty thousand people."

With respect to the whale-fishery of the Hollanders, De Witt quotes Lieven Van Aitzma, who says, "That the whale-fishery to the northward employs above twelve thousand men at sea;" which shews, that the Dutch had probably near three hundred sail of ships employed in the whale-fishery about one hundred years ago, at a time when England had none at all employed therein.

The colony of Virginia went on increasing, and had by this time planted considerable quantities of tobacco there, which now began to be well taken off at home. The old way of sailing to that colony by the Caribbee isles, was still, in this year 1618, generally practised. Sir Samuel Argall, then governor, finding this colony in a thriving way, began to have his eye on the French, who, about the year 1616, had crossed the river of St. Lawrence, and had a settlement in the country then named Acadia, a part of that province called Nova Scotia, and also somewhat further southward, on part of what is now called New England. But he drove the French from Port Royal, since named Annapolis Royal, and also from another small settlement of theirs, and took a ship riding before it: some of whom went home to France, and others of them sailed up the river of St. Lawrence, and settled in Canada.

We are here to observe, that the English, from the very beginning of their settling on the continent of America, had ever deemed Nova Scotia to be a part of North Virginia, just in the same sense as Georgia, more lately, and before it took that name, was undoubtedly deemed a

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1618 part of South Carolina, though not then settled. For at this time, all the country north of Cape Henry, before it was planted and divided into separate governments, was known by the sole name of Virginia, which being the mother English colony on that continent, and its patent extending to the northernmost parts of America, all the country which was then cultivated in Virginia, had the appellation of North Virginia.

On the same cruise, and for the same reason, Sir Samuel Argall dislodged some Dutchmen, who, under pretence of a purchase from Captain Hudson, from whom that river took its name, had seated themselves on Hudson's river, in what is now called the province of New York, and which the Dutch had then named New Netherlands: yet they again soon re-settled and multiplied there.

Whether the Indians of Virginia had received bad impressions of our first English planters, some of whom, through rashness, might have used violence towards them, is not, at this distance of time, and through partial representations, so easily to be determined: but it is certain, that the Indians destroyed many English people in those times; and that they, in retaliation, made great havock of the Indians, who at first were very numerous along that coast, so as to have either destroyed them all, or else driven such as remained of them up into the inland countries. Certainly, whenever it can be done with safety, it is of vast benefit to any such plantation to live well with the native savages, who may be many ways subservient to their interest, more especially by carrying on a very considerable traffic with them for peltry, (that is, furs and skins) in exchange for that sort of woollen cloth called duffle, guns, gunpowder, lead-shot, hatchets, knives, scissars, needles, and thread, red oker, for painting their bodies, &c. Also by engaging their friendship, in opposition to those of the colonies of other European nations at variance with them. We ought, however, on this occasion, to do the managers of the Virginia Company the justice to observe, that, even so early as this same year 1618, they had formed a design to erect a college for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, although it afterwards proved abortive.

The Dutch in Europe went on very successfully in their captures at sea of both Spanish and Portuguese shipping: but of all their expeditions, says Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, vol. vi. chap. 11. that of Admiral Peter Hen was the most profitable to them; he having, in this same year, 1618, mastered and taken the entire fleet of galleons homeward-bound; by which stroke of good fortune, he carried home no less than twenty millions of livres.

In this year, the Hollanders began to fortify the port of Jacatra, since called Batavia, in order to exclude the English from resorting to it. The Javans opposing it, were assisted by the English from Bantam with cannon and ships, with which they drove away the Dutch ships of war; yet, in the end, the Dutch stood their ground, and kept possession of Batavia, and also of their factory at Bantam, after many struggles with the English Company's ships, and much slaughter between them, and also with those of Bantam. After which, this new city of Batavia increased very much in people and commerce, its haven being capable of containing one thousand sail of ships: it was attacked, but without success, by the King of Java, then called Emperor of Materan, by sea and land, in the year 1630; and again, by the Bantamese, in 1655. Hither they import vast quantities of European merchandize for the Javans, and also for the Chinese, who come there in their large vessels. It is indeed a magazine for all the productions of India, Japan, and the Spice islands; it is the centre of all the Dutch commerce; and its governor-general lives in the state of a sovereign prince, his forces being reckoned about

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1618 twenty thousand, or upwards: and in Java, the Moluccas, Ceylon, and Malacca, some have reckoned half a million of people subject to the Dutch Company, who, in India, are strong enough to expel all the other European nations; and they send more European merchandize to India than perhaps all the rest of Europe do together. The Dutch governors of Batavia have, from time to time, added many new fortifications and outworks to that city, which is about six miles in circumference, and contains about eighty thousand people. They have likewise built many forts and redoubts, at proper distances, for several miles round about, for the safety of their plantations, farms, and pleasure-houses; so as to be deemed long since out of danger from any successful attack from the natives, according to Nieuhoff's Voyages, published in the year 1676, who then reckoned six thousand seven hundred and twenty fighting men in it, beside the Dutch inhabitants, and the families of great numbers of Chinese, Malaysians, Amboynese, Moors, and Javanese. They have sugar-houses, powder-mills, paper-mills, and all other conveniences, without being obliged to depend on the uncertainty of supplies from Europe: and their coffee is reckoned next to that of Mocha for goodness. They have also pepper, rice, wax, benzoin; also magazines of iron, timber, and naval stores; founderies for cannon, docks for ship-building, &c.

The English Russia Company were now disputing with the Hull men their whale-fishing at the isle of Trinity, lying in the north sea, towards Spitzbergen; the company claiming an exclusive right to that fishery; yet the Hull ships having first discovered that isle, and very early fished at and near it, it was granted to the corporation of Hull by King James, in the same year, 1618, for their whale-fishing, according to Camden's Annals.

Although the English, as we have seen, had, so early as the year 1536, resorted for commerce to Guinea, or the western coast of Africa, yet, by reason of certain losses and disappointments they had met with in that traffic, they became negligent thereof, and even seem to have discontinued it entirely, until this year 1618; when King James I. granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and other Londoners, for raising a joint stock for a trade to Guinea. Nevertheless, as separate traders would not forbear resorting to that coast, such disputes arose between this country and them, as soon ended in the dissolution of the company, whose proprietors withdrew their shares.

The foregoing circumstance occasioned that trade to lie neglected during the rest of this King's reign, and also some of that of his son, whilst the Hollanders persisted in improving their own trade on this coast. That short-lived company had soon spent the greatest part of their capital; the gold and drug trade alone not being sufficient to support factories and forts there; there having as yet been scarcely any trade for negro slaves for our own American plantations existing.

1619 The English Russia and East India Companies, having, as we have already observed, united in the carrying on the whale-fishing to Spitzbergen, now sent out thither nine ships and two pinnaces; but this proving an unfortunate voyage, those two companies, who had now carried on this fishery jointly for two years unsuccessfully, agreed to adventure no more.

The English silver coins being much melted down and exported at this time, for remedy, in the seventeenth volume, p. 133, of the *Fœdera*, we find the following proclamation by King James I. viz.

I. "Prohibiting the exchange of silver coins into gold ones, for any manner of profit, or above the rates for which the same coins are current in the realm."

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In this proclamation he mentions a former one, which we have not met with, of the tenth year of his reign, "for the better staying of treasure within this realm, and for the procuring and inviting the same to be brought into the kingdom, and to his mint." In which proclamation he set the prices of foreign gold and silver in their several species. "Whereas," says this last proclamation, "the drawing of monies into the goldsmiths hands, by turning silver into gold upon profit of exchange, doth make it (the silver) the more ready to be ingrossed into the merchants hands, for transportation to mints abroad, and that such profit to be taken upon change of monies is prohibited by law; the King strictly commands, that no goldsmith nor any other person shall melt down, or make into any kind of vessel or plate, or other manufacture, any of his coins current in these realms, but shall only make the same out of old plate, foreign bullion, or foreign coin, or of silver burnt out of lace, and the like.

II. "And, the better to prevent the unnecessary and excessive vent of gold and silver foliate, i. e. leaf, within this realm, none such shall henceforth be wrought or used in any building, cieling, wainscot, bedsteads, chairs, stools, cloaths, or any other ornament whatsoever; except it be armour or weapons, or in arms or ensigns of honour at funerals, or monuments of the dead."

This has been often remarked to be peculiarly a reign of proclamations.

In p. 134, &c. of the seventeenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have in this same year two against eating flesh in Lent, or on other fast days. "None to presume to disobey this order without a licence from the Bishop of the diocese; which licences," says the King, "should be sparingly granted."—His reasons are, "The benefit of this abstinence, for the increase of flesh meat all the rest of the year, and that the contrary practice is against law."

And *ibid.* p. 140, we have, the same year, a proclamation, "for the builders of new houses in London, to make their walls of brick, as in a former proclamation."

King James I. has generally been censured for the great number of his grants, donatives, and pensions to his favourites, in consequence of which he rendered himself almost always necessitous. One of the most considerable for that age was his grant of a pension of two thousand five hundred pounds per annum, for thirty-one years to come, to James Marquis of Hamilton and Earl of Cambridge.—See the *Fœdera*, vol. xvii. p. 168.

Ibid. *Fœdera*, vol. xvii. p. 170, we see King James's ratification of a treaty of pacification between the two rival East India Companies of England and Holland, after very many great and sharp controversies between them, both in relation to the East India and Greenland trades, composed by his Majesty's interposition: who thereupon (says Camden's *Annals*) knighted the Dutch deputies or commissioners. It is in substance:

"After sundry fruitless conferences at London and at the Hague, in the years 1613 and 1615, for accommodating those differences, the King and the States, desiring to cement more and more the bands of friendship between the two nations, were earnest to resume the said affair in a third congress, to be held by commissioners from the King and the States in the presence of certain deputies from each company: and, after long debates, they have at length come to the following conclusions; viz.

I. "There shall be, from the date hereof, an amnesty and oblivion of all offences and excesses committed in the East Indies by either party; and, in consequence thereof, the prisoners, ships, and merchandize, of both parties shall be freely delivered up and restored."

II. "All

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II. " All the officers and servants of both companies shall afford all possible aid and friendship to each other, as between friends and neighbours so nearly allied; and if any of either party shall happen to be in distress at sea, the people of the other party shall afford them all possible succour.

III. " Commerce in the East Indies shall be absolutely free for both companies; who may trade with and employ, on their respective separate accounts, such fund and capital as they shall judge proper.

IV. " For the common benefit of commerce in India, both companies shall endeavour to bring about the reduction of the duties there, as well as of gifts and presents.

V. " The like endeavours shall be used by both companies in India to reduce the prices of merchandize there. And as to the sale of India commodities in the countries of both the contracting parties, a certain price shall be mutually agreed on, below which, neither company shall sell the same.

VI. " For the preventing of all jealousies between the two companies, the commissioners of both companies shall fix a certain moderate price for the purchase of pepper at Banitam, and other places in Java Major; which shall be equally divided between the two companies.

VII. " The English East India Company shall freely enjoy the traffic at Palicate; and bear half the expence of the fort and garrison there.

VIII. " In the Molucca Isles, Banda, and Amboyna, commerce shall be so regulated by common consent, that the English company shall enjoy the third part of it, both for import and export, and the Dutch company the other two-thirds thereof.

IX. " And for this purpose the commissioners of both companies shall buy the merchandize at the current prices there, and shall divide them by lot, in due proportion, between both companies.

X. " And as so remote a commerce, and of such importance, cannot be protected without a strong power, twenty ships of war shall be furnished for that end; each company ten ships, and each ship from six hundred to eight hundred tons burden, manned with one hundred and fifty persons, and furnished with thirty pieces of cannon each, besides other needful ammunition; which cannon shall carry bullets of ten to eighteen pounds weight. This is the first instance found in the *Fœdera* of specifying the number and size of the cannon, and the weight of their bullets, jointly with the tonnage, which, in modern times, is termed the rate of a ship of war.

XI. " Also the council of defence shall consider of the number of galleys, frigates, and other lesser necessary vessels.

XII. " The forts and garrisons in the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, shall be maintained by the impositions on the products of the said isles, to be settled by the said common council of defence.

XIII. " For the better establishing and preserving of order, there shall be erected a Council of Defence, of each company four persons, being the principal officers of each company: who shall preside in their turns.

XIV. " Which Council of Defence shall direct all matters relating to the common defence at sea; and shall station the ships of war as they shall judge necessary.

XV. " The said Council of Defence shall settle the impositions needful for the maintenance of the forts and garrisons.

XVI. " The

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XVI. " The ships of war shall remain in the places where stationed, and shall not be employed in bringing goods to Europe.

XVII. " Yet, if the Council of Defence shall permit it, the said ships of war may be employed sometimes from one place to another in India, for the conveying of merchandize belonging to their respective companies.

XVIII. " The Council of Defence may also, in emergencies, employ the merchant ships for defence.

XIX. XX. " The loss and expence, as well as the profit by captures, &c. shall be equally borne and divided, between both companies.

XXI. XXII. " But ships of war, which may be lost by tempest, &c. shall be made good by the company they belong to.

XXIII. " The forts shall remain in the possession of that company in whose hands they now are.

XXIV. XXV. " As for the forts in the Moluccas, or elsewhere in India, acquired by the joint forces of both companies, they shall be equally possessed and garrisoned by both companies; as the Council of Defence shall direct.

XXVI. " The two companies shall jointly endeavour to open a free trade to China, or elsewhere; as the Council of Defence shall direct.

XXVII. " Neither company shall henceforth pretend to exclude the other from any part of the Indies; whether it shall be by fortifications, or by contracts hereafter to be made. But all the commerce shall be free and common to both companies in every part of the Indies.

XXVIII. " None other, not free of either company, shall enjoy the benefit of this commerce. And if any subject of the King, or of the States, shall hereafter invade the privileges of either company, in that case both companies shall jointly and separately endeavour to oppose all invaders of this trade, and all other companies that may hereafter be set up during the term of this treaty, which shall be for twenty years.

XXIX. " Persons dying in any factory in India, where their administrators are not present, the officers of either company shall take due care of the effects of the defunct, for the administrators benefit.

Finally, " The King ratifies this treaty; and promises, not to erect any other India Company during the said term of twenty years above-named."

Never, surely, was there a more formal and plausible pacification, and even in a great measure an union, between two commercial bodies than this famous treaty. And yet it seems to have been no sooner ratified than determined to be infringed in the most plain and essential parts of it.

Our historians are unanimous in throwing the blame on the Dutch Company, more especially in the barbarous affair at Amboyna, &c. And, on the contrary, the Dutch endeavour to clear themselves, and to throw the blame on our Company's managers in India. But as, at this distance of time, it is of little importance to search minutely into the bottom of those altercations; it is much more to our purpose here to make the following remark:

That could the said two companies have been so wise, as to have lived in perfect harmony together, they might, probably, have now remained sole masters of the entire commerce of Arabia, Persia, India, and China; so as to have had it effectually in their power to have expelled not only the Portuguese, but every other European nation, from trading to those countries;

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1619 tries; (how justly that could have been done, we do not pretend to say) as plainly appears by the whole tenor of the before-mentioned articles; the breach whereof was said to have been made by the officers of both companies in India, not only before their principals in Europe could be apprized of it, but it was much longer before they perfectly knew the real grounds of their mutual retaliations in India; unless we should suppose, as some have alleged, that this whole treaty was never intended to be kept by the Dutch Company any further than should suit their present interest: all which allegations are to be read with proper caution.

To these articles we shall add what we find in the second edition of the second volume of the General Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, p. 189, printed in the year 1732; viz.

To the fifth article both companies subjoined an agreement, "that each company should have two residents in each others country, reciprocally, to be present at the deliberations of each company, and for giving and receiving advice and information about the affairs relating to the maintenance of this treaty."

And upon the twenty-eighth article, "the companies of both nations agreed to obtain of their respective sovereigns, that none of their subjects should hereafter sail to India in the service of any other nation." *Ibid.* p. 202.

In p. 178, of the said seventeenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King James's appointment of Sir John Eyre, to be his minister at the court of the Grand Signior Sultan Osmin Han, at Constantinople, "for the settling of friendship and commerce between England and Turkey: and the King gives this Minister power to appoint consuls in the proper places there."

In a record, *ibid.* p. 181, King James confirms "a grant, formerly made, to Charles his only son, Prince of Wales, of twenty thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven pounds five shillings and seven-pence yearly, for his honourable support; over and above the lands, possessions, liberties, and other revenues, granted him by several letters patents."

"About this time," according to the ingenious author of the Present State of England, published in the year 1683, part. iii. p. 93, "tapestry work was first brought into England, by Sir Francis Crane; for the encouragement whereof King James gave two thousand pounds for the building of a house at Mortlake, on the Thames; where one Francis Clein was the first designer."

The author of the Happy future State of England, published in folio, in the year 1689, p. 78, gives us the whole coinage of both gold and silver, in the Mint at the Tower of London, between the years 1599 and 1619; viz. four millions seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand three hundred and fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence.

The voyagers tell us, that in this year the English from Japan, attempted to settle a trade with China and Cochin China, though unsuccessfully. At the last-named country both the English and Dutch factors were massacred; because, as was given out, the Dutch had, a little before, burned one of their towns. Letters also from the English factory at Firando, in Japan, gave accounts of a great persecution of Christians in that country: and they also complained of the cruel treatment by the Dutch to the English there, whom they would have totally destroyed, but for the interposition of the Japanese.

We have already seen, that the French had found the way to the East Indies so early as in the year 1601, under the direction of a company of merchants of the town of St. Malo's. In Thevenot's Collection of Voyages we find they had now sent out three ships thither: and at Acheen, in the isle of Sumatra, their Admiral Beaulieu delivered to the King of that place the

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1619 the French King's letters and presents. Beaulieu complained of obstructions from the English, but more especially from the Dutch, that obstruction being quite consistent with the before recited treaty; and, upon the whole, seems to have made but an indifferent voyage.

In this same year the voyage writers tell us, that the Dutch possessed the principal ports of trade in the great isle of Borneo: its chief productions being, the best camphire in the world, frankincense, cassia, musk, agaric, aloes, various gums, wax, mastic, cotton, cinnamon, pepper, honey, diamonds, gold dust, Bezoar stones, loadstones, iron, tin, Brasil wood, &c.

Captain Moncke, by order of the court of Denmark, now wintered in the country usually called Old Greenland, near Hudson's Bay: but, out of sixty-four men, only himself and two more survived to the next summer: and they, with the utmost difficulty, brought home their ship to Denmark. Yet in that country of Greenland, properly so called, he found fresh raspberries under the snow, many trees, salmon in the rivers, deer, hares, wild fowl, &c. and very good tale, of which he brought home many tons: but the natives all the while would not come near him. This was an essay of the court of Denmark to try to re-people or re-colonize that country of Greenland, which had anciently been planted from Norway; but that plantation had been unaccountably lost, as we have seen, under the year 1348. Since this time, and in our own days, the Danes are said to have re-colonized some small part of that coast, though to very little purpose.

We shall conclude the transactions of this year with just observing, that the Levantine Turks, as well as the Barbary ones, were at this time strong in shipping: for the former now seized on Manfredonia in the kingdom of Naples; and the Algerines mastered the isle of Ivica, belonging to Spain: but neither of these were they able to maintain for any considerable time.

1620 At this period, the voyages by sea to the East Indies had so greatly lowered the prices of Indian merchandize, that the trade between India and Turkey, by the old way, viz. both by the Persian Gulph and up the river Tigris, and also by the Red Sea, was become much decayed; so that the Grand Seignior's customs were very much lessened.

The ingenious Mr. Munn published, in the year 1621, a treatise in favour of the East India trade; wherein he gives us the quantity of Indian merchandize consumed annually in Christendom, with their prime cost, and all charges till on board, both the old way from Aleppo, and the new way by long sea; by which relation, he thinks, will be seen the great benefit of our own East India commerce, viz.

			£.	s.	d.
6,000,000 lb. pepper,	at Aleppo	2s. od. per lb.	600,000	0	0
450,000 lb. cloves,	at Aleppo	4s. 9d. per lb.	106,875	0	0
150,000 lb. mace,	at Aleppo	4s. 9d. per lb.	35,625	0	0
400,000 lb. nutmegs,	at Aleppo	2s. 4d. per lb.	46,666	13	4
350,000 lb. indigo,	at Aleppo	4s. 4d. per lb.	75,833	6	8
1,000,000 lb. raw silk,	at Aleppo	12s. od. per lb.	600,000	0	0

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6,000,000 lb. pepper,	at India	os. 2½d. per lb.	62,500	0	0
450,000 lb. cloves,	at India	os. 9d. per lb.	16,875	0	0
150,000 lb. mace,	at India	os. 8d. per lb.	5,000	0	0
400,000 lb. nutmegs,	at India	os. 4d. per lb.	6,666	13	4
350,000 lb. indigo,	at India	1s. 2d. per lb.	20,416	13	4
1,000,000 lb. raw silk,	at India	8s. od. per lb.	400,000	0	0

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" Thus," continues Mr. Munn, " for a little above a third part of the price of the wares shipped from Turkey, we have them shipped from India; and, adding one sixth part more, for the expence of the India voyage homeward, beyond that of the Turkey one, the said wares by the Cape of Good Hope will cost us but about half the price which they will cost from Turkey: besides, that the greater part of the East India cost is paid to our own people, and centers at home; as the freight, insurance, supercargoes wages, much of the provisions, &c."

Now, on a supposition, that nearly the same proportion holds in our days, it will then follow, upon Mr. Munn's plan, that a more considerable national benefit will arise from our modern East India trade, the imports whereof are now so greatly increased; more especially in the article of Bengal and China raw silk. Moreover, it is questionable, whether, if the trade were turned into the old channel again, the Turks could take off much more of our produce and manufactures than they do at present: so that most of the balance must, in that case, be paid to Turkey in ready money by all Christendom.

An objection, however, may be started on the other side, viz. whether the balance would be so considerable as that which we, in particular, and the rest of Europe, send yearly in silver to India, more especially since the vast increase of the consumption of tea from China, then unknown to Europe. Mr. Munn says, " that, in his time, the Turks sent annually from Aleppo and Constantinople five hundred thousand pounds sterling, in money, merely for Persian raw silk; and six hundred thousand pounds more from Mocha, for calicoes, drugs, sugar, rice, &c. the Indians taking very little of the Turks in merchandize, but almost the whole in money.—That the Venetians, Florentines, and Marseillians export much bullion; but it is in order to import much more: and this, he thinks to be the case of our English East India Company; which, however, had only exported from its first establishment, in the year 1601, to July 1620, five hundred and forty-eight thousand and ninety pounds in Spanish silver; whereas they might by licence within that time have exported seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds. And, in the said nineteen years, they have exported, in woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other English and foreign wares, to the value of two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and eighty-six pounds, being on an average fifteen thousand three hundred and eighty-three pounds per annum. Upon the whole, our author thinks the trade to India ought to be considered as exporting annually in goods, &c. four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, and importing only one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, whereby there is an annual balance in our favour of three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which is either received in money, or its equivalent, from Turkey, Genoa, Leghorn, Marseilles, the Netherlands, &c. whither we send our Indian wares. He says, the French and Venetians export annually to Turkey six hundred thousand pounds in bullion, for the purchase of Persian raw silk, &c. which they afterwards in part manufacture and export, and partly re-export raw to all parts of Europe; from whence they bring home much more bullion than they before exported to Turkey; which is also a parallel case to that of our company's exporting of bullion to India. That, in the company's late quarrels with the Dutch, twelve of our ships were surprised and taken by them, which has been a great loss to the company; yet they had still twenty-one good ships in India, and four hundred thousand pounds of good estate; this trade employing ten thousand tons of shipping, two thousand five hundred mariners, five hundred ship carpenters, and about one hundred and twenty factors. That, with regard to the present complaints of the scar-

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1620 “city of money amongst us, our laying aside the East India trade, instead of a remedy, would
 “make the matter still worse, unless we could likewise suppress the commerce of all the other
 “nations of Europe to India; and especially that of the Dutch, to whom, in such case, we
 “should be obliged to pay such prices as they should please to impose, for their Indian
 “wares.”

As Mr. Munn was an eminent merchant, and seems perfectly master of his subject, we thought such a brief view of the East India trade, at that time, would be curious and acceptable.

In all the accounts hitherto published of our East India commerce, there is no mention of cinnamon; because the Portuguese being still possessed of the isle of Ceylon, where alone the best is produced, that spice was to be had only from Lisbon.

King James, in some of his speeches, and the people of England in general, duly considering the great advantages reaped by other European nations from their silk manufactures, about this time, testified much earnestness for the propagation of silk worms, and of white mulberry trees, for feeding the silk worms: which, however, has hitherto been found impracticable, by reason of the coldness of our climate. But with respect to the manufacturing of raw silk into broad silk fabricks, they began, in the latter part of King James the First's reign, to set about it in earnest. For which end, one Mr. Burlamach, a merchant, much employed in those times by that Prince, by his direction, brought from abroad silk throwsters, silk dyers, and broad weavers: which manufacture has, in process of time, proved so extremely advantageous to the nation, and is so very considerable in our days, as to be thought to employ no fewer than at least fifty thousand people, in all its branches, and some think half as many more. Mr. Munn, in his said treatise, says, That even then, many hundreds of people were continually employed in winding, twisting, and weaving of silk in London. The anonymous author of an ingenious pamphlet, in quarto, published in 1681, (said to have been Sir Josiah Child) gives it as his opinion, “that throughout Christendom, generally speaking, there are
 “more men and women employed in silk manufactures than in woollen.” In which we must beg leave to differ from him; as also in another assertion in that piece, viz. “That the
 “number of families already,” *i. e.* 1681, “employed therein in England amounted to above
 “forty thousand.” The title of the pamphlet is, “A Treatise wherein is demonstrated, that
 “the East India Trade is the most national of all Trades.” Nevertheless, there are abundance of very just reflexions in this commercial production.

In the seventeenth volume, p. 190, of the *Fœdera*, we find King James's commission to certain physicians, merchants, grocers, and apothecaries, “to direct the garbling of the drug
 “called tobacco, and to separate the good from the unwholsome parts thereof.” The King in this commission complains, that the high duty he had laid on tobacco was not well paid: wherefore it should seem, that this commission was intended for the better ascertaining that duty.

In this same year and volume, p. 215, King James issued his proclamation, importing,
 “That whereas Roger North, Esq; and others, adventurers for an intended plantation and
 “settlement of a trade and commerce in those parts of the continent of America near and
 “about the river of Amazons; which were presupposed not to be under the obedience and
 “government of any other Prince or State; hath secretly conveyed himself away, and dis-
 “loyally precipitated and embarked himself and followers on this design; contrary to our
 “royal pleasure and commandment expressly signified to him by one of our principal secreta-

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1620 "ries; our admiral of England having also refused him leave to go. We then, out of
 "weighty considerations and reasons of state, and upon the deliberate advice of our Privy-
 "council, have resolved to suspend and restrain the said plantation and voyage for a time; and
 "having thereupon streightly commanded the said North and associates, for a while, to sur-
 "cease their said design, till our further pleasure be known. We have therefore held it fit
 "hereby to make a public declaration of our mislike and disavowment of this their rash, un-
 "dutiful, and insolent attempt: and do hereby revoke and disannul all power, authority, and
 "commission, which he the said Roger North, &c. may pretend to derive from or under us.
 "And we do hereby charge him and them immediately to make their speedy return home,
 "with all their shipping, &c. and forthwith to present themselves to some of our Privy-
 "council. And we do hereby strictly require, as well the governors as all other the partners
 "and adventurers interested as members of the company and incorporation intended for that
 "plantation; as all other merchants, captains, mariners, &c. not to aid, abet, or comfort
 "him the said North, and his associates, with any shipping, men, money, ammunition, pro-
 "visions, &c. And our admirals, captains, &c. of any of our subjects ships, if they meet
 "him and them at sea, or in harbour, shall attack, seize, and summon him and them to re-
 "turn home, and shall bring them back, and commit them to the charge of some of our
 "officers, &c. till we give further order concerning them."

From this record it is plain, that there was an actual corporation already erected for the planting of a colony in Guiana; and as plain, that the court of Spain had again lulled this weak Monarch fast asleep, and quite blinded his understanding, so as not to see the true interest of himself and people; merely through the whimsical hope of the match between his son the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain!

The said King, in p. 217, *ibid.* confirms Sir Henry Saville's noble establishment of two professors of mathematics in the University of Oxford; one of which was for geometry, and the other for astronomy: the salaries of each being one hundred and sixty pounds per annum. Both which branches of mathematics are well known to be greatly beneficial to navigation and commerce.

King James I. is universally known to have had a mortal aversion to tobacco; of which we have the following evidence in a record of the seventeenth volume, p. 233, of the *Fœdera*, under this year 1620, being the preamble to a proclamation from that Prince, viz.

"Whereas we, out of the dislike we had of the use of tobacco, tending to a general and new
 "corruption both of mens bodies and manners; and yet, nevertheless, holding it, of the
 "two, more tolerable that the same should be imported, amongst many other vanities and su-
 "perfluities which come from beyond seas, than to be permitted to be planted here within
 "this realm, thereby to abuse and misemploy the foil of this fruitful kingdom: and whereas
 "we have taken into our royal consideration, as well the great waste and consumption of the
 "wealth of our kingdoms, as the endangering and impairing the health of our subjects, by
 "the immoderate liberty and abuse of tobacco, being a weed of no necessary use, and but
 "of late years brought into our dominions. We therefore strictly charge and command
 "that our proclamation, of December last, restraining the planting of tobacco be ob-
 "served."—That proclamation is not in the *Fœdera*, but the octavo history of Vir-
 "ginia has given us its substance; viz. "That the people of Virginia growing numer-
 "ous, they made so much tobacco as over-stocked the market; wherefore the King,
 "out of pity to the country, commanded that the planters should not make above
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1620 “ one hundred weight of tobacco per man : for the market was so low that he could not afford
 “ to give them above three shillings the pound for it. The King advised them rather to turn
 “ their spare time towards providing corn and stock, and towards the making of pot-ash, or
 “ other manufactures.”—This King had assumed the pre-emption of all tobacco imported,
 which he again sold out at much higher prices. This record continues, “ And that no per-
 “ son or persons, other than such as shall be authorized by our letters patent, do import into
 “ England any tobacco from beyond sea, upon pain of forfeiting the said tobacco, and such
 “ further penalties as we shall judge proper to inflict. And, to prevent frauds, all tobacco
 “ shall be marked or sealed that shall henceforth be imported.”

But how frail is all human foresight!—That Prince little imagined that this Weed, as he terms it, would, in time, produce a noble revenue to the crown from his favourite colony of Virginia.

The following record, in vol. xvii. p. 236, of the *Fœdera*, gives us some light into the then state of the diversions and amusements of the city and suburbs of London and its vicinity, and into the general customs of that time. “ It is a grant from King James I. to Clement Cottrell, Esq; Groom Porter of the King’s Household, to licence a number of places for the
 “ use of cards, dice, bowling-allies, tennis-courts, and such like diversions, viz. within London and Westminster, and the suburbs of the same, twenty-four bowling alleys ;—in Southwark, four ;—in St. Catherine’s, one ;—in the towns of Lambeth and South Lambeth, two ;—in Shoreditch, one ;—and in every other burgh, town, village, or hamlet, within two miles of the cities of London and Westminster, one bowling alley. Also within the said cities of London and Westminster, and within two miles thereof, fourteen tennis courts. And to keep play at dice and cards, forty taverns or ordinaries within the said limits. For the honest and reasonable recreation” says this Prince, “ of good and civil people, who, for their quality and ability, may lawfully use the games of bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nincholes, or any other game hereafter to be invented.”

The pirates of the Barbary shores having at this time greatly disturbed the commerce of England with Spain, Italy, and Turkey, in the said seventeenth volume, p. 245, of the *Fœdera*, we see “ King James’s commission to Sir Robert Mansell, Vice Admiral of England, to sail with certain ships of that King’s, jointly with other ships of his subjects, and attack and destroy the pirates in the Mediterranean Sea.”

In the same seventeenth volume, p. 255, in the same year 1620, we have a record, wherein we see that King James, ever necessitous, borrows two hundred thousand Imperial dollars of his brother-in-law King Christian IV. of Denmark, by his minister at that court, Sir Robert Anstruther ; for the succour of the Palatinate, &c. for which he was to pay six per cent. interest money, (“ *consuetas ac legitimas usuras unius anni, sex in singula centum computanda ;*” i. e. the usual and legal interest of six per cent. for a year ; which, however, was not true in fact) being twelve thousand dollars yearly.

The same year he commissions the said minister (p. 276) to endeavour to borrow more money, for the same account, of the said Danish King, or of Sophia the Queen Dowager, King James’s mother-in-law. It is here to be observed, that the rate of interest by law in England was at this time ten per cent. and was not reduced to eight per cent. till the year 1624, by an act of Parliament of the twenty-first of King James, cap. 17. This is the second instance of that King’s strange misrepresentation of an obvious fact, in so noble a collection of our records :

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1620 cords : the other, as already related, being in the business of portions of the Kings of England's daughters.

This same year, *ibid.* p. 256, we have King James's commission to Sir John Merrick, to be his ambassador to the Great Duke of Russia, (whom he does not so much as once personally name throughout this record) importing, " That whereas our subjects trading to Russia, " by virtue of treaties, have long enjoyed sundry privileges and immunities there, which now, " by occasion of the late troubles happening in that state, have received some interruption ;— " and the said Great Duke and Lord of Russia having by an honourable embassy to us, " moved us to a continuance of amity, and some other things concerning our welfare :—for " renewing the league and amity between him and us, and the privileges of our said subjects " in his dominions, and likewise for the re-demanding of a great sum of money, which, at " his request, we were pleased to furnish him withal, we have constituted Sir John Merrick, " &c." as above. And in the same year, (*ibid.*) he gives the same commission and powers to Sir Dudley Diggs, for the same errand to Russia. It is somewhat strange, that we find no preceding account in the *Fœdera*, of the above mentioned great sum of money furnished by a King, who himself was always borrowing and necessitous.

It was about this time that the English Company trading to the East Indies obtained leave of the King of Golconda to settle at Madras-patan, on the coast of Coromandel, where they were permitted to build the fort called St. George, which place has ever since been the Company's general factory for their trade to all parts east of Cape Comorin. The principal staple wares there are, callicoes of various kinds, and muslins (since this time discovered or invented) ; although they likewise trade in all other Indian merchandize, and to all parts. At Madras, as they commonly call that place, and the adjacent villages, the Company has been said to have one hundred thousand persons subject to them, from whom they receive considerable sums in duties and customs. Fort St. George, however, is far from being a happy situation, being placed on a barren soil, and a tempestuous shore, having no kind of harbour, nor even a convenient landing-place for boats : it has no fresh water nearer than a mile distant : yet the Company find their convenience in it in other respects, especially as to their trade in diamonds, muslins, chintz, &c. and in putting off their European wares most in request there, viz. stockings, haberdashery, gold and silver lace, looking-glasses, and drinking glasses, lead, wines, cyder, cheese, hats, stuffs, ribbons, &c.

The Danes, having first resorted to the East Indies ever since the year 1612, and soon after erected a Company for that commerce, now formed a scheme for possessing themselves of the cinnamon trade at Ceylon ; having for that end sent out five ships, escorted by two men of war : but the Portuguese there obliged them to return home unsuccessful.

And for preventing the Hollanders from settling effectually, as they imagined, on the isle of Ceylon, on which they had for some years cast a longing eye, having, in 1612, made a treaty for that end with the King of Ceylon ; the Portuguese at this time increased the number and strength of their forts along the coasts of that isle, by which means they had so much hemmed in the King of that country, (who was by the Portuguese usually stiled the King of Candy, an inland city) that without their permission he could not hold correspondence with any foreign nation : of which violence they afterwards found the bad effects themselves.

Our voyage writers give accounts of several abortive attempts, at different times, for our English people's planting in the country since called New England ; as, first, at the charge of Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, in 1606, who had obtained

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1620 of King James a grant, enabling them to plant between the degrees of thirty-eight and forty-five north latitude; and a second time in 1608.—Another in the year 1611; a fourth in 1612; a fifth in 1615, by the Virginia Company; a sixth in 1616; and also again in the years 1618 and 1619: though indeed some of them were rather trading voyages for fish, train-oil, and furs, than actual attempts for establishing settlements. They, however, made many occasional discoveries and surveys of rivers, bays, &c. preparatory to such a plantation. At first, it was called by some of the old geographers Norumbega, but most properly North Virginia. But the first permanent plantation, or which remains such to this time, was not made till this year 1620, at or near a place named Plymouth, in New England; after having gained over some of the Sachems or Chiefs of the Indians, and dispossessed others of them who made opposition thereto. And Captain John Smith having surveyed the inland country, and presented a map of it to Charles Prince of Wales, the Prince gave the country the name of New England.

In this same year 1620, four of the English East India ships, outward bound, made solemn publication in Soldania Bay, near the Cape of Good Hope, of the possession of the adjacent country for King James, and erected a mount in token of it. They sailed from thence to India, where they fought successfully with the Portuguese fleet, and took several prizes. They found themselves likewise obliged to master some of the Mogul's own ships called Junks, and some of the King of Decan's likewise, who had used our people ill; and they returned home in 1622.

Mr. Hobbs, one of our Russia Company's factors, made a journey from Moscow to Ispahan, by the way of Astracan, and cross the Caspian Sea, as the Company's agent had done in Queen Elizabeth's time. In his letter he gives an account of a great trade for raw silk at various ports on the Caspian Sea: and insinuates how easily the Company might carry on that silk trade, by transporting it to Russia. He says, that at Astracan the Persian vessels bring in their dyed silks, calicoes, and Persian stuffs; and, in return, carry home cloth, fables, martens, red leather, and old Russia money.—But that the Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and Portuguese, were severally plotting against our Persian trade. The Portuguese more especially were our Company's greatest enemies on all occasions.

The Russia and East India Companies having, as related under the year 1619, laid down their whale fishery, four members of the Russia Company now sent out seven ships to Spitzbergen on their own private account: but they proved unsuccessful.

1621 In the next year, these four adventurers sent the same number of ships thither again, with better success.

In both these voyages, and also others prior to these, mention is made of the quantity of oil brought home: but not the least mention of whalebone or fins.

They succeeded very badly in the year 1622; but in 1623, the last year of their union, they had good success; though they were not able to drive the Dutch away, who were superior in number of ships, and had a commission from the Prince of Orange.

The truce between Spain and Holland expiring this year, the latter began hostilities, by attacking and taking the town and port of St. Salvadore, in Brazil; and in their homeward voyage they took several Spanish ships.

The English at the Banda Isles were so ill supported by their friends at Bantam, that the Hollanders, collecting all their force, attacked them in the several islands, seizing on their forts, artillery, and other effects; burning such towns as made resistance and putting many of
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1621 the natives to the sword. They are said also to have imprisoned, and otherwise cruelly used our Company's people; and, in short, after acting other barbarities, they drove the English absolutely from thence, compelling the natives to make a solemn surrender of their country to them.

This is our English Company's account.

But the Dutch, in their own Vindication, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1622, allege, "That as early as 1609, the natives, by a special treaty, put themselves under the protection of the States General; who agreed, on their part, to defend them against the Portuguese and their other enemies, on their agreeing to deliver to the Dutch Company all their spices at stated prices.—But that afterwards the Bandanese broke these engagements, and committed several violences against the Dutch, until the years 1616 and 1617, when this agreement was renewed; but was soon after broken by the instigation of the English, who furnished them with provisions, ammunition, and ships, till the year 1620, when peace between the English and Dutch Companies united their councils, for reducing the Bandanese into terms of trade, for the common benefit of both Companies. For, it seems, the people of Banda had re-admitted some Portuguese to trade there.—And when the Dutch came to attack the Bandanese, on that account, they were secretly supported by the English, contrary to the said agreement between the English and Dutch; whereby the latter alone undertook the reduction of those isles for their common benefit. So that the Dutch met with much difficulty in subduing the Bandanese; which, however, was at last effected, and they were obliged to acknowledge the States General for their sovereigns, as before mentioned."

The English Company replied to this by recriminations, &c.—Certainly, at this distance of time, it is by no means likely that we should be able to clear up all the truth: neither is it indeed worth our while to attempt it.

Under this year, we cannot forbear again quoting the judicious Mr. Munn's Discourse of Trade from England to East India, p. 17—

Speaking of our Turkey Trade, he says, "That of all the nations in Europe, this nation (England) drove the most profitable trade to Turkey, by reason of the vast quantities of broad cloth, tin, &c. which we export thither, enough to purchase all the wares we wanted in Turkey: and, in particular, three hundred great bales of Persian raw silk yearly.—Whereas there's a balance, in money, paid by the other nations trading thither.—Marseilles sends yearly to Aleppo and Alexandria, at least five hundred thousand pounds sterling, and little or no wares." For France had not as yet fallen into the woollen trade. "Venice sends about four hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly, in money, and a great value in wares beside.—The Low Countries, that is, Holland, send about fifty thousand pounds, and but little wares:—and Messina, twenty-five thousand pounds in ready money.—Besides great quantities of gold and of dollars from Germany, Poland, Hungary, &c.—And all these nations take of the Turks, in return, great quantities of camblets, grograms, raw silk, cotton, wool and yarn, galls, flax, hemp, rice, hides, sheeps wool, wax, corn, &c."

What a fine account we have here of the English trade to Turkey, in those days, and how different from the present time, when France so greatly exceeds us in it, and that Holland also, has so much improved their own manufactures sent thither,—we would, however, hope that our trade thither is still profitable to us; at least, it is become now absolutely

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1621 necessary for our silk manufacture, and for its drugs, dying stuffs, &c. for our other manufactures.

A very impolitic and unjustifiable persecution of the puritans or protestant-dissenters at this time brought on the effectual settling and enlarging of the newly-begun colony of New England, much sooner and compleater than otherwise could have been effected. Mr. Robinson, a Brownist Minister, had, with his congregation, retired into Holland to avoid the wicked persecution of the High Commission Courts, and other spiritual judicatures. But, not liking their residence in Holland, they fixed their thoughts on a settlement in that new colony; which they reasonably hoped might also afterwards prove an asylum for all other persecuted Protestants. Amongst those adventurers there were several gentlemen of good families, who, upon the same motives, sold their estates in England, to enable them to settle in America; such as William Bradford, Esq: of Yorkshire; Capt. Standish, of Lancashire; Edward Winslow, Esq: of Worcestershire, &c.

Sir Robert Naunton, one of the King's Secretaries of State, being a favourer of the Puritans, was very forward in promoting their designs, by obtaining King James's consent, and patent, for their settlement there: and, accordingly, in the year 1621, they settled at a place near Cape Cod, which they named New Plymouth. Here they associated themselves into a society by a formal instrument, in which they declared themselves subjects of the crown of England; and solemnly engaged themselves to an absolute submission to such laws and rules as should be established for the good of the colony; and they elected their own Governor, for one year only.

For some years, however, they underwent considerable hardships, and lost half of their number by sickness: yet, receiving supplies of people from England, in ships coming annually thither, thereby, and by knives, scissars, needles, &c. to exchange with the Indians for corn, and for furs, fish, and skins, which they sent home to England, they were enabled, in five years time, to clear and cultivate as much land as soon produced corn enough, and to spare, of their own growth. And the mad persecution of the Puritans in England by the spiritual courts continuing, numbers of them, with their families and fortunes, from time to time, increased this colony. Thus, out of the great evil of persecution, and ill-judged restraints for conscience-sake, have sprung up much good to the British Empire in America. For by the great numbers of honest and industrious people driven into that wilderness, with their effects, they were enabled to clear and cultivate a noble province in a short space, which otherwise might possibly have remained thin, weak, and defenceless, even to this day, against both the Indians and the French of Canada. Those new comers obtained two patents of the Plymouth Council, for possessing the country of the Massachusetts Bay, of which the city of Boston is the capital, granted in the years 1627 and 1628, to Sir John Rolfe, Sir John Young, and several other gentlemen of character. In the year following, six ships went thither, carrying three hundred and fifty passengers, and one hundred and fifteen head of black cattle, besides goats, rabbits, &c.—And these last were sent by those called the London Adventurers; who, in the year following, viz. in 1630, sent ten ships for the Massachusetts colony, with two hundred passengers, many of whom were persons of considerable fashion; who, to avoid persecution at home, chose to settle in that savage wilderness: and yet, to their everlasting reproach, they were scarcely warm in that asylum, before they ran madly into the crime with which they had before justly upbraided the prelatical party, i. e. by setting on foot a cruel persecution of their Protestant brethren and fellow-planters, for mere speculative and mostly

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1621 unintelligible points : whereby, and by their nonsensical and barbarous treatment of poor old women, under the denomination of Witches, they greatly obstructed the growth of a colony so well begun, by cruelly putting some to death, and by driving out others, of the best and soberest of their people. But, to the honour of the present generation be it recorded, that they are of a much more moderate and charitable disposition, and are universally ashamed of that violent spirit of their forefathers. The colony is at this day the noblest of all the North American continent provinces, as we have shewn in our Introduction : and, by their late Agent, Mr. Dummer's account, in his Defence of the New England Charters, they take off from Great Britain to the value of three hundred thousand pounds annually, in British product and manufactures ; and by this time, very probably, our exports thither may be very considerably increased ; and will more especially greatly increase by our possession of the vast country of Canada, and in consequence thereof, by our said colony's freedom from the alarm and encroachments of the French behind them.

The Virginia Company went on in sending supplies of people and necessaries thither from time to time, and now they sent no fewer than one thousand three hundred persons thither : laws began to be regularly enacted, and the country laid out into plantations : churches were built : and the face of a well-regulated colony began to appear. Yet, in this same year, whilst in profound peace, the Indian natives had contrived a general massacre, and put it partly in execution, by murdering near four hundred of the English ; which barbarity was sufficiently revenged next year : after which the colony recovered itself, and King James sent thither stores of artillery and ammunition from the Tower of London.

King James I. having broke off the Spanish match, after treating so long about it ; he was obliged to call a Parliament to supply his necessities. To this Parliament there were presented several petitions against the monopolies and projects which that King's necessities had prompted him to encourage. As principally concerning inns and victualling houses, which none could keep without licences from certain patentees.—For the sole making of gold and silver lace ; a grievance the more intolerable, as the patentees (Sir Giles Mompesson, &c.) made it, says Wilson, of copper and other sophisticated materials.—Licence also to pedlars and petty chapmen.—For the sole dressing of arms.—For the sole making of playing cards,—and tobacco pipes.—The sole exportation of lists and shreds, &c.

At the expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, the latter, this year, erected a West India Company ; who, by patent, were impowered to form colonies, erect forts, and make alliances, both on the continents and islands of America. Their first capital stock was seven million two hundred thousand guilders. This Company began with two most towering projects, both which miscarried in the end, viz.

First, To drive the Portuguese out of Brasil. And,

Secondly, To attack Peru.

Spain, not being able of itself to crush the Algerines, who, at this time, were formidable in shipping, and greatly infested the Spanish coast, after four different expeditions against that city, Count Gondemar, Ambassador from Spain to King James, found means to cajole him into an undertaking for that purpose, having before gained the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, and next the Duke of Buckingham, his successor. They flattered the King with the glory of such a conquest, and the benefits which the taking of that piratical place would bring to the commerce of England. Sir Robert Mansell was therefore sent out with four ships of forty cannon each, one of thirty-four, one of thirty-six, one of twenty, and one of eighteen ; all

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1624 brass cannon, (says Sir William Monson, in his Naval Tracts) the biggest being of six hundred tons, and the smallest of one hundred and sixty tons; manned with one thousand five hundred men; besides twelve armed merchant ships, carrying in all two hundred and forty-three cannon, and one thousand one hundred and seventy men, viz. three of three hundred tons each, two of two hundred and eighty tons, two of two hundred and sixty, two of two hundred, one of one hundred and eighty, one of one hundred and thirty, and one of one hundred tons; from twelve to twenty-six guns, and from fifty to one hundred and twenty men, per ship.

A slender armament for so great an undertaking; which was also badly executed. It seems they feasted and banqueted in harbour instead of scouring the seas; in consequence of which, says Monson, they lost the opportunity of destroying the pirates. They, however, attempted to burn the Algerine ships in the Mole there; but it proved impracticable. And Mr. Burchet, in his Naval History, observes, that, in return for the civility of our said visit, our Admiral's back was scarcely turned but those corsairs picked up near forty good ships of ours, and infested the Spanish coasts with greater fury than ever: wherefore, adds Sir William Monson, "if those Christian countries which lie opposite to Algiers, (viz. France and Spain) could never prevail in the sundry attempts against it, although their greater vicinity, and their having the conveniency to embark and transport an army without suspicion or rumour, and of being succoured by the isles of Majorca and Minorca;—what hope have we to prevail, who cannot so secretly furnish an army and fleet but all the world must ring of it?—And the warning given will be sufficient for a garrisoned town of less force and fewer men than Algiers to prevent a surprize." To say the truth, we are now wiser by experience, and are not unacquainted with the substantial benefits we receive in our commerce, from those corsairs keeping peace with us, whilst they make war on other nations: and our possession of Gibraltar, with our ships of war stationed there, will probably be ever sufficient to keep those of Algiers, Sallee, Tunis, and Tripoli, in constant awe of us.

In this same year, a sumptuary law passed in the Parliament of Scotland, "Whereby no persons were to wear cloth of gold or silver, nor gold and silver lace on their cloaths, nor velvets, sattins, or other silks stuffs, except noblemen, their wives and children, lords of Parliament, prelates, privy-counsellors, lords of manors, judges, magistrates of towns, and such as have six thousand marks, *i. e.* somewhat more than three hundred and thirty pounds sterling, of yearly rent in money, or else fourscore chalder of victual yearly: heralds, trumpeters, and minstrels, however, excepted."—And by this same law it was further enacted, "That even those hereby permitted to wear silk apparel should have no embroidering nor lace on their cloaths, except a plain lace of silk on the seams and skirts, with belts and handbands embroidered with silk; and the said silk apparel to be no way cut out upon other stuffs of silk, except upon a single taffaty.—Damask table linen, cambricks, lawns, and tiffanies, were limited to only the above-qualified persons; as were also pearls and precious stones.—Also the number of mourning suits in great families was hereby limited: moreover, the then present fashion of cloaths was not to be altered.—Servants to have no silk on their cloaths, excepting buttons and garters: and to wear only cloth, fustians, and canvas, of Scotch manufacture.—Husbandmen and labourers of the ground to wear none but grey, blue, white and felt black cloth, of Scotch manufacture.—Neither wet nor dry confections were to be used at weddings, christenings, or feasts, excepting they be made of Scotch fruits.—Also no cloaths shall be gilded with gold." This is, probably, the last sumptuary law that ever will be made in Great Britain: such restraints not so well suiting a free, and more especially

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1621 especially, a commercial country, wherein certain private follies and extravagancies often prove very great national advantages.

In this same year 1621, Sir William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Sterling, then Secretary of State for Scotland, obtained a grant from King James, as King of Scotland, of the country which he (King James) named Nova Scotia: and, in the year following, he and his copartners therein sent a number of people from Scotland, with an intent to settle there; and that country was to be held of the crown of Scotland. It seems, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who then had the direction of the New England colonies, had advised Sir William Alexander to this project. Its bounds were to be from north latitude forty-two to forty-six: but this Scotch embarkation went no further that year than Newfoundland, where it wintered, and the next year, 1623, they did no more than survey the coasts of Nova Scotia, and returned home, without having planted there at all.

Hamburg's monopolizing claims to an exclusive jurisdiction on the river Elbe, induced King Christian IV. of Denmark, in this year 1621, to place some ships of war in that river: yet the Emperor having granted a charter to that city, confirming their said claim, the court of Denmark erected a toll-house at Gluckstadt; where, by way of reprisal, they made all Ham-
burgh ships pay the toll. This brought on open hostilities between them, by which that city was a great sufferer; and was, in the end, obliged to submit to the said King Christian IV. an active and wise prince, and to pay him for obtaining peace, one million one hundred and twenty thousand livres, besides dropping their monopolizing jurisdiction.

In the seventeenth volume, p. 305, of the *Fœdera*, we have a treaty of hereditary league and union, as it is termed, concluded between King James I. of Great Britain, and his brother-in-law King Christian IV. of Denmark. The substance of the commercial and nautical part is as follows:

Article IV. "In case either Prince be invaded, the other shall supply him with eight ships of war; four of which to be one hundred and fifty or two hundred tons burden, and shall have one hundred and fifty or two hundred men, with twenty cannon in each ship. The other four to be of one hundred to one hundred and twenty tons (*lassarum nauticarum*), with each one hundred to one hundred and twenty men, and sixteen pieces of cannon.

XIII. "The subjects of both contracting parties may freely resort with their merchandize to each other's dominions, paying the usual duties.

XIV. "Yet British subjects shall not resort to such parts of the Danish dominions as are prohibited to be frequented by former treaties," (by which Iceland, Westmorny, and Wardhuys for fishing are here meant) "without the special licence of his Danish Majesty.

XV. "For ships wrecked in either country, liberty is granted to recover what they can thereof; and they may demand the assistance of the other party, paying for it."

And, *ibid.* p. 315, Sir Robert Anstruther, King James's ambassador to the said King of Denmark, obtained a further loan of the latter, for the King his master, of one hundred thousand Imperial dollars, for two years, at six per cent. interest.

In the same seventeenth volume, p. 349, King James issues a new proclamation against the eating of flesh in Lent, or on other fish days. The reasons now assigned for this injunction follow, viz. "For the maintenance of our navy and shipping, a principal strength of this island, and for the sparing and increase of flesh victuals.—The magistrates of London to examine, upon oath, the servants of all innholders, victuallers, cooks, alehouse-keepers, taverners, &c. who sell victuals, concerning what flesh has been sold by them in Lent, &c.

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1621 “and shall oblige the masters of those houses to give security not to sell flesh-meat in Lent, &c.”—And he strictly commands, “that none, of what quality soever, shall eat flesh in Lent, or on fish days, without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, or other persons empowered to license: and the like rules shall be observed by magistrates in other cities, and in the country.” Whether there was in those times a real scarcity of flesh-meat, or that it was only the humour of this King and his council, is not, perhaps, so easy to be absolutely determined; though, from other parts of his conduct, the latter should seem most probable, together with his laudable zeal for promoting the fishery.

1622 In the seventeenth volume, also, p. 372, we have, in the following year, King James's commission, “For annually collecting the names, qualities, and professions of all strangers-born, (denizens, or not denizens) now residing in England. And as there be several laws in force for preventing aliens and strangers-born from the use of handicrafts, and the making of manufactures, in England, and from the liberty of selling by retail, and of buying and selling of native commodities, the said laws are to be put in execution.—And our will is, that such strangers as use the feat or trade of merchandize, and do not sell by retail, nor employ themselves in buying and selling the native commodities of this kingdom, may, notwithstanding this our commission, continue to enjoy such liberties and freedoms as formerly they have enjoyed by the permission of us and our predecessors. Only we will, that every such merchant shall pay to our use such annual acknowledgement, by way of quarterage, as by a schedule, under our hand, we shall direct, or as our commissioners shall set down, under their hands; that so it may appear, that they enjoy this freedom, not by right, but of our mere grace and favour. Also, that no stranger-born, or born in England of parent-strangers, who has not served an apprenticeship of at least seven years, shall hereafter sell any wares by retail, but only in gross; nor shall sell even in gross at fairs or markets, or out of the city and town where he dwells. And that such strangers at present settled with their families in England, and who use any manual trade, or the making of new draperies,” (this was in favour of the Walloons, who had introduced these new draperies in the preceding reign) “and who desire to continue here, may quietly so do, provided they put themselves under our royal protection: and that whereas by the laws of our realm, they ought not to work at all, or use such trades, but as servants to the English, they shall now enroll themselves as servants to ourselves, our heirs, and successors; whereby they may, by law, be freed from the danger and penalty of our laws. Yet, for the encouragement of all strangers to bring new and profitable trades and manufactures into use here, every such stranger instructing any of our natural-born subjects therein, may use such trade for the space of ten years: but they shall not at any one time keep above two foreign journeymen, nor retain any apprentice but by indenture for seven years. Yet our will is, that such of the French nation, who, by reason of the late troubles in that kingdom, have taken refuge here, shall be shewn such favour, beyond the proportion of other strangers, as our commissioners shall think fit; if within a convenient time after those troubles shall be overblown, they shall return into their own country again.”

Any one may observe, that the chief end of the bulk of this commission, which we have shortened as much as possible, was to draw money from the foreigners residing in England; and that other parts of it are both arbitrary and impolitic in a trading and manufacturing nation.

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In the seventeenth volume, p. 376, of the *Fœdera*, we have King James's proclamation against the exportation of any gold or silver, either in coin or plate, jewels, goldsmiths work, bullion, or other mass. And, "for avoiding of all unnecessary consumptions of silver and gold within this realm, much practised of late by some goldsmiths and refiners, and by the manufacturers of gold and silver thread, no finer of gold and silver, nor parter thereof by fire or water, shall alloy any fine silver or gold, nor sell the same to any but to the mint and to goldsmiths. And all gold and silver thread is hereby prohibited to be made in this realm, of what kind soever: nor shall any person either buy or sell any such gold and silver thread made in this realm.

How badly was this learned King advised, in distressing our own manufacturers of gold and silver thread, and encouraging foreign ones!—Had he absolutely prohibited the importation and use of that manufacture in England, there would have been much more consistency in his conduct. Probably his aim was to increase his revenue, by the custom on imported gold and silver thread, though to the ruin of so many of his own people: besides, that goldsmiths work and jewels are as much merchandize as any other commodity whatever, and therefore ought not to have been restrained; and so indeed are gold and silver in coin or bullion, in the judgment of most men in our days, though our laws prohibit the exportation of our own coin.

In p. 407, of the same volume, we see King James's commission to Sir William Heydon, and Charles Glemham, Esq. to the following effect, viz. "That he has been moved by sundry letters and messages from the Great Mogul, to gratify him with some choice arts and rarities which our dominions afford:—Wherefore, he commissions them to sail thither with two ships, to advance the trade of his subjects, as their own occasions shall permit, or as they shall be desired by the Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, their factors, or ministers. To govern the said ships, and the men therein; and to carry out, and bring back, such merchandize as shall be judged proper, and be licensed. Also to trade with the Great Mogul, or any other prince or potentate, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Le Maire, &c." The said two gentlemen are therein stiled servants of his son, the Prince of Wales, and specially recommended by him, as properly qualified for this purpose.

In p. 40, of the seventeenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King James's special commission to many lords and gentlemen, concerning the decay of trade in England, viz. "The general complaints of our subjects at home, as also by information from our ministers employed in parts beyond-sea, that the cloth of this kingdom hath of late years wanted that estimation and vent in foreign parts which it formerly had; and that the wools of the kingdom are fallen much from their wonted values; and trade in general so far out of frame, that the merchants and clothiers are greatly discouraged; so that great numbers of people employed by, and depending on them, want work; the landlords fail in their rents, and farmers have not so good means to raise their rents as heretofore they had; ourselves also find the defects thereof, by the decay of our customs, and other duties; and, in general, the whole commonwealth suffereth: so, as it is high time to look into the cause of this great decay of trade, and of the commodities of this our kingdom, and how to have fit remedies, &c."—Wherefore the King directs them to enquire into the following points, viz.

"I. Why wool is fallen in price?

"II. How to prevent the exportation of wool and woollen-yarn, fullers-earth, and wood-ashes?—How Irish wool, not used at home, may be brought into England; and the like of Scottish wool?

"III. How

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" III. How to reduce the many laws in being concerning the regulating the making of cloth, some of which contradict each other, into one good general law ?

" IV. To regulate the price of dying stuffs.

" V. Whether, by any of the orders, restrictions, &c. of the Company of Merchant-adventurers of England, the prices of woollen cloth are too highly raised beyond-sea ?

" VI. How far companies or societies of merchants may, or may not be, a cramp on trade, as many do allege ?—And how far joint stock companies are beneficial, or otherwise ?

" VII. How to remedy the present unusual scarcity of money ?

" VIII. To enquire, whether the balance of trade, in general, be not against our nation, by the imports of merchandize exceeding our exports ; and how to remedy such an evil ?—Also to think upon the gain or loss that comes to our kingdom by the course of exchange now used by our merchants.

" IX. How we may improve our native commodities to the best advantage ?

" X. To avoid vain and unprofitable returns (*i. e.* imports) of the commodities of foreign countries in superfluities.

" XI. For the better increase of the wealth of the kingdom, and of the importation of coin and bullion from foreign parts, we would have you to consider, what native commodities of this kingdom are of that necessary usefulness to our neighbours, that they may fitly return home a proportion of coin and bullion, for a supply of treasure ?

" XII. And, above other things, seriously and carefully consider, by what good means our navy, and the shipping of this kingdom, may be best maintained and enlarged, and mariners bred up and increased.

" And, to this end, we require you to take into your mature consideration and judgments these things following, which ourselves conceive to be very good means to attain the end we especially aim at, as aforesaid, *viz.*

" First, and principally, That the herring-fishery upon the seas and coasts appertaining to our own realms, may be undertaken by our people, for the common good : for the encouragement whereof, we shall be always ready to yield our best assistance.

" Secondly, To the end that the shipping of other nations may not be employed for importing foreign commodities, whilst our own shipping want employment, consider how our laws now stand in force for prohibiting merchandize to be imported in foreign bottoms.

" And further advise, if it be not behoveful to put in execution the laws still in force, which enjoin merchant-strangers, as well denizens as not denizens, to employ the proceed of the merchandize they import on the native commodities of this realm, to be exported by them ?

" And, because our merchants trading into the Eastland countries," *i. e.* all the south shores of the Baltic Sea, " were wont to make good returns by corn, which they have neglected of late, to their own hurt, and the hurt of the kingdom, consider how to give them encouragement, so as our own dominions may be supplied in time of want, and yet, in time of plenty, the husbandry of this realm may not be discouraged.

" Consider also, that whereas our Eastland merchants did formerly lade their ships with undressed hemp and flax, in great quantities, which set great numbers of our people on work, in dressing the same, and converting them into linen cloth ; which kind of trade, we understand, is of late almost given over, by bringing in of hemp and flax ready dressed, and that, for the most part, by strangers ; how may this be redressed ?

" And,

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“ And, because the East India-Company have been much taxed by many for exporting the coin and treasure of this realm, to furnish their trade withal, or that which would otherwise have come in hither, for the use of our subjects; and that they do not return such merchandize from India as doth recompence that loss unto our kingdom; we authorize you to enquire and search, whether that company do truly and justly perform their contract with us, concerning the carrying out of money; and by what means that trade, which is precious in shew, may really be made profitable to the public.

“ And, as much treasure is yearly spent in linen cloth imported, at dear rates; and for that if the fishery, so much desired by us, be thoroughly undertaken, and our shipping increased, it will require a much greater production of hemp, for cordage, &c. in the fishery; which would set an infinite number of our people on work; consider how the sowing of hemp and flax may be encouraged.

“ Also, how the cloth and stuffs, made of our own wools, may be more frequently worn by our own subjects.

“ All which you shall report and certify to the body of our privy council, as fast as the several points shall be duly considered by you.”

With respect to the merits of this commission of enquiry, it may be proper to remark, that although in every age there have been, and probably ever will be, causeless and groundless complaints of the decay of commerce, yet there seems, at this time, to have been some real grounds for complaint: for,

First, The Hollanders had greatly improved their woollen manufactures, which now considerably interfered with ours in foreign parts.

Secondly, The warm disputes between the Merchant-adventurers Company and our separate traders and exporters of woollen cloth ran high at this time, and did real hurt also to the vent of that manufacture.

Thirdly, As we shall presently see, that the general balance of foreign trade went this year against us, it is no wonder that there were complaints of the scarcity of money.

Fourthly, The Dutch had also, at this time, as we have seen, vastly increased their herring and cod-fishery, whilst our own people neglected it too much. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that our navy or shipping was, at this time, so much short of theirs. But with respect to the exporting from Ireland of wool and yarn, in the second article, we have not been able to prevent it effectually, even to this day, notwithstanding the several much severer laws made against that pernicious practice since those times.

As for the query in the first article, “ Why the price of wool is fallen?” That is answered already by the King’s complaint in the preamble, “ That our cloth is not so much demanded beyond-sea as formerly.”—And surely the importing and using of Irish and Scottish wool, was not likely to make it rise in price. What relates to dying stuffs, in the fourth article, seems a groundless, or at least a trifling complaint; and to the third we need say nothing.—As for the sixth, we have, in our Introduction, and in the series of our work, sufficiently enlarged on companies, with and without joint stocks, and more especially on our East India Company, whose advocates in those times, as we have seen, seem to us sufficiently to have answered the chief objections of their enemies; which is, also, all that need be said by way of answer to the sixth query of the King. The ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth articles require no particular remark, any more than the King’s first, second, fourth, seventh, and eighth queries. His desiring to revive, in his third query, the obsolete and impracticable law

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1622 law concerning merchant-strangers laying out all their money on our own merchandize, to be by them exported, is injudicious: but our importing all our hemp and flax rough, as in the fifth query, is very right, and has been, since his time, almost always practised. In all our researches, we could never come at the report of the said commissioners, which the King directs to be made to the body of his privy council: but these brief remarks we conceive to be sufficient.

We come now to the balance-general of England's commerce for this same year 1622, ending at Christmas, as exhibited by Mr. Miffelden, in his quarto treatise, entitled, *The Circle of Commerce*, p. 121, printed in the year 1623, viz.

" The total amount of exportations, including therein the custom, at	
" five per cent. on such goods as pay poundage, the impost on bayes, tin,	
" lead, and pewter, and the merchant's profit of fifteen per cent. together	
" with freight and petty charges, was	2,320,436 12 10
" II. The total imports, in which is included ninety-one thousand and	
" fifty-nine pounds eleven shillings and seven-pence customs, and one	
" hundred thousand pounds for fine run goods, &c.	2,619,315 0 0

Balance lost to England this year by her foreign commerce,	£. 298,878 7 2
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This accurate author gives us also the total amount of the customs of England, both outward and inward, for the said year 1622, viz. one hundred and sixty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-two pounds fifteen shillings and eleven-pence. And their then method of computing the total value of exports and imports was, in both cases, to multiply the total of the customs paid, by twenty: which, however, is since thought to be liable to great exceptions; and so, probably, will every other method prove, that can be practised for the end of exactly stating a general national balance of trade.

Under the year 1613, we gave, from the same author, the amount of the customs of England to have been one hundred and forty-eight thousand and seventy-five pounds seven shillings and eight-pence. So that it is difficult to account for King James's complaint, in the preamble to the preceding commission of enquiry, of the decay of his customs at this time, without an imputation too obvious through the whole course of his reign.

Pensionary De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, acquaints us, that, in this year, the Dutch, for preventing any disturbance in their whale fishery, erected an exclusive company for it; who, by their own power and strength, might protect their fishery: which fishery, however, was laid open, in the year 1643, to all the inhabitants of the Seven Provinces; at a time when neither the English, who were engaged in a civil war, nor the Danes, by reason of the increasing power of the Swedes, were able to hurt them. But, upon the breaking out of the second war with England, the Hollanders could neither spare their ships of war nor mainers to protect the great number of their Greenland ships: wherefore the States prohibited their subjects from fishing there at all.

King James I. seems still to have had the propagation of the silk-worm much at heart. He, in this same year, earnestly exhorted the Virginia Company, so set about the cultivating mulberry trees for that end, as well as for the planting of vineyards, sending thither printed instructions for those purposes. The Earl of Southampton also, as President of that Company,

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1622 sent a pressing letter to the Governor and Council, for their distributing copies of those instructions all over the colony.

In the same year, Sir William Alexander, who had got several noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland to be sharers with him, sent a colony of Scots to Nova Scotia, who named the peninsula, on the east side of the bay of Fundi, Nova Caledonia, and the other part on the north end, Nova Alexandria. Heylin's Cosmography, p. 1024. And, for the better enabling him to settle that plantation, King James granted him a Scotch patent, for advancing a number of persons to the hereditary dignity of baronets of Nova Scotia, but this was not perfected till 1625. They were at first distinguished from the English baronets by a ribbon of orange tawney: yet, after considerable labour and expence, that colony came to nothing.—See the year 1625.

The English East India Company now assisted Schah Abbas, King of Persia, in the taking of the once famous town and isles of Ormus from the Portuguese. For which great service our Company had half the booty, and certain immunities also granted to them, as particularly, to keep the castle of Ormus, (soon after broken through) and to enjoy half the customs of Gombroon, whither the commerce of Ormus was removed, though till then only an inconsiderable village; which benefits, some say, that company enjoyed for fifty years following, being valued at forty thousand pounds yearly: but which the company afterwards relinquished, upon the commencement of a war between Persia and the Mogul, for a certain allowance of three thousand pounds yearly; long since, probably, in disuse. The Portuguese removed thereupon to Moschat, in the Persian Gulph, on the east coast of Arabia; which they fortified, and soon brought to be a place of great traffic, till they were driven from thence by the Princes of that country. So that Moschat is now a decayed place.

In the seventeenth volume, p. 417, of the *Fœdera*, King James again commands all Lords spiritual and temporal, (privy counsellors, and the servants of the King's and Prince's households excepted) and all gentlemen who have seats in the country, forthwith to leave London, and to attend their service in the several counties, to celebrate the feast of Christmas, and to keep hospitality there; "which," adds this arbitrary King, "is now the more needful, as this is a time of scarcity and dearth." And, in a second proclamation, he enjoins them not only to remain at their seats in the said Christmas time, but always, till his further pleasure be known. Also, that widows of distinction be included in this order: and that such lords and gentlemen as may have law business in London do leave their families in the country.

The English East India Company had, at this time, possession of none of the Spice Islands, excepting Amboyna, where they had been settled for about two years past. It having been agreed between the two Companies, that the Dutch should enjoy two thirds, and the English Company one third part of its cloves, it being almost the only isle producing that sort of spice. But, at the close of this year 1622, our people were driven from this isle, in a most tragical manner. Whether Captain Towerfon, and the rest of our factory there, had really formed a conspiracy, as the Dutch allege, to seize the castle, and to expel the Dutch from that island, does not at all appear certain from the evidences produced: and even granting that it had been plainly made out, yet their barbarous racking and tormenting of our people, for extorting a confession of it, was most inhuman, and rather argued a settled design to get rid of the English from thence at any rate. It is, however, a most disagreeable subject to dwell upon; let it therefore suffice briefly to observe, that ten of our people lost their lives in consequence

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1622 of that accusation, and the rest were sent away to the next English settlement. So the Dutch had now the sole possession of all the spice islands. Our Company made heavy and just complaints of that barbarity, yet no violence was offered to the Dutch Company on that account, nor any reparation made to our Company till the year 1654.

When, formerly, party and national heats have run high in England, this cruel proceeding at Amboyna has frequently been made use of to blacken the whole Dutch nation: a method which all nations and parties have often too much practised mutually against each other. The Dutch Company published a large remonstrance, in their vindication, in the year 1632; which was fully and sharply replied to, in that same year, by the English Company.

In this same vol. xvii. p. 441, &c. of the *Fœdera*, we meet with a contract between King James and two undertakers, for victualling the Navy-royal; wherein we see the kind of provisions, and also the quantities and times allowed to the sailors, viz.

“ Every man’s daily allowance was one pound of biscuit, one gallon of beer, two pounds of beef, with salt, four days in the week; or else, instead of beef, for two of those four days, one pound of bacon or pork, and one pint of pease, as heretofore hath been used and accustomed, says this record: and for the other three days of the week, one quarter of stock-fish, half a quarter of a pound of butter, and a quarter of a pound of cheese. Saving for the Friday, to have the quantity of fish, butter, and cheese, but for one meal: or else, instead of stock-fish, such quantity of other fish or herrings as the time of the year shall afford.

“ The pursers to be paid, by the said undertakers, for necessaries; as wood, candles, dishes, cans, lanthorns, &c. viz. in service, at sea, six-pence for every man per month, and, in harbour, twelve-pence; and two shillings to every ship for lading charges by the month.

“ The undertakers to have the use of all his Majesty’s brew-houses, bake-houses, mills, and other store-houses, as well at Tower-hill as at Dover, Portsmouth, and Rochester,” these then must, probably, have been all the Navy-royal ports of England for victualling, &c. paying the same rent as former contractors paid.

“ The allowance to the said contractors was, for every man’s victuals, in harbour, seven-pence halfpenny; and, at sea, eight-pence per day.

“ The said contractors, Sir Allen Apsley and Sir Sampson Darrell, were hereby to enjoy during life the title and office of General Purveyors of the Victuals of his Majesty’s Navy.”

In this year Gerard Malynes first published his book, which was once in some esteem, entitled, *Lex Mercatoria*, in folio. In which work he makes the quantity of woollen goods of all sorts, broad and narrow, long and short, made yearly in all England, to amount to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces or cloths; beside the new draperies, called *perpetuanas*, &c. Yet he is so incorrect and so wide from probability in other matters, that there is no depending on him. For instance, he makes the number of people in England to be sixteen millions eight hundred thousand, and in Scotland nine millions; in Ireland five-thousand five hundred parishes; and in France twenty-two millions of people.

At this time a controversy arose, in print, between Malynes, who was a Netherlander, and had been much employed by King James in mercantile and money matters, and Edward Miffielden, Esq; an eminent merchant of London; concerning the balance of commerce running against us, as before stated, and for redressing the scarcity of money, then much complained of.

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1622 Malynes proposed, as a means for keeping our money at home, to alter the course of exchange by authority: a wild and injudicious fancy: as if foreigners, beyond sea, would be directed, against their own palpable interest, to regard any laws made in England of that kind. This was in his work, entitled, *The Canker of England's Commonwealth*, dedicated, in the year 1621, to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State; and in his treatise which he called his *Little Fish and his Great Whale*. Mr. Miffelden, in a duodecimo, printed in 1622, entitled, "*Free Trade, or the Means to make Trade flourish*," displayed the folly of compulsion in such matters; and more fully in a quarto treatise, in 1623, which he called, *The Circle of Commerce*; "wherein (and in another, entitled, *Free Trade*) he explained the business of "mercantile exchange as it is understood at this day, and the weakness of attempting to regulate by public authority what is principally governed by our imports and exports;—by "the greater or less demand for money at home and beyond sea,—by wars—famines—pestilences, and by other accidental causes: all which render it impossible to regulate exchanges "by authoritative means in dealings with other nations. For, although it may be true, as "Malynes alledged, that the undervaluing of our own monies, in comparison with the monies of foreign nations, may contribute somewhat to the overbalance, or to the exchange "going against us, yet the principal cause will ever be found to be, the greater value of our "importation of foreign goods than of our own merchandize exported."—This Malynes would not admit, but obstinately insisted, that exchange absolutely over-rules all money and merchandize; and that a royal proclamation, for raising the value of our money equal to, or rather higher than foreign monies, would effectually turn the exchange and also the balance of trade in our favour.

Malynes also furiously attacked Mr. Miffelden's last-mentioned treatise, in one he named *The Center of the Circle of Commerce*. Much acrimony appeared in this dispute, and also an affectation, agreeable to the King's own genius, of quotations from ancient Greek and Latin authors, on a point utterly unknown to both Greeks and Romans: they even now and then dragged into their service an Hebrew sentence, for the greater edification of their English readers. Miffelden, upon the whole, had plainly the advantage of his conceited antagonist; and judiciously treats of the true causes of the general balance of trade, then supposed to be running against us, viz. "the consumption of unnecessary foreign wares, for "mere luxury;—the loss of our East India stock, by the violences of the Dutch Company;— "piracies of the Barbary rovers;—the wars of Europe;—the neglect of the fishery;—the new "improvements of other nations in manufactures;—the decay of our own draperies, &c."—His *Free Trade* was reprinted in the year 1651, and is well worth the perusal even at this day.

The judicious Mr. Munn, in his treatise, entitled, *England's Treasure by foreign Trade*, first printed in the year 1664, p. 103, has the following just remark, viz. "In vain, therefore, "has Gerard Malynes laboured so long, and in so many printed books, to make the world "believe, that the undervaluing of our money in exchange does exhaust our treasure, which "is a mere fallacy of the cause, attributing that to a secondary means whose effects are "wrought by another principal efficient, and would also come to pass although the said secondary means were not at all. As vainly also hath he propounded a remedy, by keeping "the price of exchange by bills at the *par pro pari*, by public authority, which were a new-found office, without example in any part of the world, being not only fruitless but also "hurtful."

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1622 "hurtful." Those old treatises are long since out of print, and are become somewhat scarce, which has made the particular mention of them to be the more necessary.

We shall close this year with just observing, that, by the industry of the English Russia, East India, and Merchant-adventurers Companies, and their building of so many stout ships, the commerce of the Hans-towns was now become greatly decayed; more especially those ports on the south shores of the Baltic Sea: their ancient splendor and influence was much abated. The French Kings, Louis XI. Charles VIII. Louis XII. and Francis I. had bestowed great privileges on them. The Emperor Charles V. had great loans of money from them: and we have elsewhere related, that King Henry the Third of England had incorporated them at London as a trading guild, in acknowledgement of their assistance in his naval wars, and also for money they had lent him. But what availed all these considerations, under their now general declension.

1623 The first record in the *Fœdera*, of the year 1623, vol. xvii. p. 447, is a new proclamation of King James, in the manner and stile of his former ones, against his subjects eating of flesh in Lent, and on other fish days; "for the maintenance of the navy and shipping, a principal strength of this island; and for the sparing and increasing of flesh victuals."

In p. 450, of the same volume, we have the grant of King James to the East India Company, empowering their presidents and councils in India, or their council of defence there, to punish all capital or other crimes committed on land in India, either by martial or by common law, as the several cases may require: so as every criminal be tried by a jury of twelve men. In this grant the King recites one, of the thirteenth year of his reign, which empowered this Company to punish offences committed in their ships whilst at sea. But it is not in the *Fœdera*.

And, *ibid.* p. 466, we have that King's new proclamation for obliging persons of quality and land estates to withdraw to their country seats, for the promoting of hospitality, &c.

In the same vol. xvii. p. 483, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that complaints being made by foreign Princes, as well as by the bulk of the merchants of England, "that fundry of our merchants for their particular profit, supplied the rovers of Algiers and Tunis with ammunition and military weapons, as artillery, &c. and also with provisions; whereby they were enabled to disturb our own commerce, as well as that of other Christian nations;" King James I. therefore "strictly prohibits his subjects from supplying those rovers with any of the said particulars."

There being, in this same year, petitions to King James I. by adventurers in the Virginia and Somer Isles Companies, representing the mismanagements of those two colonies, in consequence of which their prosperity was retarded; King James, in p. 490, *ibid.* issued a commission to the Lord Chief Justice Jones, and others, "for taking into their consideration all letters-patent, commissions, orders, &c. relating to those two colonies: who were also empowered to enquire into all sums of money, levied either by the contributions of adventurers, or by voluntary gifts, bequests, lotteries, collections, and adventures, or in magazines, &c. for the furtherance of the said plantations; and how the same has been expended:—also what laws and orders the said colonies have made, contrary to the royal charters: and into any frauds and other mismanagements which may have caused the hindrance of their prosperity.—And, lastly, to lay down methods for the redressing of such grievances, and for restoring the prosperity of the said colonies."

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In p. 498, *ibid.* King James I. still continues the old salary of one hundred pounds per annum to his physician in ordinary, in the person of Dr. Matthew Lister.

The first exclusive term of the Dutch East India Company expiring in March 1623, the States General granted a further term of twenty-one years longer; after the Company had made a dividend to the proprietors of twenty-five per cent. for the year 1622: after which their commerce flourished and increased so much, that they enlarged the number of their ships every year.

In vol. xvii. p. 498, of the *Fœdera*, we have a treaty of amity and commerce between King James I. of England, and Michael Pheodorowitz, Czar of Muscovy. What relates to commerce is in substance as follows; viz.

Article VII. "If, under colour of commerce, any merchants or others shall carry warlike ammunition to the enemy of either party, it shall not be imputed to the Princes of either side as any breach of friendship; but the party offending shall take the peril upon his own head.

XI. "All such privileges and grants, for freedom of commerce, as by treaties have been granted to the English merchants by his renowned Majesty of all Russia, and his noble progenitors, shall remain in full force. And, by virtue of this alliance, the subjects of both Princes may, by sea and land, freely traffic to each others countries in all kind of merchandise; and may buy up and freely transport away all manner of jewels, precious stones, and whatsoever else fitting for both the Princes treasuries, as freely as if they were the natives of the self-same country.

"Provided, That this freedom of commerce be understood on the part of Great Britain for all such merchants only, and none other, as are allowed to trade into the dominions of Russia, by the licence of their Sovereign, and according to the gracious letters and privileges granted, and to be granted hereafter to the English merchants by his renowned Majesty of all Russia, and the Right Reverend great Lord and holy Patriarch of all Russia; and on the part of the subjects of the Czar of Russia, for all such of his merchants as shall be by him allowed to trade into Great Britain, and none other.

X. "And such English subjects trading to Russia, and Russia subjects trading to England, without such licences from their respective sovereigns, shall be seized and delivered up to the respective agents of each nation.

XI. XII "The merchants in both countries shall be protected from all injuries, and have equal justice done them as the native subjects have.

XIII. "Persons guilty of death shall not suffer death, nor be put to the torture, till an answer from their respective sovereigns shall be received concerning them.

XIV. "The merchants in either country shall not be disturbed on account of difference in religion.

XV. XVI. XVII. and XIX. "Ambassadors, messengers, and posts, and merchants going along with them, of both the contracting parties, shall freely and safely pass and repass in all parts of both countries, with their attendants, goods, &c. And if either Prince shall have occasion to send such into other countries, through the countries of the other contracting parties, viz. into Germany, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and Netherland, or unto and from Persia, Turkey, and other parts of the East, not in open hostility with either party; they shall freely pass, with all their goods and people, and have due

"convoy

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1623 “convooy by land and water. And, in case of death on their journey, their goods shall be safely kept, for those who shall have a right to them.

XVIII. “In case of shipwreck on the coasts of either Prince, the goods shall be saved for the benefit of the owners.”

King James now issued a proclamation, p. 519, *ibid.* wherein he observes, “That, in times of dearth, the poorer sort of his people are pinched with the great want and dear prices of corn.—That the treasure of the kingdom also, in those times, is much exhausted, in providing of corn from foreign parts. And, on the contrary, in times of plenty, the farmers, by the low prices of corn, are hardly able to support their necessary charge, and pay their rents. And, foreseeing, as well by reason as by example of foreign nations, that such things may not only in some good measure be remedied, but also the increase of tillage may be procured, and the better vending of our native commodities, strength to our shipping, and the breeding of many mariners, by the erecting of magazines of corn, which, in times of scarcity, may serve to keep down the price of foreign corn; and in times of plenty may keep up the price of our home corn, at such reasonable rates as will well maintain the husbandman’s labour and hold up the gentleman’s rents. Upon deliberate advice with our Privy Council, we ordain,

I. “That magazines of corn shall and may be erected by such merchants and others as shall be willing to adventure therein, in the ports and places after-mentioned, viz. London, Dover, Portsmouth, Southampton, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Ipswich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Hull, York, Newcastle, Chester, Liverpool, and Haverfordwest; and in all the shire towns of this realm.

II. “And to the intent that the said magazines may be stored with corn, we hereby declare, that any of our subjects may import corn for the said magazines from foreign parts, in such quantities as they shall think fit, paying only the customs and subsidies of the present book of rates.

III. “And any person may buy and provide, within this realm, for the storing and furnishing of the said magazines, such quantities of English corn as to them shall seem good,—at such times only, as the most usual prices of English wheat shall be under twenty-three shillings the quarter, (this seems to have been the moderate or mean price of wheat corn at this time), English rye under eighteen shillings the quarter, and English barley under sixteen shillings the quarter, respectively, in the counties where the same shall be bought and provided.

IV. “And for the better encouragement of such as shall adventure in the said magazines, we are well pleased, that such foreign corn as shall be thither brought, may be freely re-exported into foreign parts beyond the sea in amity with us, so as at the time of such transportation the usual price of English corn in the three next adjacent counties to the said magazines whence such transportation shall be, do not exceed forty shillings the quarter; twenty-six shillings and eight-pence rye, and twenty shillings the quarter of barley, respectively. But when the prices of English corn are higher, then all foreign corn shall be kept within the said magazines, to be sold only within this realm, for the provision of the same.

V. “And when English corn shall be under thirty-two shillings the quarter of wheat, eighteen shillings rye, and sixteen shillings barley; then no foreign corn shall be sold within this realm for any other purpose but only to be stored and laid up in the said magazines,

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1623 “ or to be transported beyond sea, paying the due customs and subsidies for the English corn;
 “ to the intent the price of English corn may be held up, for the benefit of the farmer, and
 “ that such corn so to be transported may return a proportion of coin, for the replenishing of
 “ the treasure of this kingdom.

VI. “ Upon re-exportation of the said foreign corn no duties shall be paid.

VII. “ The exporter of such foreign corn shall make oath that it did not grow in this
 “ realm.”

This plausible scheme, however, did not take place.

Magazines of corn at Dantzic and Amsterdam, it is plain, have been found extremely useful and profitable to those two cities; though, perhaps, they might not answer so well in England. At least, such a scheme as that we have just been reciting must undergo a stricter examination, and receive many improvements, before it could be reduced to practice in our days.

In the same seventeenth volume, p. 528, of the *Fœdera*, King James again issues his proclamation against his subjects eating of flesh in Lent and on other fish days; still assigning the same reasons as in his former prohibitions.

In this year Malynes, in his *Center of the Circle of Commerce*, already mentioned, by way of answer to *Miffelden's Circle of Commerce*, gives us the price of East India merchandize both there and here, viz.

In India, Pepper, per pound weight,	2½ <i>d.</i>	In England, 2 <i>od.</i> or 8 to 1.
Cloves,	9 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>s.</i> or 6½ to 1.
Nutmegs,	4 <i>d.</i>	3 <i>s.</i> or 9 to 1.
Mace,	8 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>s.</i> or 9 to 1.
Indigo,	1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>s.</i> or 4½ to 1.
Raw silk,	8 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	20 <i>s.</i> or 2½ to 1.

The Dutch West India Company now met with so much good luck, in their taking of Spanish prizes, that they rashly made so large a dividend as twenty-five per cent. to their proprietors. Puffendorf observes, that they ruined themselves by making such large dividends, and by their being more eager for conquests than for commerce.

1624 The great complaints in England against monopolies, had, as we have related, obliged King James I. in the year 1610, to revoke them all by his proclamation: notwithstanding which, that King and his Ministers, ever in want of money, suffered themselves to be drawn into new ones afterwards. But, in the twenty-first year of his reign, in the year 1624, his necessities obliged him to call a Parliament; in which much louder complaints were made against them than had ever been done before. This produced an act of Parliament, in that same year, cap. 3, “ whereby all monopolies, and all commissions, grants, licences, and charters, formerly made or granted, or which shall hereafter be granted, either to persons or corporations, for the sole buying, selling, making, working, or using, of any thing, are made void.
 “ And also the power to dispense with any others, or to give leave to exercise or use any
 “ thing, against the tenor or purport of any law or statute; or to compound with any others
 “ for any penalty or forfeitures limited by any statute: also, that all proclamations, inhibitions, restraints, warrants of assistance, or other matters whatever, any way tending to the
 “ instituting, furthering, or countenancing the same, are hereby declared to be altogether contrary to the laws of this realm; and so are and shall be void and of none effect, and in no
 “ wise to be put in use or execution.—And that all such monopolies shall be henceforth for

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1624 “ ever tried and determined by the common law of this realm, and not otherwise. And all
 “ persons are hereby disabled to use any monopoly; and persons aggrieved thereby shall re-
 “ cover treble damages and double costs. Excepting, however, patents which the King may
 “ still grant, for fourteen years and no more, for new-invented manufactures or arts, never
 “ practised before, and not being mischievous to the State, by raising the prices of commo-
 “ dities at home, or the hurt of trade.—Saving also to the city of London, and other cities
 “ and towns corporate, their charters concerning any customs used within them, or unto any
 “ corporations, companies, or fellowships, of any art, or of any company of merchants erect-
 “ ed for the maintenance and enlargement of commerce.—Nor shall this act extend to char-
 “ ters for printing; or for making of saltpetre, gunpowder, cannon, cannon-bullets, or alum:
 “ nor to Sir Robert Mansell’s patent for making of glass;—nor to a patent for making of
 “ smalt;—nor to another for smelting of iron with pit coal, granted to Edward, Lord
 “ Digby.”

By another statute of this twenty-first year of King James I. cap. 17. it was enacted in sub-
 stance, “ That whereas the price of the value of lands, and of other commodities of England,
 “ is much abated; and that, notwithstanding the interest on the loan of money continues at
 “ so high a rate as ten pounds in the hundred pounds for a year; it was therefore now enacted,
 “ that no person, from and after the twenty-fourth of June, 1625, shall directly or indirectly
 “ take for the loan of any monies, wares, merchandize, &c. above the value of eight pounds,
 “ for the forbearance of one hundred pounds for a year. And all bonds, contracts, and assu-
 “ rances, made after the time aforesaid, for any usury above the rates of eight pounds per
 “ cent. shall be utterly void: and whoever shall take more, by way and means of any corrupt
 “ bargain, loan, exchange, chevifance, shift, or interest of any wares, merchandize, &c. or
 “ by any deceitful way or means, or by any covin, engine, or deceitful conveyance, for the
 “ forbearing of money, or other thing whatsoever, more than eight per cent. shall forfeit
 “ treble the value of the money, &c. so lent. Scriveners, brokers, solicitors, and drivers of
 “ bargains for contracts and loans, who shall directly or indirectly take for brokerage, soli-
 “ citing, driving, or procuring any such loan, over and above the rate of five shillings for
 “ every hundred, or above twelve-pence for making the bond, shall forfeit twenty pounds,
 “ and be imprisoned for six months. This act to continue for seven years.” Now follows
 what is shameful to appear in any statute-book; after what has been just enacted:—“ Provi-
 “ ded, that no words in this law contained, shall be construed or expounded to allow the
 “ practice of usury in point of religion or conscience!” Concerning which proviso, enough
 has already been said under the year 1546, &c.

This law was made perpetual in the year 1628, being the third of Charles I. cap. 4.

Sir Thomas Culpeper, senior, then a member of Parliament, was greatly instrumental in
 obtaining this reduction. He laid before the House of Commons a treatise, which he after-
 wards printed, against the high rate of interest, in the year 1623; which his son, Sir Thomas,
 reprinted in 1668, with intent to get interest brought lower, after being reduced to six per cent.

The son observes, That this act passed with all opposition imaginable; it being an untrod-
 den path, and must therefore be hewn out by dint of reason. At its passing, a zealous oppo-
 ser of it desired it might be remembered, that he had foretold the inconveniencies that would
 ensue. In answer to which, Sir Thomas Culpeper also desired it might be remembered, that
 he had prophesied many happy effects from it, viz.

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1624 First, To the King, in the improvement of his customs.

Secondly, To the landlord, in the advancement of his rents, and the price of his inheritance.

Thirdly, To the merchant, in the quickness of his trade, and benefit of his returns.

Fourthly, To the borrower, in the ease of his condition, &c.

Hereupon Sir Josiah Child, in his Discourse on Trade, first published in 1670, remarks " That in the year 1635, which was but ten years after the making of this law, there were more merchants to be found on the Exchange of London, worth each one thousand pounds, and upwards, than were before the year 1600, to be found worth a hundred pounds each. That before and about the time of this reduction of interest, the current price of lands was twelve years purchase, which soon after rose considerably higher. That the lowering of interest enables the landlord to improve his estate, and thereby raise his rents. That it enables merchants to increase foreign trade, whereby home manufacturers and artificers will be increased, as also our stock of other useful people; and the poor will be employed."

N. B. In this same act of the twenty-first of King James, the word *interest* was the first time used for the forbearance of money, in its modern sense; although the word *usury* be also therein still applied, in the same legal sense of that word.

In the book entitled Cabala, or Mysteries of State, we find, in this same year 1624, a letter from Sir William Aston, the English ambassador in Spain, to the Lord Conway, secretary of state, giving advice, " That three Scottish ships, with all their ladings, were confiscated at Malaga, for having brought thither certain Holland commodities." Which we here take notice of for two reasons, viz.

First, and principally, As such a precedent may, possibly, be of use hereafter, in disputes concerning contraband merchandize; and,

Secondly, To shew the Scots had some commerce in the Mediterranean so early.

As the making of rivers navigable is of great benefit to commerce, we must observe, under this same year 1624, that an act of Parliament, passed the twenty-first of King James's reign, cap. 32. for making the river Thames navigable, for barges, lighters, and boats, from the village of Burcot, seven miles on this side the city of Oxford, to that city; " for the conveyance of Oxford free-stone, by water, to the city of London; and of coals, and other necessaries, from London to Oxford, now coming, at a dear rate, only by land-carriage; whereby the roads were become exceeding bad." It is somewhat remarkable, that the preamble of this act takes notice, " That the river Thames, for many miles beyond the city of Oxford was already navigable for such barges, lighters, &c. and also from Burcot to London." So here was only seven miles of that river to be made navigable. And that whereas an act of the third year of this King's reign, cap. 20. did not answer the end, viz. for clearing the passage by water from London to Oxford, and beyond, it was therefore hereby repealed.

By an act of Parliament of this same year, cap. 34. for granting King James I. three entire subsidies, and three fifteenths and tenths, for making war against Spain, there was a reserve of eighteen thousand pounds out of this grant, for the relief of decayed cities and towns.

This old way of granting supplies to the crown by fifteenths and tenths, has puzzled our modern antiquarians, who seem utterly at a loss, at this day, to ascertain the exact manner of levying them, though so late as this year. And this is the last time we find mention of that way of granting aids to the crown. This we also conceive to be the last time that money was, in this manner, bestowed on decayed cities and towns.

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As the freedom of commerce depends so greatly on the preserving, as much as possible, a just equilibrium between or amongst the potentates of Europe, it was impolitic in King James the First to assist in aggrandizing France, more especially by lending his ships to the French King in this same year, 1624, for enabling him to reduce the Protestant city of Rochelle.—The Dutch too were equally to blame in this respect. Mr. De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, directly accuses the States, or rather Prince Maurice, of lending ships for reducing their Protestant brethren besieged in Rochelle. It would surely have been better policy to have assisted those oppressed people, even though there had been no ties of religion in the case; in order to put some restraint on the growing greatness of the French monarchy. It is true, that, with respect to England, the court party in the House of Commons, on the Duke of Buckingham's impeachment, in the next reign, alleged, and perhaps truly, that it was stipulated by King James, that his ships should not be employed either against the inhabitants of Rochelle, or any others of the Protestant religion in France: yet, in fact, they were so employed. De Witt also, a mortal foe to the house of Orange, in another part of that work, "accuses Prince Maurice and his cabinet-council, of breaking the balance of power between France and Spain, to the prejudice of all Europe, by making the former crown preponderate over the latter." It must be admitted, nevertheless, that there were plausible prettexts both for England and Holland's taking such steps, at this time.

With respect to England, in particular, the breaking off the Spanish match, the taking of the Palatinate from King James's son-in-law, by the house of Austria, then closely united with Spain, and the newly contracted fatal match with a daughter of France, were the inducements. With respect to Holland, the old prepossessions against the exorbitant power of Spain, had no small influence on their fears and jealousies, lest that crown should still entertain hopes of being able to recover their seven provinces.

Cardinal Richlieu entered this year upon his ministry in France, and succeeded but too well in his great projects of depressing the grandees and the Protestants at home; of reducing the superiority of the two branches of the house of Austria; and of advancing the commerce, manufactures, and maritime strength of France; whilst he lulled asleep the only two potentates of Europe who had it in their power to have put a check to such towering and dangerous schemes.

It was in this year that the Hollanders first invaded Brazil, of which we shall see they held a considerable part for thirty years after.

By an act of Parliament of this same twenty-first year of King James I. cap. 28. it was enacted, "That when wheat is not above one pound twelve shillings per quarter; rye, twenty shillings; peas, beans, barley, and malt, sixteen shillings, at the port whither they are brought to be exported, they may then be exported." And we find the like licence and rates by an act of the third of King Charles I. cap. 4. in the year 1627.

The English East India Company having laded four ships and two pinnaces for India, the Duke of Buckingham, King James's favourite, knowing that they must lose their voyage unless they sailed by a certain time, extorted from that company ten thousand pounds, for liberty to sail for India, he being then Lord High Admiral of England. This was one of the articles of his impeachment, in the year 1626. The Duke, in his defence, alleged, that, as the company had taken many rich prizes from the Portuguese in India, and particularly at Ormus, a large part thereof was legally due to the King, and also to himself, as Lord Admiral; and that the said ten thousand pounds was the company's composition and agreement, instead of fifteen

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1624 thousand pounds, which the law would have compelled them to give: and that, moreover, all the said ten thousand pounds, excepting only two hundred pounds, was applied by the King for the service of the navy.

It was in the reign of King James I. of England, that the Hollanders first entered upon the manufacture of fine woollen cloths; and, of course, began to interfere with the English cloth trade in the Netherlands, and elsewhere: so that, in the twenty-second and last year of this King's reign, a certificate was given into the Parliament of twenty-five thousand cloths having, in that year, been manufactured in Holland. Whereupon the House of Commons resolved,

First, "That the Merchant-adventurers Company setting imposts upon our cloths is a grievance, and ought not to be continued: and, that all other merchants, promiscuously, as well as that company, may transport every where northern and western dozens, kerseys, and new draperies."

Secondly, "That other merchants, beside the Merchant-adventurers Company, may freely trade with dyed and dressed cloths, and all sorts of coloured cloths, into Germany and the Low Countries."

In the seventeenth volume, p. 605, of the *Fœdera*, King James issued a proclamation, "for absolutely prohibiting the manufacture of gold and silver thread, gold and silver foliate, (*i. e.* leaf) purples, oes, spangles, &c. as tending to the consumption of the coin and bullion of this kingdom. And he having granted a charter of incorporation to the Governors, Assistants, and Commonalty of Gold-wire Drawers of London, he had hoped, by reducing those trades under order and government, to avoid the unnecessary waste of coin and bullion. But having now fully understood, as well by the complaints of his Commons, in the late session of Parliament, as upon examination by the Lords of the Council, that not only the said corporation, (which was thereupon revoked, and declared to be void) but also the said manufactures are unfit to be continued, &c."

In the same volume, p. 608, King James, by proclamation, once more confirms all his former injunctions against the erecting of buildings on new foundations in London and its suburbs.

In the same volume, p. 609, we have a more distinct view of the colony of Virginia, in a commission from King James to many lords and gentlemen, as follows, viz. "We having, by letters-patent, of the fourth year of our reign, granted power to divers knights, gentlemen, and others, for the more speedy accomplishment of the plantation of Virginia, that they should divide themselves into two colonies: the one to consist of Londoners, called the First Colony, and the other of those of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, called the Second Colony. And we did, by several letters under our privy seal, prescribe orders and constitutions for directing the affairs of our said colony.

"And whereas, afterward, upon the petition of divers adventurers and planters of the said first (or London) colony, we, by letters-patent, in the seventh year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord 1610, incorporated divers noblemen, knights, &c. by the name of the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia; granting them divers lands, territories, &c. to be conveyed by them to the adventurers and planters; with power to have a council there resident, for the affairs of the colony; and also to place and displace officers.

"And,

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“ And, afterwards, in the tenth year of our reign, being the year of our Lord 1613, we, by letters-patent, did further mention to give that company divers isles on that coast.

“ And whereas, we, finding the courses taken for the settling the said colony have not taken the good effect we intended, did, by a late commission to sundry persons of quality and trust, cause the state of the said colony to be examined into; who, after much pains taken, reported, that most of our people sent thither had died, by sickness and famine, and by massacres by the natives; and that such as are still living, were in lamentable necessity and want; though they (the commissioners) conceived the country to be both fruitful and healthful; and that, if industry were used, it would produce many good staple commodities. But, by neglect of the governors and managers here, it had as yet produced few or none.— That the said plantations are of great importance; and would, as they hoped, remain a lasting monument of our most gracious and happy government to all posterity, if the same were prosecuted to those ends for which they were first undertaken. Whereupon we, entering into mature consideration of the premises, did, by advice of our privy council, resolve to alter the charters of the said company as to points of government: but the said treasurer and company not submitting thereto, the said charters are now avoided by a *quo warranto*. Wherefore, we direct you to consider the state of the said colony, and what points are fitting to be inserted in the intended new charter, and to report to us. And, in the mean time, to take care to supply the planters there with necessaries, and to do all other acts needful for maintaining the colony. Moreover, the King (*ibid.* p. 618) appoints Sir Francis Wyatt governor of the colony, with eleven counsellors, residing in the colony.”

In this same seventeenth volume, p. 618, of the *Fœdera*, King James settles a pension of two thousand pounds per annum, for life, on his grandson, Prince Charles, second son of the Elector Palatine: and, in the preceding year, the Duke of Buckingham, besides all his great employments, had a pension of one thousand pounds settled on him.

In this year also, and in the same volume, p. 621, King James once more displays his talents and prejudices against tobacco, by the following proclamation, viz.

“ Whereas our Commons, in their last session of Parliament, became humble petitioners to us, that, for many weighty reasons, much concerning the interest of our kingdom, and the trade thereof, we would by our royal power utterly prohibit the use of all foreign tobacco, which is not of the growth of our own dominions:—And whereas we have, upon all occasions, made known our dislike we have ever had of the use of tobacco in general, as tending to the corruption both of the health and manners of our people.—Nevertheless, because we have been often and earnestly importuned by many of our loving subjects, planters and adventurers in Virginia and the Somer Isles, that, as those colonies are yet but in their infancy, and cannot be brought to maturity, unless we will be pleased, for a time, to tolerate unto them the planting and vending the tobacco of their own growth; we have condescended to their desires: and do therefore hereby strictly prohibit the importation of any tobacco from beyond-sea, or from Scotland, into England or Ireland, other than from our colonies before-named: moreover, we strictly prohibit the planting of any tobacco either in England or Ireland.” The rest of this proclamation relates to searching for and burning of foreign tobacco, and the marking and sealing the legal tobacco of our colonies.

On the second of March, 1624-5, he issued another proclamation to the same effect.

In February, 1624-5, King James, from Newmarket, issues a fresh proclamation against eating flesh in Lent, &c.

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1625

In that same month he issues his warrant to the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord Admiral ;
 “ That whereas many of his subjects had suffered great wrongs and damages, as well at sea as
 “ otherwise—not only by the subjects of our brother the King of Spain, and of the Low
 “ Countries, but also by those under the States of the United Netherlands—and all fair courses
 “ and due proceedings having been in vain used, in demanding restitution or reparation there-
 “ of,—and that thereupon our said subjects have made humble suit unto us for Letters of
 “ Reprisal :—we therefore will, require, and authorize you to grant your commission for the
 “ apprehending and taking the goods, ships, and merchandize of the King of Spain’s sub-
 “ jects of the Low Countries, as also those of the subjects of the United Netherlands, respec-
 “ tively, for the satisfaction of our loving subjects so damnified ; and in such manner and
 “ form as shall be agreed on by our privy council, or any six of them, in writing under their
 “ hands.”

In volume eighteen, p. 12, of the *Fœdera*, we see a similar warrant for reprisals, a few months after, by his son King Charles I. against both the said nations, exactly in the stile and form hercof ; and again the same year, *ibid.* p. 188. Yet, in neither of those warrants are the particular damages complained of at all specified.

King James died on the 27th of March, 1625.

This monarch’s wild notions of the extent of his prerogative have been seen in his numerous proclamations and injunctions for his subjects doing or forbearing of things, which a free people could not easily stomach ; and which could not in our days be done but by acts of Parliament. His getting his Attorney-general, Sir John Davis, to write and dedicate to him a treatise in favour of his prerogative of levying the tonnage and poundage duty by his sole authority, encouraged his son and successor to levy ship-money in the same manner ; which proved his ruin in the end.—Such doctrines, which Davis endeavoured to support by precedents quoted by him, virtually destroyed all the essential rights of Parliament, and particularly that of giving money for the public service. Davis’s book (the title whereof was, *The Question concerning Impositions, Tonnage, Poundage, Prizage, Customs, &c.* fully stated and argued from Reason, Law, and Policy) was reprinted in the year 1656, probably by connivance of the government at that time, for exposing the arbitrary tempers of both father and son. Its conclusion runs thus :—“ That, by virtue of an ancient prerogative inherent to his crown,
 “ the King of England may justly and lawfully set impositions upon merchandize, and may
 “ limit and rate the quantity and proportion thereof, by his own wisdom and discretion, with-
 “ out an act of Parliament.”

On the 30th of March, 1625, King Charles I. of England, as per vol. xvii. p. 673, of the *Fœdera*, ratified the contract which his father King James had made just before his death, for his marrying the Princess Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII. of France. Her portion was eight hundred thousand crowns of three one-third livres each, or two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling. Half to be paid down ; and the other half in one year after. She was to have eighteen thousand pounds sterling, or sixty thousand French crowns, yearly, for her separate use. So that three one-third French crowns, or ten livres, were then equal to one pound sterling. She was also, says the printed *Collection of Treatises*, article xx. to have the value of fifty thousand crowns in rings.

The authory of an *History of the Caribbee Isles*, published at Paris in the year 1658, and at London (in English) in the year 1666, relates, that the English and French colonies in those isles had their beginning in the same year, viz. in the year 1625 : that *Monf. Desnambuc*,

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1625 buc, a sea captain, in the service of France, and Sir Thomas Warner, an English gentleman, jointly took possession of the Isle of St. Christophers on the very same day, with about three hundred persons of each nation, in behalf of their respective kings; in order that they might have a place of safe retreat for the reception of the ships of both nations at any time bound for America.

In those times, the English, it seems, were wiser than the French, in building good houses here, and having wives and children; whereas the French contented themselves with such huts as the Caribbean natives had, few of them being married. The first English planters employed themselves in raising tobacco; but afterwards, in imitation of Barbadoes, they entered upon the cultivation of sugar, indigo, cotton, and ginger, by which means they soon became rich. That isle had been discovered long before by Columbus, though never planted till this year by any nation. It was, however, found to be furnished with various natural advantages, which occasioned the Spaniards to stop frequently at it in their American voyages. But this French author frankly owns, that, for preventing any secret intelligence between the native Caribbeans of that island and the Spaniards, who were at this time the common enemy of both nations in America, the English and French, in one night, dispatched all the most factious of those Caribbeans; and, not long after, forced all the rest to quit that island.

In the following year the French King incorporated a number of gentlemen for planting of this and other American isles.

According to this author, the island of St. Christophers was the first of all the West India islands planted by either England or France. (Here, however, he seems to be mistaken—see the year 1614.) The bold claims of Spain to the sole propriety of all those islands having deterred other nations, till now, from settling thereon: but as the power of Spain at this time, was on a visible decline, the nations already mentioned justly thought they had a good right to possess themselves of such isles as Spain had never yet settled; as we shall see they gradually did on others of these islands.

Our historiographers of the city of London relate, that it was in this same year 1625 that any hackney coaches first begun to ply in London streets, or rather at first stood ready at the inns, to be called for as they were wanted: and they were at this time only twenty in number. They, however, in ten years time were increased so much in number that King Charles, in the year 1635, thought it worth his while to issue an order of council for restraining their increase.

King Charles I. as appears in vol. xviii. p. 13, &c. of the *Fœdera*, now renewed his late father's commission to twelve Commissioners of the Navy. These seem to have been mostly stationed, as at present, into distinct branches; such as a Comptroller, a Surveyor, a Clerk of the Navy, &c. one, and the first named of that number, was Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and another of them was Sir William Russell, who was also Treasurer of the Navy. This board also, as at present, was to be subordinate to the Lord High Admiral, or the Admiralty Board, from whom the said commissioners were to receive directions and orders in maritime affairs.

The Protestant Boors of Austria now took up arms, for the recovery of the free exercise of their religion, taken from them; and they became masters of some places: but not being supported by any foreign potentate, they were reduced to subjection in the following year, and severely punished. Whereupon the Emperor, Ferdinand II. compelled all the Protestant gentry, clergy, and school-masters, to leave Austria; many of whom were kindly and
wisely

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1625 wisely received by the Swedes and other Protestant states; to the great increase of their wealth and people.

In p. 19, of the same eighteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King Charles First's proclamation, prohibiting the importation of any tobacco not of the growth of Virginia, or of the Summer Isles.

* In p. 21, *ibid.* we see another of that King's proclamations, to the effect following, viz. "That whereas the making of alum was discovered not many years since in Yorkshire; and, by the expence of sundry great sums by our royal father, brought to such perfection, as there is no doubt but sufficient quantities may be made, as well for home use as for exportation: which being a work of so great honour to this kingdom, and of such use and consequence, whereby many families are kept at work, much treasure saved at home which heretofore was exported for alum, and some increase also to our revenue:—we therefore strictly command, that no foreign alum be imported into our dominions; and that no English alum, once exported, shall be re-imported, or used in England."

It was upon the farm of this alum duty, jointly with that on sugar and other branches of this King's revenue, that the once famous merchant Sir Paul Pindar advanced to this King so large a sum as one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. On account of which he and his creditors were great sufferers, in consequence of the civil wars which ensued.

Another of King Charles's proclamations this year, *ibid.* p. 23, was, "For the maintaining and increase of the saltpetre mines of England, for the necessary and important manufacture of gunpowder." The King observes, "That our realm naturally yields sufficient mines of saltpetre, without depending on foreign parts: wherefore, for the future, no dovehouse shall be paved with stone, bricks, nor boards, lime, sand, nor gravel, nor any other thing whereby the growth and increase of the mine of saltpetre may be hindered or impaired; but the proprietors shall suffer the floors or ground thereof, as also all stables where horses stand, to lye open with good and mellow earth, apt to breed increase of the said mine of saltpetre. And that none hinder or deny any saltpetre man, lawfully deputed thereto, from digging, taking, or working any ground which by commission may be taken and wrought for saltpetre. Neither shall any constable, or other officer, neglect to furnish any such saltpetre-men with convenient carriages, that the King's service suffer not.—None shall bribe any saltpetre-man for the sparing or forbearing any ground fit to be wrought for saltpetre.—That all dovelhouses, and other places digged for saltpetre, be, when the earth thereof is wrought over, laid smooth and flat again, as before.—That no saltpetre be exported, neither sold at home to any but the King's powder-maker, who shall not receive for any powder sold by him, to any of the King's subjects, above ten pence per pound weight."

The rest of this proclamation relates to the trying of the goodness of gunpowder, before it be put to sale. This saltpetre and gunpowder business was one of that King's greatest monopoly projects; and the manner of his directing it was far from suiting the genius of a free people.

Ibid. p. 26. King Charles now grants a pension of one thousand and fifty pounds, yearly, to James Duke of Lenox, and another of two thousand one hundred pounds (p. 27) to Catherine Dukes Dowager of Lenox.

The son was so much a transcript of the father, that we are not to wonder at their proclamations having so great a resemblance. In p. 33, of this eighteenth volume of the *Fœdera*,

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1625 we again meet with his proclamation against new foundations in and near London, and for rebuilding the houses either with brick or stone; exactly in the stile and form of his father's. He also therein gives directions for the dimensions, true making, and price of bricks, viz. "That the size of them be, in length nine inches, in breadth four inches one quarter and half a quarter of an inch; and in thickness two inches and one quarter of an inch; and that the price of one thousand such bricks at the kiln shall not exceed eight shillings.—No bricks shall be made within one mile of any of the gates of London, or of his palace of Westminster.—Cottages, sheds, and other nuisances to be removed from the city and suburbs."—With other commendable regulations for its beauty and uniformity. And a second also, of the very same tenor, p. 97, came out in this year.

Ibid. p. 60, King Charles grants to Sir Francis Crane two thousand pounds yearly, for ten years: the one half of which sum was what he had formerly engaged to allow him for that term, for the support of the tapestry manufacture at Mortlake in Surry: the other half was in lieu of paying him six thousand pounds, due to him for three suits of gold tapestries, delivered for the King's use.

Another proclamation, *ibid.* p. 66, grants a commission to many lords and gentlemen, for certain regulations in searching for mines of gold, silver, or copper, or of lead holding silver, as also for quicksilver, in Cardiganshire. Of which mines the King had granted a lease, for thirty-one years to come, to Sir Hugh Middleton, Baronet.

After the Virginia Company had, at several different times, raised, by subscriptions from their adventurers, a capital of no less than two hundred thousand pounds, still, in vain, hoping for gold and silver mines, and other very rich productions, many of them at length became weary of the charge, as not finding the profit by any means to answer expectation, and sold out their shares; and such as continued in it had perpetual wranglings. So valuable a country and colony, was, however, by no means to be abandoned; more especially as the planters there were now well able to subsist independently of their mother country. Several gentlemen, therefore, about this time, with their effects, and with many servants, went thither on a separate bottom. Whereupon King Charles I. (in the eighteenth volume, p. 72, of the *Fœdera*) issued the following proclamation, which first laudably established the prudent form of government, in which this and the other regal colonies have remained to this day; viz. "That whereas, in his royal father's time, the charter of the Virginia Company was, by a *quo warranto*, annulled; and whereas his said father was, and he himself also is, of opinion, that the government of that colony by a Company incorporated, consisting of a multitude of persons of various dispositions, amongst whom affairs of the greatest moment are ruled by a majority of votes, was not so proper, for carrying on, prosperously, the affairs of the colony: wherefore, to reduce the government thereof to such a course as might best agree with that form which was held in his royal monarchy; and considering also, that we hold those territories of Virginia and the Somer Isles, as also that of New England, lately planted, with the limits thereof, to be a part of our royal empire; we ordain, that the government of the colony of Virginia shall immediately depend on ourselves, and not be committed to any company or corporation, to whom it may be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fit to commit the ordering of state affairs. Wherefore our commissioners for those affairs shall proceed as directed, till we establish a council here for that colony; to be subordinate to our privy council.—And that we will also establish another council, to be resident in Virginia; who shall be subordinate to our council here for that

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1625 " colony. And at our own charge we will maintain those public officers and ministers, and
 " that strength of men, munition, and fortification, which shall be necessary for the defence
 " of that plantation.

" And we will also settle and assure the particular rights and interests of every planter and
 " adventurer. Lastly, whereas the tobacco of those plantations (the only present means of
 " their subsisting) cannot be managed for the good of the plantations, unless it be brought in-
 " to one hand, whereby the foreign tobacco may be carefully kept out, and the tobacco of
 " those plantations may yield a certain and ready price to the owners thereof: to avoid all dif-
 " ferences between the planters and adventurers themselves, we resolve to take the same into
 " our own hands, and to give such prices for the same as may give reasonable satisfaction;
 " whereof we will determine at better leisure."

Had tobacco been then as much in use as at present, this monopoly of it, so early begun by King Charles, would have enabled him to raise much money, without depending on a Parliament.—And it was certainly a good scheme to enhance the price of it at his pleasure.—From this time forward, Assemblies of the Representatives of the Planters in Virginia regularly met by authority of the crown, for enacting of laws, with the consent of the King's Governor and Council, the last having ever since acted separately, as an Upper House: but the dernier resort in all law proceedings, is in the Assembly.—A Patent Office was now also established, not only for offices in Virginia, but for disposing of vacated grants of new lands, on the easy term of two shillings sterling per annum quit-rent to the crown for ever, for each hundred acres to be granted. And this encouraged many persons of substance to go from England and settle there, so that the country soon became populous; and the Indians decreasing even faster than the English increased, the latter have, consequently, enjoyed peace and tranquillity.

In p. 81, of the eighteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King Charles the First's commission for enquiring into and removing the causes of the low price of wool, and of the exportation thereof; as also for regulating the making of cloths, fluffs, &c. Concerning the fishery also; and the hemp, flax, and corn trade of Eastland.—The East India trade.—The bringing in of bullion.—The linen cloth trade, &c. exactly in the form of the late King's proclamations for those ends, as already related.

Ibid. p. 87, that King's latin commission to Edward Lord Conway, to be one of his Secretaries of State, allots him a salary of one hundred pounds per annum; but, by the very next record (in English) he grants him a pension of two thousand pounds per annum, which, by mistake, the Latin title of that record calls but two hundred pounds. (*Ducentarum Librarum.*)

Also, p. 108, *ibid.* we have the first record in the *Fœdera* of copper coins used in England by royal authority: reciting, " that whereas his late royal father took order, that instead of
 " unwarranted farthing tokens, till then used by vintners, chandlers, tapsters, and other re-
 " tailers, to the loss of his loving subjects, there should be others made by his own warrant,"
 —this warrant is not in the *Fœdera*, but see the year 1609,—“ under his own royal name
 “ and inscription, and a constant re-change settled, whereby the subject might have the lawful
 “ use of them, with much ease and without loss.”—This was probably, soon after the time
 that King James was so earnest for an union of the two kingdoms; for in the notes of Rud-
 diman's Preface to Anderson's *Diplomata Numismata*, &c. *Scotiæ*—the Scots, who had copper
 coins before the English, having (*inter alia*) objected against that union, ‘ that if the coins of

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1625 ' Scotland must be the same as in England, their poor would lose the great conveniency of their copper coins.'—" Which copper money," adds the King, " having since had general passage (*i. e.* circulation) through our kingdoms of England and Ireland, have brought a general benefit. We do therefore hereby command, that no farthing or other token shall be made or used but those of our royal father, by his letters patent," (here is no date of those letters patent mentioned) " and of us, by like letters patent, granted this same year to the Dukes Dowager of Richmond and Lenox, and Sir Francis Crane, for which they are to pay us one hundred marks per annum for seventeen years. The said copper farthings, or farthing tokens, to have thereon, on one side, (p. 143, *ibid.*) two sceptres crossing under a crown; on the other side, a harp crown, with the King's name and titles.—The patentees were thereby bound to deliver out twenty-one shillings in tale of farthings for every twenty shillings of silver, and to pay back twenty shillings in silver for every twenty-one shillings by tale in copper farthings, whenever demanded."

In p. 114, of the eighteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, King Charles settles a salary of eighty pounds per annum on his surgeon; whereas in the next following page, 115, he settles one hundred pounds per annum on his barber. This discrimination is easily to be accounted for; since his grant (in Latin) to his surgeon includes all emoluments, pre-eminencies, wax-candles, profits, and rights whatever; whereas the barber was only to have his bare salary.

In p. 156, as well as elsewhere in the same volume, we find, that King Charles, like his father, was generally greatly indebted to merchants, goldsmiths, of London, &c. who advanced money from time to time to the crown, by way of anticipation on the public revenues. The King (in the above page) acknowledges his debt of twenty-seven thousand pounds of this sort to the then famous merchant Sir William Courten; the half of which sum had been lent to King James, the other half to himself. For which loan interest was allowed at the rate of eight pounds per cent.

In p. 162, *ibid.* King Charles grants an exclusive patent for fourteen years, to a goldsmith of London, " for the sole making and practice of certain compound stuffs and waters, extracted out of certain minerals, &c. of this our realm, called by the name of cement, or dressing for ships, to prevent them from burning in fights at sea; and also from the sea-worm or bernacle: for which grant this projector was to pay forty shillings per annum into the Exchequer." This was or seemed to be but a trifling matter; yet, as we shall see a great number of such from time to time authorized by this King, it seems to have, from the beginning, been his intention thereby to accumulate a new revenue, without depending on parliamentary grants.

N. B. The patent alleges, " That the patentee (William Beale) had, by his own study and industry, with great charge and long practice, brought this invention to perfection."

In the said eighteenth volume, p. 661, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles made a grant of one of his pinnaces to his High Admiral the Duke of Buckingham, " in consideration of that Duke's undertaking to adventure for a discovery of the north-west passage to China, &c. An action," says this grant, " of great importance to trade and navigation, and in sundry respects of singular benefit to all our realms and dominions."

We have seen, under the years 1621 and 1622, that the country named Nova Scotia was granted by King James, as King of Scotland, to Sir William Alexander, and his associates; which, however, "was not properly settled by them, although that King had formed a design,

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1625 for encouraging the settlement of it, of erecting a new order for Scotland of hereditary knight-hood, in imitation of the barons of England, first created in 1611, to be called Baronets of Nova Scotia : which design his son King Charles I. perfected in this year 1625, by creating a number of such baronets ; to each of whom he allotted a certain quantity of land in Nova Scotia, to be held of the crown of Scotland as a free barony, in the Scottish sense of that word, (*i. e.* a free manor,) with great privileges to such as should settle in that country. In this condition it remained but a short space ; for, after his marriage with a daughter of France, he supinely connived at, or permitted the French to take possession of and fortify part of that country.

Some have alleged, that it was stipulated, by the marriage treaty, with Louis XIII. of France, that Nova Scotia should be given up to France : but, as far as appears, that supposition is quite groundless ; for, as King of Scotland, he granted a new charter for it, in the year 1628, which was also confirmed by an act of the Parliament of Scotland, in 1630 : though, without doubt, as all that country was an English discovery, Scotland, then a separate kingdom, could not properly intermeddle therein. There is some obscurity in the relations of those times concerning this matter ; but succeeding wars between England and France, and the consequent treaties, have rendered all further enquiry into that affair superfluous.

We shall only add in this place, that the happy situation, and great importance of Nova Scotia, was far from being well understood either by the court or people of England, in those early times, when our colonies were but in their very infancy : otherwise we might long since have been possessed not only of all that province, well planted and fortified, but also of all Canada or New France, &c. &c. &c.

In the same eighteenth volume, p. 171—181, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles the First appointed his favourite and Lord High Admiral, the Duke of Buckingham, to command in chief, both by sea and land, on an intended expedition against Spain. His instructions were, “ To annoy that crown by all ways possible, either by plundering his towns, or by taking his plate fleet, or other shipping, &c. He was also to detach some of his ships to the port of Sallee in Barbary, to treat for redeeming the English captives there, and for securing of trade from the piracies ;—as also, for procuring provisions for his fleet, which had ten thousand land forces on board of it.” But, missing the plate fleet, Sir John Burroughs landed in the Bay of Cadiz, burned a few villages in that neighbourhood, and then returned home, without having done any effectual service with so great an armament.

At this same time, a league, offensive and defensive, was concluded at the Hague, on the second of August, between King Charles the First and the States of the United Netherlands, against Spain.—The States General were to join twenty of their ships of war to the said English fleet, which (in the second volume of the *General Collection of Treaties*, in English, second edition, in the year 1732, p. 246) is said to have consisted of eighty-two ships of war, for their jointly attacking of Cadiz. The Dutch to have one-fifth part of the spoil. Which design, however, was never put in execution ; any more than another, of the same year, and against Spain too, dated Southampton, seventeenth September, 1625, consisting of forty articles, in the same second volume of the *Collection of Treaties*.

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1625 We must here do King Charles I. the justice to remark, that, in this year 1625, we find three different applications from him to his brother-in-law Louis Thirteenth of France, for sending back the ships he had lent him; and insisting on their not being employed against his Protestant subjects. Meaning the inhabitants of Rochelle.

Queen Henrietta Maria's marriage portion, of eight hundred thousand French crowns, was in this same year brought into England, all in silver money, intended to be recoined at the Tower: but a plague raging at London, which had infected some of the coiners there, the King deferred that re-coinage; and for the more easily paying the soldiers and sailors wages of the above-named fleet then fitting out, he declared the said French coin to be current for a time. It was all of one sort, called a Cardecue, or quart d'ecu, *i. e.* a quarter crown, worth nineteen-pence halfpenny. Yet, by an inundation of base and light cardecues, the King was quickly obliged to annul the currency of that coin.

In the eighteenth volume, p. 246, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that King Charles was already so ill advised, as, rather than yield to his people and Parliament's requests, for redressing of their grievances in a Parliamentary way, being already put to great difficulties for money to carry on his war against Spain, now to grant a special warrant to the Duke of Buckingham, to borrow three hundred thousand pounds sterling, of the States General of the United Netherlands, or of their subjects, upon the pawn or pledge of a great number of incomparably rich and noble crown jewels and vessels of gold, adorned with precious stones, a list whereof is therein set down, which were delivered to that Duke out of the King's jewel house.

Ibid. p. 251 and 252, King Charles issues "a proclamation, for prohibiting all commerce with Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. Commanding also, that no ship of sixty tons or upwards be sent to sea, unless the same be furnished with muskets and bandeliers—because of the danger of his subjects venturing to sea in those perilous times, ill furnished with arms and weakly manned."

Ibid. p. 268, King Charles again issued his proclamation, exactly in the usual form, against eating of flesh in Lent, or on other fish days; and for the same reasons.

This King being to be crowned on Candlemas-day, *ibid.* p. 278, "issued out writs to all the sheriffs of England, to cause all that held lands of the crown of the value of forty pounds yearly, or upward, who are not already knights, to come and take that order upon them." It is not necessary to acquaint the reader, that this was an usual practice of our Kings in elder times to raise money on urgent occasions.

1626 The author of a judicious treatise on commerce, printed in a small quarto, in this year 1626, entitled, *The Golden Fleece*, gives a succinct view of the East India commerce, &c. as it then stood with respect to Europe, viz.

"Before the Londoners and Hollanders sailed thither, the Turks used to share with the Portuguese in those commodities which now the Protestants trade for. Heretofore they paid at Lisbon, Aleppo, or Alexandria, viz.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
" For every pound weight of Pepper,	2	0	—now it costs us in India but	0	3
" ————— Mace,	4	6	—————	0	9
" ————— Cloves,	4	6	—————	0	10
" ————— Nutmegs	2	0	—————	0	4
" ————— Indigo,	4	0	—————	1	0
" ————— Persian raw silk,	12	0	—now from the Persian Gulph under	8	0

" And

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“ And if we transport none of our corn, but only that of foreign nations, carrying also
 “ some of our tin, lead, and woollen cloths, to the Persian Gulph, where they are best
 “ vendible, there is no question but this kingdom will become much enriched. For the
 “ Sound of Denmark, the Hans-towns, and France, will return us more money than we
 “ need to send into India.

In the same eighteenth volume, p. 675, of the *Fœdera*, and in the year 1626, we find the King's master sadler's daily pay to be twelve-pence per day for himself, and three-pence half-penny per day for a servant. And the master mason and architect for Windsor Castle has also twelve-pence per day. From which small pay or salary, however, no just conclusion can be drawn concerning the rate of living and the value of money at this time; as probably they were the same for, perhaps, some-hundreds of years backwards; and it was, without doubt, made up to them some other way. Yet three-pence halfpenny for a servant may, possibly, enable us to judge pretty nearly of what such an one could live on in our days, viz. about ten pence or one shilling: whereby living at this time might, possibly, be about twice or three times cheaper than in our days: but, if they were dieted by the King, they were very well paid.

That between p. 334 and 566 of this same eighteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, there were, at first, printed the Journals of Parliament for the year 1625; which, being contrary to a standing order of both houses, were therefore immediately suppressed. So there is a chafin between these two pages.

In vol. xviii. p. 679, of the *Fœdera*, we have King Charles's proclamation, importing, “ that the medium allowance for every sailor should be twenty shillings per month, which
 “ till now was but fourteen shillings; by which means, says this record, there will accrue to
 “ every ordinary sailor fourteen shillings, net money, per month, besides an allowance out
 “ of it of four-pence to a preacher, two-pence to a barber, and six-pence per month to the
 “ chest, at Chatham. Whereas the ordinary men have now but nine shillings and four-pence,
 “ net, per month, and no allowance at all given to a preacher. Out of the surplusage of
 “ which addition, all officers wages were likewise respectively raised; and an allowance also
 “ for a lieutenant and a corporal.

“ And whereas Queen Elizabeth, for the better encouraging of the building of ships, ordered an allowance of five shillings per ton for every ship built above the burden of one hundred tons; which was revived by King James: King Charles hereby allowed five shillings per ton for every ship that shall be built of two hundred tons and upwards.

In p. 728, *ibid.* King Charles, this year, settles two hundred pounds yearly, for life, on the master of his music, and forty pounds to each of his other musicians.

The last mentioned author of the *Golden Fleece*, which he wrote chiefly with a view to promote a settlement on the island of Newfoundland, gives us a sketch of the fishery on its banks, in which he says, “ the ports of Devonshire annually employed one hundred and fifty
 “ ships; and carried,” as at this day, “ their fish to Spain and Italy.” It seems in those days, that fishery was grievously disturbed by pirates, who had, in a few years before, pillaged them to the damage of forty thousand pounds, besides the loss of one hundred pieces of ordnance, and of above one thousand five hundred mariners, to the great hinderance of navigation.” In another place he says, “ that this fishery maintained eight thousand persons for six months in Newfoundland, and supported many thousands of families at home, as well their own families as those employed in preparing nets, casks, victuals, &c. and in
 “ repair-

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1626 “repairing the ships for that voyage.” The judicious Mr. Wood, the present secretary to the board of customs, in his Essay on Trade, first published in the year 1718, “thinks, that one hundred years before, *i. e.* about or near this time, we had upwards of two hundred ships annually employed in this fishery, when we furnished all Europe with fish.”

In this same year, the famous Sir Thomas Herbert sailed with six ships for the East Indies, of which, and of Persia, Japan, and the Moluccas, he gives a judicious account, for the time he lived in. At Casbin, in Persia, Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Dudmore Cotton, the two English ambassadors, with whom he had travelled, both died; and he returned home over land through Persia.

Mr. James Howell, in his life of King Louis XIII. of France, published in the year 1646, gives us an edict of that King, in this year 1626, which prohibits all commerce with England; “and that no kind of grain, wines, or pulse should be exported to England; nor from England to France; nor any cloths, ferges, wools, lead, tin, stuffs, silk stockings, &c.”—By this, says Howell, “one may observe the advantage that England had over France, in variety and substance of merchandize.”

We have taken particular notice of this circumstance, in this place, because were we ever so much at peace with that nation in our days, the case is so widely different from what it was in the year 1626, that they would take none of those articles from us but lead and tobacco; and they now know better than to prohibit the importation of our wool. So fluctuating is the course of trade in this and many more instances which might be produced. For Cardinal Richlieu, after reducing the power of the great nobility of France, earnestly promoted manufactures and maritime commerce, for the enriching of that kingdom; which Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, justly calls the splendor of kingdoms whilst in peace, and their main support in wars. “*Splendor regnorum dum quies est, fulcimentum belli, quoties propagandi imperii cupido erit.*”

For this end the Cardinal incorporated a society of one hundred merchants for traffic, both to the east and west, by sea and land, with a capital of six hundred thousand livres; who also engaged to lay out as much more in building of stout ships at Morbihan, near Vannes, in Bretagne, where this company erected warehouses, offices, and docks, and so many dwelling houses as made a good town. To that Company also he committed the sole trade to Canada colony, which they very soon greatly improved. That Cardinal, indeed, highly merited the dignity conferred on him of Superintendant-general of the Commerce and Navigation, and of being High Admiral of France. He persuaded Louis XIII. to lay out a vast sum in the purchase of ships in Holland, Denmark, and the Hans towns, for the protection of the coasts; the rovers of Barbary having taken or destroyed above one hundred French ships, and made slaves of some thousands of their people, whereby many families were undone: which improvements, though not effected so early as this year 1626, we judged might be mentioned with great propriety in this place.

King Charles I. of England disagreeing with his last Parliament, concerning the grievances they complained of, and their not settling the tonnage and poundage duty on him till their grievances should first be redressed; he thereupon suddenly dissolved it. And, in this same year 1626, we find in the eighteenth volume, p. 737, of the *Fœdera*, he, by his own sole authority, directs the customs, subsidies, and imposts on merchandize, both exported and imported, to be collected as usual in the manner they were collected at his father's death.

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In p. 741, *ibid.* King Charles I. directs a commission to the officers of his mint, “ for his money to be coined of the same fineness as before, viz. silver, of eleven ounces two penny-weights fine; crown gold of twenty-two carrats fine; and angel gold to be, as already it is, of twenty-three carrats three and two-thirds grains fine: also that a pound weight of silver shall make in current money three pounds ten shillings and six-pence. And that the pound weight of crown gold shall make in current money forty-four pounds by tale, of such pieces of gold as are now usually coined of that fineness.” This was an unaccountable direction, to have two sets of gold coins of different fineness and purity, in which, however, he imitated his father, and also to coin his silver money lighter than before; of which we shall shortly treat more at large.

King Charles being determined to raise what money he wanted without being beholden for it to a Parliament, we find, in the eighteenth volume, p. 771, &c. of the *Fœdera*, that he granted a commission to the Lord-treasurer and other great officers of State, “ to sell or grant in fee-farm, or for term of lives or years, in possession or in reversion, all or any of his honours, manors, old castles, forests, chaces, parks, lands, tenements, woods, &c. both in the survey of the Exchequer, and in the Duchy of Lancaster; as well such as were held by copy, as by lease, custody, &c.” The King had run himself deeply in arrear, for fitting out his late fleets with land forces, &c. against Spain: there was also a considerable debt at his father’s death; and he had already mortgaged to the city of London, in its corporate capacity, divers manors, lands, tenements, &c.—Thus did this King most improvidently for himself, and his successors (though, perhaps, not inauspiciously for the liberties of the people) divest himself of a most royal estate and revenue in lands: an estate which had ever been the principal independent support of the yearly expence of our Kings and their household in times of peace.

In p. 793 and 807, of the same volume, that King, in two separate commissions, appoints an envoy to the piratical states of Barbary, and to the town of Sallee, to treat of the redemption of English captives, and also of peace and commerce with them. For which purposes he carried with him all the Moors who had been made prisoners by the English, as also four brass and two iron cannons, with ammunition, &c. as presents: a method early practised by all other Christian States in treating with those people, to supply them with weapons for their own destruction.

It being near Christmas, King Charles, *ibid.* p. 798, again enjoins the nobility, &c. to withdraw from London, for keeping hospitality at their seats in the country.

The French having in this year seized on the English merchant ships in divers ports of France, by way of reprisal for three French ships lately taken by the English ships of war; and likewise on account of certain older pretended claims on England, amounting in all to twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; King Charles, in this same year, grants a commission for seizing on all the French effects in the English ports, by way of counter-reprisal. *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 802.

1627 *Ibid.* p. 813, a proclamation of King Charles was issued, importing, “ that the practice of making saltpetre in England, by digging up the floors of dwelling-houses, dove-houses, stables, &c. tended too much to the grievance of his subjects.” He had been of another mind in the preceding year, as we have seen. “ And that, notwithstanding all the trouble and charge attending this method, the undertakers could never yet furnish this realm with one third part of the saltpetre requisite, especially in time of war, when most wanted: the
“ earth

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1627 "earth of itself not being able to engender the matter whereof saltpetre is made, in many years, without the aid of artificial means for enriching the earth: and yet, the necessity of the present times requires so much to be made as would so impoverish the earth, that in a short time we should be utterly destitute of that inestimable treasure. Whereupon Sir John Brooke, and Thomas Russell, Esq; have proposed to us, to make such quantities of saltpetre as our realms shall want, and also to supply foreign nations therewith, by a new invention of their own, of which they have given demonstrative proof, and for which he had already granted them an exclusive patent. And as those patentees now want nothing but leave to collect a sufficient quantity of urine for their said manufacture of saltpetre, at their own charge; the King therefore commands all his subjects of London and Westminster, &c. near to the place where the said patentees have already erected a work for the making of saltpetre, that, after notice given to them respectively, they carefully keep in proper vessels all human urine, throughout the whole year, and also as much of that of beasts as can be saved, for the patentees to carry away from time to time."

Another proclamation, *ibid.* p. 822, comes out from that King against the eating of flesh in Lent, and on other fish-days.

And that King now issues a commission of enquiry into nuisances in and near London; such as stalls, slaughter-houses, brew-houses, smiths forges, brick kilns, coach houses, tallow chandlers, sinks, vaults, dunghills, laystalls, garbage, broken pavements, inmates in houses crowding the same, &c. and for redressing of all such-like disorders." *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 827, &c.

And, *ibid.* p. 831, King Charles commissions certain Aldermen, &c. of London, "to seize all foreign tobacco, not of the growth of Virginia or Bermudas, for his benefit, agreeable to a former commission: also to buy up, for his use, all the tobacco coming from our said plantations, and to sell the same again, for his benefit."

In the same month, *ibid.* p. 818, King Charles publishes his permission of fifty thousand pounds weight of Spanish tobacco to be imported; but then it was to be all bought by himself, and again sold out to his subjects. He directs, "that the said Spanish tobacco, and also all the Virginia and Somer Isles tobacco, shall be imported into the port of London only, and marked likewise with three different seals or stamps. Moreover, as great quantities of tobacco were still sown in England, contrary to law, he now renews the former prohibition of planting the same in England."

Ibid. p. 853, King Charles grants, "a commission to Captain John Hall, to command four ships and a pinnace for next year's voyage to the East Indies, under the direction of the English Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." This was only a matter of form: but he further "earnestly prohibits all his other subjects, excepting the said Company, from resorting to India, under the penalty of forfeiting ships and cargoes; half to the King, the other half to the Company, pursuant to King James's charter to that Company, dated the thirty-first of May, in the seventh year of his reign."

And King James having, in the year 1617, granted letters-patent to the English East India Company, to export to India all such foreign coin and bullion as they should first import from beyond sea, so as the same should not exceed the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in any one year; King Charles "now grants a licence to that Company, that, in consideration of the present prohibition of commerce with Spain, whereby they are disabled from procuring

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1627 " the quantity of silver they yearly want, they may, in their next voyage only, export thirty thousand pounds in foreign gold, in lieu of so much silver."

Ibid. p. 856, that King issues a new " proclamation against the furnishing of Spain with " provisions, ammunition, or materials for shipping of any kind; the King of Spain and the " Archduke," says our King, " having previously issued like orders on their part with respect " to our dominions."

Also, *ibid.* p. 861, King Charles grants fresh letters of reprisal in behalf of such of his subjects as have had their ships and merchandize taken by the French: " no redress having " been obtained, though often demanded." The same reprisals were again granted on the twentieth of April following. Page 887.

In p. 862, *ibid.* King Charles appoints Sir Peter Wyche to be his ambassador to the Grand Seignior, Sultan Moratt, with the customary powers of his appointing consuls in the several ports of Turkey, &c.

To what we have this year exhibited from the *Fœdera* concerning King Charles's quarrel with his brother-in-law King Louis XIII. we shall here add, that Louis, not only detaining the seven English ships, lent to him, but also employing them against his Protestant subjects, raised a great clamour in England: whereupon King Charles seized on several French ships in English ports; and Louis, on the other side, seized on no less than one hundred and twenty English ships in his ports. King Charles also now sent home all his Queen's French servants; and, in fine, published a declaration of war against France, wherein he accused Louis of breach of articles with his Protestant subjects, and of blocking up their towns and ports; for whose relief at Rochelle he, this same year, had sent out the Earl of Denbigh with thirty ships of war; but, being too late in the year, he was driven back by stormy weather.

We have before related from the *Fœdera*, that King Charles I. was so ill advised, as, for his private gain, to direct the nominal value of his coin to be raised above its intrinsic value, by coining the pound weight of silver into three pounds ten shillings and six-pence by tale, by which regulation he was to gain eight shillings and six-pence on every pound weight of silver. His Privy Council, however, were somewhat doubtful of the prudence of this measure: whereupon the famous Sir Robert Cotton, being excellently well skilled in the knowledge of such matters, and of the precedents of former reigns, was ordered to lay his opinion before the Board; which was greatly to his reputation. For, in a set speech at that Board, afterwards printed with his other posthumous pieces, in the year 1651, he most judiciously displayed " the great discredit as well as real loss which would thereby redound to the King him- " self, as well as to the whole realm. He shewed, that the Roman empire kept up the purity " of the standard of their coin until the loose times of Commodus, when excess of expence " introduced necessity, and that brought on the altering of the standard: and that the Majes- " ty of that empire gradually declined with the gradual alteration of their coin. So that, " there is no surer symptom of a consumption in any State than the corruption of their " money."

Coming, in the course of his work, to speak of our own Princes, he shews " the disrepu- " tation which fell on King Henry VI. by not only abating the quantity of bullion in his " coins, though still preserving the nominal value, but likewise debasing them, by directing " the practice of alchymy, as they termed it, in his mint. That King Henry VIII. fell into " the same bad measures." As is fully shewn in our introduction. " And that his daughter " Queen Elizabeth was most wisely advised by her Treasurer Burleigh, and by Sir Thomas " Smith,

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1627 “ Smith, that it would be for the honour of the crown and the true wealth of herself and
 “ people, to bring back the standard of the coins to the ancient parity and purity of her great
 “ grandfather King Edward IV. In the next place, he judiciously shews, that as coin or
 “ money was devised as a rate and measure of merchandize and manufacture, if that measure
 “ be rendered mutable, no man can tell what he hath or what he oweth; and no contract can
 “ be certain. That Princes are guarantees to their people for the justness of their coin, and
 “ must not suffer their faces to warrant falshood. That this proposal now on the anvil would
 “ take away the tenth part of every man’s due debt in rent. That, by coining the shilling
 “ with less silver in it than before, a proportionably-less quantity of any goods or merchan-
 “ dize will be sold for it. That the Netherlanders will, with our present good coins, re-coin
 “ with the King’s stamp, and import on us the newly enhanced coin. That if men shall re-
 “ ceive in the proposed nominal shillings and pounds a less proportion of silver and gold than
 “ they did before this projected alteration, and, at the same time, pay for what they buy at a
 “ rate enhanced, it must cast upon all a double loss. What the King will suffer by it in the
 “ rents of his lands is demonstrated enough by the alterations since the eighteenth year of
 “ King Edward III.” in 1344, “ when all the revenue came into the receipt, *pondere et nu-*
 “ *mero*, at the rate of five groats per ounce; which, since that time, by the several changes
 “ of the standard, is come to five shillings; whereby the King hath lost two-thirds of his re-
 “ venue. And the like in his customs and other receipts. And, as the King will lose a
 “ fourteenth part in all the silver, and a twenty-fifth part in all the gold he shall receive, so
 “ likewise will the nobility and gentry in all their former settled rents, annuities, pensions,
 “ and loans. The like also will fall upon the labourers and workmen in their statute wages:
 “ and as their receipts will hereby be lessened, so their issues will be increased by raising the
 “ prices of all things. It will lay the loss upon ourselves and the profit on our enemies:—
 “ since all our present good money will hereby be exported for bullion, our own goldsmiths
 “ being their brokers. This enfeebling of the coin is but a short lived shift, like drink to one
 “ in a dropsy, to make him swell the more. But the State was never thoroughly cured, as we
 “ saw by King Henry the Eighth’s time, and the late Queen’s, until the coin was made up
 “ again.

This most judicious and seasonable remonstrance was so well approved of, that this project was entirely set aside. We shall, nevertheless, seventy years later than this time, see so pernicious a proposal again started to King William’s Ministers; and had it not been for the remonstrance of another great man, the famous John Lock, Esq; who possibly might have been originally indebted for the same just notions to this speech of Sir Robert Cotton’s, seemed in a fair way of being received.

In this second year, therefore, of King Charles I. a pound weight of gold, of the old standard of twenty-three carrats, three and one-half grains, fine, and half a grain allay, was coined into forty-four pounds ten shillings by tale, viz. into rose rials, of thirty shillings; spur rials, of fifteen shillings; and angels, of ten shillings: and a pound weight of another standard, viz. of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, called crown gold, into forty-one pounds by tale, viz. into units, of twenty shillings; double crowns, ten shillings; and British crowns, five shillings. And a pound weight of silver, of the old standard of eleven ounces, two penny weights, fine, into sixty-two shillings, by tale; namely, into crowns, half crowns, shillings, six-pences, two-pences, pence, and halfpence.

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1627 In the same vol. xviii. p. 870, of the *Fœdera*, we find the following catalogue of patents for new projects, in this year, all for fourteen years, exclusive, viz.

I. " A patent to Lord D'Acce, and two others, for the sole making of steel, according to the invention of Thomas Letsome, one of the said patentees.

II. " To Sir John Hacket and Octavius de Strada, for rendering of sea coal and pit coal as useful as charcoal, for burning in houses, without offence by the smell or smoke, according to their invention.

III. " To Thomas Rouse and Abraham Cullyn, for the sole making of stone pots, jugs, and bottles, according to their new invention.

Also (IV. and V.) " One for draining of water out of mines, &c. and another for making of guns, great and small."

About this time, says the ingenious author of *Caribbeana*, (late Attorney-general of Barbadoes) printed at London, in the year 1741, in two quarto volumes, the sugar trade of England had its rise in the first settlement of the island of Barbadoes, the mother of all the sugar colonies. Yet, till several years after this time, the Portuguese supplied most parts of Europe with Brasil sugars. Others, we have seen, make the first planting on Barbadoes to have been twelve years earlier. Ligon, the otherwise accurate author of the history of Barbadoes, has left a blank in that work, for the year when Sir William Courten first discovered that fine island; though it is certain it was before the death of King James I. Yet planting of tobacco, which Ligon reckons the very worst he ever saw, together with their ginger and cotton wool, was all the trade that Barbadoes carried on till about the year 1642, when they first planted sugar canes, as will be seen in its proper place.

At this time, according to a pamphlet, translated from the French, in the year 1664, entitled, *A Treatise touching the East India trade*, when the French East India Company was first established, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, issued his letters-patent, for inviting his people to form a Swedish East India Company: but the war in Germany and that great King's death, a few years after, prevented the accomplishment of that design.

In the eighteenth volume, p. 896, of the *Fœdera*, we have a proclamation from King Charles I. which will, in part, shew the nature of the London goldsmiths business at this time; and, partly also, the existing state of our English silver and gold coins.

" Whereas the exchange of all manner of gold and silver, current in monies, or otherwise, as the buying, selling, and exchanging of all manner of bullion in species of foreign coins, billets, ingots, &c. fine, refined, or allayed, howsoever, being fit for our mint, hath ever been, and ought to be, our sole right, as part of our prerogative royal, and ancient revenue; wherein none of our subjects, of what trade or quality soever, ought at all, without our special licence, to intermeddle, the same being prohibited by divers acts of Parliament and proclamations, both ancient and modern. And whereas ourself, and divers of our royal predecessors, have, for some time past, tolerated a promiscuous kind of liberty to all, but especially to some of the mystery and trade of goldsmiths in London, and elsewhere, not only to make the said exchanges, but to buy and sell all manner of bullion: and from thence some of them have grown to that licentiousness, that they have for divers years professed, for their private gain, to sort and weigh all sorts of money current within our realm, to the end to cull out the old and new monies, which, either by not wearing or by any other accident, are weightier than the rest; which weightiest monies have not only been molten down, for the making of plate, &c. but even traded in and sold to merchant-stran-

gers,

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1627 "gers, &c. who have exported the same; whereby the consumption of coins has been greatly
 " occasioned, as also the raising of the silver even of our own monies to a rate above what
 " they are truly current for; by reason whereof no silver can be brought up to our mint, but
 " to the loss of the bringers, &c. For the reforming of all which abuses, we have, by the
 " advice of our privy council, determined to resume our said right, for our own profit, and
 " the good of the realm; and, for this end, we do now appoint Henry Earl of Holland, and
 " his deputies, to have the office of our changes, exchanges, and out changes whatsoever, in
 " England, Wales, and Ireland. And we do hereby strictly charge and command, that no
 " goldsmith, nor other person whatsoever, other than the said Earl of Holland, do presume
 " to change, &c. (as above) and as the following articles do more fully direct, in sub-
 " stance, viz.

First and Second, "None, without our special licence, shall transport to foreign parts any
 " gold or silver, in coin, plate, or bullion; as by statute of the ninth of King Edward III.
 " and the second of King Henry IV.

Third, "None shall presume to melt down the current coins of our kingdom, nor to cull
 " and sort from the rest any of their weightier monies.

Fourth, "None but our said changer, and his deputies, shall receive or take, by way of
 " payment or exchange, directly or indirectly, for any species of foreign coin, or other gold
 " or silver, more than the rates which now are, or hereafter may be given or allowed for the
 " same at our mint or exchange.

Fifth, "To prevent the frauds of goldsmiths against the statute of the eighteenth of Queen
 " Elizabeth, all goldsmiths, on the sale of any plate, shall deliver a ticket, with his name or
 " mark, to the buyer, expressing the day of sale, the weight of such plate, and the value or
 " rate of the gold or silver apart, and also the value and rate of the fashion apart, by which
 " may appear at what rate the one or the other was valued, &c.

Sixth, "In every piece of gold current for thirty shillings, twenty shillings, fifteen shillings,
 " ten shillings, five shillings, and two shillings and sixpence, the abatement shall not exceed
 " four grains and a half for thirty shilling pieces, three grains, two grains and a half, two
 " grains, one grain, and half a grain, for the other respective pieces. Which several gold
 " coins wanting no more, shall pass current, as if of full weight and value: but if they want
 " respectively more in weight than the said several respective abatements, then they shall not
 " be current; but shall be brought to our exchanges or mint, to be melted down, and made
 " into new coin.

Seventh, "No false or deceitful stuff or manufacture of gold or silver, less in fineness than
 " our money of gold and silver, shall be made, sold, or imported. Yet this order shall not
 " restrain any subject from importing of bullion from beyond-sea, to be carried to our mint
 " to be coined. Goldsmiths, however, may continue, agreeable to the franchises, &c. granted
 " to them by charters from us and our predecessors, to buy any gold or silver in plate, or other
 " manufacture, as heretofore, so as the same be bought or exchanged only to make plate, or
 " other manufacture; and that they do not give a higher rate for the same than the rate of our
 " mint; and that, under colour thereof, they do not buy, exchange, or intermeddle with
 " any foreign species of money, or other bullion, either foreign or of our own produce; all
 " which ought to be carried to and coined at our mint."

In the same year 1627, *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 904, King Charles directs a special commis-
 " sion of lords and gentlemen, "for six ships of war to be fitted out, viz. three of three hun-
 " dred

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“dred tons each, and three of two hundred tons burthen, for the guard of the northern sea-coasts of England from foreign enemies, whereby trade was much interrupted, and the city of London, and other parts of our kingdom, much damaged, for want of coals and other commodities, usually transported from Newcastle upon Tyne and Sunderland, to London, and parts adjacent, and to most other parts of our dominions. And, for bearing the expence of this armament, the King, beside the forfeitures of recusants convicted, hereby appropriates a voluntary offer made by the owners of coal-pits and the sellers of coals, to be carried from those two towns, either by sea or land, of six-pence on every chaldron of coals.”

Here we may very naturally observe,

First, What a poor armament this was, for the King to appoint a special commission of lords and gentlemen to get it ready.

Secondly, There is no other place therein named in the said commission but Newcastle and Sunderland for the coal-trade.

Thirdly, That this new town of Sunderland was by this time grown up to be of some consequence, although in Camden's *Britannia*, written but twenty years before, it was not deemed worthy of a bare mention.

Fourthly, That, by this time, the coal-trade from those parts to London, and other southern parts, was become very considerable.

Lastly, That although this King had many good ships of his own, for those times, yet they were all laid up at Chatham and Portsmouth; he having no funds for employing them against his foreign enemies, who were probably privateers from the Spanish Netherlands.

Notwithstanding the patent of the preceding year, for the new way of making saltpetre from urine, for which an office had been erected in Southwark, and notwithstanding King Charles's declaration, that the former way of keeping of floors digged up, &c. was so troublesome to his subjects, yet so unstable was he, that, in this same year 1627, vol. xviii. p. 915, of the *Fœdera*, we find him again renewing all his former orders and directions of the year 1625, for keeping the floors of dove-houses, stables, &c. free from sand, gravel, &c. for the growth of the mine or material of saltpetre, as before. And, p. 918, he gives a commission to the Duke of Buckingham, &c. “That, by reason of the extraordinary need there was then of saltpetre for gunpowder, they cause, enter, break open, and work for saltpetre, as well within houses, lands, &c. of us, as of our subjects; and to use all such ground, earth, walls, and water, as shall be requisite for that purpose. And also to take carriages and carts for the same, at the price of four-pence per mile per cart; the empty vessel to be re-carried gratis, as formerly. Also to take sea-coal and wood-shes, at reasonable prices; as also work-houses, barns, yards, &c. for working the mine of saltpetre, at reasonable rates, &c.”

In the same volume, p. 920, that King issued a new proclamation concerning tobacco, much in the stile of his own and his father's former ones, and for the sole monopoly thereof.

First, “He enjoins the plucking up of all tobacco growing in England and Ireland, and strictly forbids the planting any more.

Secondly, “None shall hereafter import any Spanish or other foreign tobacco, without the King's special commission.

Thirdly, “And, because such foreign tobacco should not be uttered under the pretence of being the tobacco of Virginia and the Somer Isles, and other English colonies, and that the planters in his said colonies may not give themselves over to the planting of tobacco only, and neglect to apply themselves to solid commodities, fit for the establishing of colonies,

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" nics, which will utterly destroy these and all other plantations; from henceforth no tobacco, even of our own colonies, shall be imported, without our own special licence: and what shall be so imported, shall be delivered to our use, upon such reasonable price as shall be agreed on.

Fourthly, " No person shall henceforth buy any tobacco here but from our commissioners: which tobacco shall be sealed or stamped; and, when sold again, a note shall be made, expressing the time when bought, and the quantity and quality thereof."

In the same eighteenth volume, p. 932, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles issues the following declaration, viz.

" Whereas the kingdom of Ireland, by reason of the peace and plenty it hath of late enjoyed, is so stored with profitable commodities and merchandizes, that they have not only enough for their own use, but also for exportation:

" And whereas the Irish exported commodities are such as are usually or mostly carried to countries not in league or friendship with us:" meaning Spain and Portugal, " for the increase, therefore, of our revenue, we have thought fit to raise a higher and greater imposition or increase of subsidy on the goods therein specified; whereby our said enemies, or those not in league with us, who stand in need of those commodities, must pay higher rates for the same than heretofore.

" The commodities herein specified were pilchards, herrings, salmon, butter, salted flesh of all kinds, sheep and calves-skins, ox-hides, tallow-candles, iron, wool, yarn, rugs, blankets, wax, goat and deer-skins, live bulls, oxen, cows, horses, pipe-staves, corn and pulse of all kinds. But the additional duties thereon shall not take place for any importations into England. No pipe-staves, or wool, and sheep-skins with the wool, shall be exported from Ireland, without a special licence. And merchant-strangers shall pay one-fourth part more than natives at such exportations."

King Charles now sent out the Duke of Buckingham, with ten of his ships of war, ninety transports, and seven thousand troops, designed for the relief of Rochelle. But not being admitted with his troops into that city, which King Charles was suspected of designing to keep to himself, he landed on the isle of Rhé, and attempted to besiege the fort and town of St. Martin's; but that Duke being unskilled in warlike affairs, was shamefully baffled in the attempt; and, after losing the greatest part of his troops, precipitately re-embarked, and returned home with the remainder, after great expence to no purpose.

In the same eighteenth volume, p. 950, and 961, we again have King Charles's frequently repeated two sorts of proclamations: the one enjoining the nobility and gentry to withdraw to their country-seats, for the keeping of hospitality; and the other against the eating of flesh in Lent, and on other fast days, for the seemingly idle reasons already so often assigned.

In p. 970, in the same volume, that King renewed his commission for the better execution of his former proclamation touching the office of his changer and re-changer of gold and silver; and for restraining goldsmiths from culling, melting down, &c. of the coin.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 987, in a long list of dignities and offices, created in this year 1627, there is one, " for the sole making and registering of all manner of assurances, intimations, and renunciations, made upon any ship or ships, goods, or merchandize, in the Royal Exchange, or other places within the city of London, for thirty-one years."

Other projected monopolies of this year are in p. 992, of the said eighteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, viz.

1627 First, "A charter to three persons for the sole practice of their new invention for the melting of iron ore, and making the same into cast-works and bars, with sea-coal and pit-coal only."

Secondly, "A device for earing and plowing of land, without either horses or oxen."

Thirdly, "For the sole use of a new-invented engine, to make all manner of mills to grind and perform their wonted labour, without the help either of horses, wind, or water; under the yearly rent of one hundred pounds to the Exchequer."

All these were for fourteen years exclusive.

In the same year 1627, King Charles I. is said to have made a grant to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, of the fine island of Barbadoes, and also of all the other English Caribbee isles. Yet the Earl of Clarendon, in one of his tracts, testifies, that James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer, had a prior grant thereof, in this same year; and that he afterwards, viz. in the year 1629, as shall be shewn from the *Fœdera*, consented to have those isles granted to the said Earl of Carlisle, upon payment of three hundred pounds per annum; although the planters themselves then insisted on the King's taking them under his own immediate protection, and on the revoking that charter to Lord Carlisle; and with good reason, as they alone had been at the expence of planting the same.

Sir William Courten, who first planted Barbadoes, in the reign of King James I. is said by his son to have been three years in quiet possession of it, and to have expended thirty thousand pounds in forts, buildings, and plantations there. How he came now to lose it, or whether he sold it in parcels to the said planters, or that his right was disputable, does not clearly appear. In a printed account of his great losses sustained in his trade to the East Indies, his son positively affirms, that his father first discovered, planted, and fortified the island of Barbadoes, and afterwards had a grant of it from King Charles I. in the third year of his reign, by patent; and that the Earl of Carlisle, in virtue of his grant, the following year, intruded, and took forcible possession thereof; for which injury, Sir William's representatives never had any compensation.

These West India isles, before the planting of sugar-canes, was practised in them were in those early times thought of very little worth, otherwise the grant above-mentioned would not have been so readily made. The planters, however, went on in the improving of them during all the civil war, and the usurpation; but, at the restoration of King Charles II. it was determined by the King and council, that out of the revenue of Barbadoes, then greatly improved, the three hundred pounds per annum should be allowed to the Earl of Marlborough, for his life; and that, once for all, one thousand pounds should be paid to the Earl of Kinnoul, who claimed under the Earl of Carlisle's grant, so as he surrendered Lord Carlisle's charter. And thus Barbadoes, and all the other Caribbee isles, Barbuda excepted, thenceforward came under the immediate government of the crown, as they have ever since remained.—See the year 1628.

We have related under the year 1625, that the English and French, in one and the same day, settled on the island of St. Christopher, the best of all our Caribbee isles next after Barbadoes. "In this year 1627, a solemn agreement was executed between the planters of both nations, for dividing that island between them, and proper boundaries were fixed, which (says our French author, remain to this day, viz. in 1658. But there was a special proviso, that fishing, hunting, the salt ponds, the most precious kind of wood, for dyers and joiners work, and the havens and mines, should all be common to both nations. They also made a mutual covenant, for their defence against the common enemy, meaning Spain.

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1627 "That a Company at London supplied the English there with every thing very well;
" and that the English, being better acquainted with the sea and with colonizing, improved
" their moiety of this isle much better and quicker than the French did theirs." We wish we
could now say the like in our own favour, with particular respect to the much more important
island of Jamaica. "So that the English were enabled, in the following year 1628, to go
" over to the isle of Nevis, and to plant thereon; it being but about half a league distant."

The two nations lived well enough together till the revolution in England, in 1689, when
the French, by surprize, and before war was declared in Europe, fell upon the English, at the
instigation of the Irish papists settled with them, and got the better of them; obliging them
to retire to Nevis: and, the year following, the English, headed by Colonel Coddington,
served the French in the same manner: yet they were restored by the peace of Ryswick. On
the breaking out of the war in 1702, Colonel Coddington again dispossessed the French; and
by the peace of Utrecht we have it entire. It is a noble and fruitful isle, making ten thousand
hogheads of sugar yearly, and has plenty of other excellent productions, as cotton, ginger,
&c. and is well watered.

N. B. The isle of Dominica, lying between Martinico and Guadaloupe, has been claimed
both by England and France; and, for that reason, had never yet been planted by either na-
tion; and has still many Caribbean natives on it, who were much increased by the Caribbeans
retiring to it, who had been driven out of the other neighbouring isles by the Europeans.
This isle is always still included in the Governor of Barbadoes's commission, though the
French would not permit our settling it. The Caribbean natives were said to favour the
French more than the English; and to sell their poultry, hogs, &c. to those of Martinico.
Yet we, as well as other European nations, did sometimes wood and water on it; although
it has neither ports nor good bays for shelter. In the year 1761 we took entire possession
of it.

Descada is partly planted by the French; though the time when is not well known: and it
is generally said to be of very small importance.

1628 At this time the Hollanders did infinite damage to the Spaniards in the West Indies, by
taking their plate fleet, and plundering the coasts of the island of Cuba. It would be almost
endless to enumerate the damages they, at different times, did to Spain, till the year 1648,
when the peace of Munster put a period to all their differences.

We may, in a great measure, understand the true state of the English East India Company's
affairs, at this time, from their petition and remonstrance to the House of Commons, printed
in this year 1628; being in substance, "That the Company having existed twenty-eight
" years, by charters from Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, they traded
" with great success to India, until sundry ill accidents, from storms and enemies, but more
" especially from professed friends and allies," meaning the Dutch Company, "have infi-
" nitely damaged it.—Which misfortunes, together with our annual exportation of foreign
" coin to India, having begot such causeless complaints as thereby have much discouraged
" the adventurers from any longer trading under the general censure of all ranks in the na-
" tion.—They therefore humbly pray that honourable House to take the following articles or
" queries into their consideration. And if, upon their examination, the said trade shall be
" found to be unprofitable to the kingdom, that it may be suppressed.—But, if otherwise, they
" pray, that it may be supported and countenanced by some public declaration, for the fa-
VOL. II. 'tisfaction

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1628 "tisfaction of all his Majesty's subjects, and the better encouragement of the present adventurers."

"Article I. The Company's trade much increaseth the strength of England with mariners, warlike shipping, ammunition, and all useful artificers relating thereto; as also the general traffic of England, not only by its own trade to India, but by its large magazine of many rich Indian wares, to be exported to foreign countries, as Turkey, Italy, the East Country, &c."

Here they expatiate on their former benefits to the public, "when, some few years before they employed fifteen thousand tons of shipping, all at one time, either going to, coming from, or trading in India, from port to port: and that at present they employ ten thousand tons and two thousand five hundred mariners.—That, last year, they imported pepper to the value of two hundred and eight thousand pounds sterling; whereof the value of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds was re-exported to foreign parts in a few weeks; and much the like of indigo, callicoes, and divers other rich wares: by which re-exports they employ two thousand more tons of shipping and five hundred mariners. That at least one thousand persons are supported by the building and repair of their ships, the making their artillery, naval stores, provisions, &c. beside the tonnage employed by the Company to fetch timber, and pipe staves out of Ireland," here Ireland still supplies timber, though in our time quite destitute of it, "and hemp out of Eastland;—and for the importing of wines, elephants teeth, wrought silks, coral, quicksilver, &c. to furnish out those voyages.—That the great magazines of naval stores and ammunition, which the Company has always ready, are often helpful to others, as being no-where else to be had for money at home; and they at this time make thirty barrels of gunpowder weekly at their own powder mills, of the saltpetre they import from India.

"II. It increases the general wealth of the nation.—It saves much money yearly to our nation in the expence of Indian wares, by supplying them so much cheaper than they could have them from other European nations.—It increases, very considerably, the King's customs,—improves the price of land, and of wool, tin, lead, iron, &c. Wherefore, although, in the Company's late unfortunate years, they have themselves been losers, yet the crown and nation have all the while been gainers by this trade.—That the vent of our cloth, lead, tin, &c. in India continually increases.—That it is by reason of the Company's having, for three years past, been expelled the Spice Islands by the Dutch, that those spices are twice as dear as when the Company imported them from India.—That the raising the price of lands being of the greatest consequence to gentlemen, this can only be done by our exporting more in value of our own native commodities than we import of those of other nations, the balance whereof will come to us in treasure; and an increase of treasure will ever enhance the price of lands." And that the treasure so received by the balance of our foreign commerce is the only money which can remain permanently with us, and by which we are enriched.—That this increase of money will also naturally increase the price of wool, tin, lead, &c. which also will contribute to increase the price of lands, as does also the increase of the merchants riches gotten by traffic.—That it well merits consideration, that there are three different species of profit in foreign commerce:

"First, The private merchant may be a loser when the nation may be a gainer by this traffic. For instance, the Company shall send out goods or money to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, and bring home three hundred thousand pounds value in return;

"yet,

1628 " yet, though this counter-balance the public stock, the Company may nevertheless be losers, if the goods in return be so bulky as to occasion so much freight of shipping, insurance, customs, and other charges, as amount to two hundred thousand pounds, which added to the principal of one hundred thousand pounds, will make the Company losers, although the nation may be gainers by the additional two hundred thousand pounds.

" Secondly, The merchant may be a gainer by a losing trade to the nation, if our imports exceed our exports in the general balance. And,

" Lastly, The King may be a gainer in his customs, when both the merchant and the nation may be losers by some trades.

" III. As for the Company's next two articles, viz.

" First, Their being a means to weaken the King of Spain and his subjects, and to exhaust their treasures; and,

" Secondly, Their counterpoising the Hollanders swelling greatness of trade, and to keep them from being absolute lords of the seas, whenever they shall drive us out of this rich traffic, as they have long endeavoured to do, both by policy and force."

They were considerations entirely temporary, or properly suitable to that age alone, and therefore not now to be regarded.

" IV. To the common objection, that the East-India trade exhausts our treasure," which objection was made so early in Spain as the reign of the Emperor Charles V. " the Company replies, that this trade is so far from doing it, that, with respect to their carrying it on, it is the best means to increase the treasure of this kingdom.—For they receive a greater balance in cash, by the vast quantities of East India merchandise re-exported to other countries, than the sums sent out to India; beside the employing much shipping and many sailors therein, &c.—All which the Company submitted to that honourable House." But the King's sudden dissolution of the Parliament prevented their taking this remonstrance into their consideration: wherefore that Company continued to carry on their trade to India, though with various success.

This piece being one of the most authentic and judicious vindications of our East India trade, we have made the larger extract from it, as it may hereafter save the trouble of exhibiting the same sort of answers to future objections concerning it. It was so well esteemed as to be afterwards re-printed in the year 1641. Yet we must here, in point of justice, remark, that in that whole piece there is not the least mention of the Company's being a monopoly, although that was then one of the objections against it. The Company's silence on that tender point was, probably, the effect of their great prudence, as not being able, in that critical time, to satisfy the House of Commons concerning what they were then loudly complaining of in general, both within and without doors.

Notwithstanding England's former disappointments concerning the planting in, or trading to, Guiana, it was, in this year 1628, again attempted by a company; and a patent was granted to Captain North, &c. who had been with Sir Walter Raleigh in the last unfortunate adventure thither. They even went so far as to make a settlement on the river of Amazons, and began to erect buildings, fortifications, &c. But this came afterwards to nothing, though not immediately: for in Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, first published in the year 1635, he reports, " that there was then actually an English colony in Guiana, which yielded the best tobacco; and that the natives were the most tractable of any of our settlements." How

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1628 this came to be dropped, we apprehend, does no where appear. Unless, possibly, this author meant the colony of Surinam, which was first settled by England somewhat near this time.

The very first record of the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera* is a proclamation, of King Charles I. in the year 1628, against the carrying provisions or ammunition to France, whose King, Louis XIII. had, in the preceding year, published two several edicts against supplying of England therewith, full of acrimony, says our King.

Our said King, having in the preceding year miscarried in his expedition against the isle of Rhe, sent out this year a fleet, under the Earl of Lindsey, for the relief of Rochelle, then closely besieged by Louis XIII. Cardinal Richlieu being at that siege in person. Our King having in this same year concluded a treaty with the Rochellers, wherein he promised never to abandon them, nor to make peace with their King without comprehending them therein; as in vol. ii. of the general Collection of Treaties, second edition, in 1723, p. 259, 262; yet that fleet was obliged to return home, without being able to effect it. King Charles, in the same year, sent out another fleet for its relief, under the Earl of Danby, which also returned unsuccessful; the boom placed before the entrance into its harbour being judged too strong to be forced. Whereupon the poor Rochellers were forced to surrender to the French King, to the unspeakable loss of the French Protestant church, as well as of England,—which, by supporting Rochelle and the other French Protestants in general, might not only have been much better able to bridle the growing power of the French monarchy, but likewise to have kept the balance of trade with that kingdom much more in our favour. For, after the surrender of Rochelle, and the demolishing the fortifications, first of Montauban, and afterwards of Nîmes and Montpellier, the Protestants were never able to make head against the Catholics. Puffendorf relates, that some have thought those civil wars had, first and last, devoured above a million of people, destroyed or greatly damaged nine cities, four hundred villages, twenty thousand churches, and two thousand monasteries; and that ten thousand houses were either burned or demolished in consequence of them.

King Charles's first letter to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, and Burgessees of Rochelle, was of the nineteenth of May, 1628. "Gentlemen, be not discouraged, though my fleet be returned; hold out to the last, for I'm resolved my whole fleet shall perish, rather than you be not relieved. For this effect, I have ordered it to return back to your coasts, and am sending several ships to reinforce it: with the help of God the success shall be happy for you."

His second letter to them was of the twenty-seventh of May, O. S. "Gentlemen, I have been much troubled to hear that my fleet was upon the point of returning home, without obeying my orders in supplying you with provisions: cost what it will I have commanded them to return to your road, and not to come away till you are supplied.—Assure yourselves, that I shall never abandon you, and that I shall employ the whole power of my kingdom for your deliverance, until God assist me to obtain for you an assured peace."

"Your good friend, CHARLES R."

In this year the Dutch West India Company are said to have divided fifty per cent. to their proprietors; by means of their having in the same year taken the Spanish plate fleet, as already mentioned, valued by some at twelve millions of guilders. They had also got much treasure by driving a Spanish Squadron of ships on shore, on the coast of Peru, and plundering the same. By such very great losses on the side of Spain, it was as impossible for that monarchy

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1628 not to decline very much, as for the Dutch republic not to increase greatly in wealth and power.

In the nineteenth volume, p. 27, of the *Fœdera*, there is King Charles the First's commission for treating again with the piratical ports of Barbary, for the redemption of English captives there, and for establishing peace and commerce with them. For which end he sent them six iron cannon, and seven hundred bullets, as a present.

So great was the power and wealth of the city of Dantzick at this time, being now in her meridian glory, that the great King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, being this year at war with Poland, and sending a squadron of eight ships of war, for the blocking up of the port of that city, the Dantzickers sent out ten ships of war against the Swedish fleet; which they vanquished, having killed the Swedish Admiral, taken the admiral-ship, and obliged the rest to fly. This is by Puffendorf's own confession, in his *History of Sweden*, (English Translation, p. 506.)

Sir David Kirk and his associates, during a war between England and France, now possessed themselves of Canada, which then consisted only of the country on the north side of the great river of St. Lawrence, together with the castle of Quebec; of which the said Sir David's son was appointed Governor: and in the same year they conquered Nova Scotia, which Sir William Alexander again possessed; when the French agreed to recognize our King's property of all Nova Scotia: and, it is said, they agreed to pay Sir David Kirk fifty thousand pounds for his quitting the forts which he had possessed himself of in Canada: which sum, however, was never paid.

In the same year, the English, under Sir Thomas Warner, from St. Christopher's Isle, again planted the near neighbouring small isle of Nevis, formerly called Mevis, being about eighteen miles in circuit. It has plenty of fresh-water springs, and has now scarcely any other staple produce but sugar and molassus, though it formerly yielded tobacco, ginger, and cotton. It is said they have at this time about three thousand whites, and eight thousand negro slaves. From this isle, it seems, may be plainly seen, in a clear day, the islands of St. Christopher, Eustatia, Saba, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Bartholomew, and Guadaloupe.

In that same year the isle of Barbuda was also first settled on by the English from St. Christopher's, by Sir Thomas Warner, &c. At first they were so harrassed by the Caribbeans from Dominica, as to be obliged to desert it: yet, the Caribbean natives being afterwards greatly diminished, the English again planted on it. It is about fifteen miles in length, and is the only proprietary government of all the English Caribbee isles, its Governor being in the nomination of the heirs of Christopher Coddington, Esquire, who was Governor of Barbadoes in the reign of Queen Anne, and who settled this isle and a good estate in Barbadoes for the support of his college in the last-named isle, for the instruction of the children of negroes. This is no sugar isle; the breeding of cattle for the other English isles being the principal employment of the inhabitants: they also raise plenty of corn and other provisions for the use of those isles.

It was in and about this same year 1628, that the discoveries were first made by the Dutch East India Company's ships of the southern continent, first named *Carpentaria*, from its discoverer, and since named *New Holland*, lying to the south of the island of Java; other parts of this discovery had also the names of their discoverers given them; viz. *Dewitt's Land*, and *Nuyt's Land*. Nevertheless, after so many years discovery, neither the Dutch nor any other nation, have as yet made any kind of advantage or improvement from it; nor has any settle-
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1628 ment been hitherto made on that country in all this time. Another generation may possibly discover whether it be only an huge island, separated from the continent next the south pole, and may possibly make settlements thereon. Some pretend, that there is some mystery in the Dutch Company's not making a settlement on this *Terra Australis*, or South Pole Lands; (vide our Introduction, under the name—Colonel Purry) though the most probable account of this matter seems to be no more, than that the Dutch Company have already as much territory as they can well manage; and that the said new lands are thought so very barren, that it is not likely they would answer the charge and trouble of forming colonies thereon.

We have seen, under the year 1627, that King Charles I. revived the office of the King's Exchanger of gold and silver, called *Cambium Regis*, which had been long in disuse: he being so ill-advised as rather to supply his necessities by such sort of monopoly projects, than to yield to the desires of the House of Commons for the redress of grievances, prior to, or even equal in point of time with their granting him supplies. A pamphlet therefore was, in this year 1628, published by his authority, intitled, *Cambium Regis*, or the Office of his Majesty's Exchange-Royal; declaring and justifying his Majesty's Right thereto, and the convenience thereof.—Wherein it was shewn,—

“ That the prerogative of exchange of bullion for coin has always been a flower of the crown, of which instances are quoted from the time of King Henry the First downward.—
 “ That King John farmed out that office for no smaller a sum than five thousand marks.—
 “ That the place or office where the exchange was made in his reign, was near St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and gave name to the street still called the Old Change.—That, in succeeding reigns, there were several other places for those exchanges, beside London.—That this method continued to King Henry the Eighth's time, who suffered his coin to be so far debased, that no regular exchanges could be made.—That the said confusion made way for the London goldsmiths to leave off their proper trade of *goldsmithrie*, i. e. the working and selling of new gold and silver plate and manufacture, the sole intent of all their charters; and to turn exchangers of plate and foreign coins for our English coins; although they had no right to buy any gold or silver for any other purpose than for their manufacture aforesaid: neither had any other person, but those substituted by the crown, a right to buy the same.—The King, therefore, has now resumed this office, not merely to keep up his right so to do, but likewise to prevent those trafficking goldsmiths from culling and sorting all the heavy coin, and selling the same to the mint of Holland, which gained greatly thereby; or else by melting those heavy coins down for making of plate: witness the pieces of thirteen pence halfpenny, old shillings of Queen Elizabeth, ninepenny, and fourpenny halfpenny pieces; which, being weighty monies, none of them were now to be met with; whereby they have raised the price of silver to two pence per ounce above the value of the mint; which thereby has stood still ever since the eleventh of King James.—That for above thirty years past it has been the usual practice of those exchanging goldsmiths to make their servants run every morning from shop to shop, to buy up all weighty coins for the mints of Holland and the East Countries; whereby the King's mint has stood still (as above).”
 “ The former allowances in the said old *Cambium Regis*, were one penny, and sometimes one penny halfpenny exchange upon the value of every noble, i. e. six shillings and eight pence. Those offices were usually sold by the crown for a considerable sum of money, and the King's exchanger had also the sole right of exchanging plate and any other manufac-
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1628 ture of gold or silver at home for the King's coin, taking the same allowance, and also the coinage duty.

Against the revival of this Royal Exchanger the Goldsmith's Company of London earnestly petitioned the King and Council, as did afterward the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council, in behalf of the Goldsmith's Company, who called themselves no fewer than nine hundred families; whereas the royal pamphlet asserts, that not above ten goldsmiths were concerned in this exchanging trade. In short, upon a second petition of the goldsmiths, the King told them, "to trouble him no further, since his right to the office was undoubtedly clear;" which indeed was very true: but, as it had been so long in disuse, and his people accustomed to a way they liked better, it was not well judged to force this obsolete, and now inconvenient custom upon them. The times were much altered, by the great increase of wealth and commerce, since King Henry the Eighth's reign. But his obstinacy in this and so many other respects, brought on him much misery at last.

1629 On the 2d March 1628-9, King Charles dissolved his Parliament, using many sharp expressions in his proclamation for that end, (vol. xix. p. 29, of the *Fœdera*) to testify his resentment against those members of the House of Commons who opposed his measures. By which the differences between him and his people grew daily wider. Yet, rather than have any more Parliaments, he continued to employ many arbitrary and illegal methods for raising money by his sole prerogative. So from this time, till the year 1640, there was no Parliament summoned.

In p. 35, *ibid.* in a catalogue of offices filled up by that King, in the fourth year of his reign, there seems to have been a project of his, for producing of raw silk in England. It is "a grant to Walter, Lord Aston, &c. of the keeping of the Garden, Mulberry-trees, and "Silk-worms, near St. James's, in the County of Middlesex." Or, possibly, this was only the continuation of the King his father's project, in the year 1608. There is a place a little way without the south-west gate of St. James's Park, towards Chelsea, which still bears the name of the Mulberry Garden, and answers to the description of that above-mentioned.

Ibid. p. 40, we see a catalogue of grants for other inventions, as they are termed, in the said year, for fourteen years exclusive, viz.

"1. For the sole making of an engine for the more easy cutting of timber; under the yearly rent of forty shillings, to be paid into the Exchequer.

"2. ————— Engines for draining of marsh lands.

"3. ————— A medicine for preserving of sheep from the rot.

"4. An engine for the safe transportation of horses and other cattle from Ireland into England, and from England into Ireland."

By an act of Parliament of this third of King Charles I. cap. iv. corn was permitted to be exported to the King's allies, when at the following, which must therefore have been then esteemed moderate, prices: viz. wheat, per quarter, thirty-two shillings; rye, twenty shillings; beans, sixteen shillings; and barley, or malt, at sixteen shillings per quarter.

King Charles I. in the first year of his reign, first incorporated that best planted and most populous province of New England, called the Massachusetts Bay, of which Boston is the capital town.

King Charles II. in the thirty-six year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1684, having, for his arbitrary ends, compelled the city of London, by a *quo warranto*, to surrender their

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1629 their charters, this province was likewise obliged to submit to it, (as was also the colony of New Plymouth, and the province of Main :) but that province was, in the year 1691, again incorporated by King William and Queen Mary, by its old name: but the crown thereby reserved the appointing of its Governor, Deputy Governor, Secretary, and Judge Admiral:—the other officers, civil and military, are in the nomination of their House of Representatives; who elect also the Council. This province, together with Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation, constitute what is commonly called New England: though surely, it is to be wished, they could all be united under that name as one entire province. As for New Hampshire, commonly esteemed a part of New England, it was made a separate province, immediately depending on the crown, as is now also Georgia and Nova Scotia; all whose governors, councils, and magistrates, are in the King's appointment.

Thus Maryland and Pennsylvania are a kind of monarchial tributary governments—Connecticut and Rhode Island may be called tributary popular governments—And the Massachusetts Bay is a mixture of regal and popular constitutions. In our days, the two Carolinas and New Jersey are become regal governments; as Virginia and New York were long before; as are also all our islands in the American seas, except Barbuda. Hitherto, these different forms of government have not very materially, or generally affected the commerce of the British empire, though most men are under apprehension, that sooner or later, they may produce that effect.

The silk manufacture at London was by this time become so considerable, that, in this fifth year of King Charles the First, the Silk Throwers of that city and within four miles of it, were incorporated under the name of, The Master, Warden, Assistants, and Commonalty of Silk Throwers, *i. e.* Silk Twisters, from a now obsolete verb, to throw, *i. e.* to twist, or twine.

In the nineteenth volume, p. 64-5, of the *Fœdera*, we find, King Charles settles a pension of three hundred pounds per annum on his nephew Prince Rupert, and the like on the Princess Elizabeth, children of his sister the Electress Palatine, whom this King styles Queen of Bohemia, although her father King James would never give her that appellation, lest the Spanish court should take umbrage.

In p. 66, *ibid.* we find King Charles's proclamation of peace with France, both by sea and land, and the renewal of the intercourse of commerce between the two nations, on the footing of ancient treaties.

Upon this peace, Cardinal Richlieu, who was Superintendant-General of the commerce and navigation of France, resolved to maintain three fleets or squadrons of ships constantly in pay: the first, for the guard of the French coast on the ocean; the second for the like purpose on the Mediterranean coast; the third to remain ready in the ports of Gascoigne, for the convoying and protecting the French merchantmen trading to Canada. This was, without doubt, a very wise resolution in that able Minister, France being till now utterly destitute of maritime strength.

In p. 72, *ibid.* we find that, upon King Charles's disbanding his army, which had been employed beyond sea, swarms of Irish beggars were every where seen, to the great annoyance of the country.—“The King thereupon issues his proclamation, commanding them forthwith to return to Ireland, to be conveyed from constable to constable to one or other of the following sea-ports, *viz.* Bristol, Minehead, Barnstaple, Chester, Liverpool, Milford, and Workington; directing them to be punished as rogues and vagabonds, wherever found beg-
“ging

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1629 “ging afterwards. They were to be shipped at the charge of the respective counties. And “it was thereby further directed, that no ship shall bring over any beggars from Ireland.”—(Which we heartily wish were legally enacted at this day, unless, which would be still better for the nation, means were found to set all the Irish poor coming to Britain immediately on some useful employment on their arrival; for London streets at present shamefully swarm with them.)—“It was also thereby directed, that all the English who shall beg as disbanded soldiers “or mariners, be punished as vagabonds.”

Very various were the shifts and devices which King Charles I. was put upon, in the long interval of Parliament, for the procuring of money. In p. 89, of the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we find him, in this year 1629, “commissioning Sir Sackville Crowe to get six “hundred and ten pieces of iron cannon cast in our forge (*foculi nostro*) within our forest of “Dean, in Gloucestershire, or elsewhere, as to you it shall seem fit.” And, in p. 99, *ibid.* he employs “Philip Burlamach, an eminent merchant, to sell those cannon, (*viz.* four “thousand ton weight thereof) to the States General of the United Netherlands, for the re- “deeming from them his crown jewels, pawned in the year 1625, for three hundred thou- “sand pounds. Thus England was still eminent for its manufacture of iron artillery, beyond “any other country in Europe.”

And (p. 92, *ibid.*) he confirms “the Starch-makers Company’s monopoly, established by “his father.” And (p. 94, *ibid.*) he prohibits “the importation of French wines, for a “limited time, on pretence of a complaint of the merchants and vintners, that the quantity “thereof remaining unfold was so large, that they could not carry on their business without “such a temporary prohibition.” This too was, probably, a monopolizing job.

In the same nineteenth volume, p. 95, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles prohibits the sale to so- “foreigners, of any ship or vessel, whether English built or otherwise.

In p. 102, *ibid.* we find that the coasts of England and Ireland were now much infested by pirates of various nations.—King Charles therefore commissions his Lord Treasurer Weston and others, “To send forthwith to sea such ships as they should judge needful for suppressing “of those pirates, who committed all manner of hostilities and spoils, to the utter overthrow “of all mutual trade between our own subjects and all other merchant-strangers, subjects of “our friends and allies.”

In p. 119, *ibid.* King Charles grants a special commission for compounding, for a certain sum, with all such as had neglected to obey his proclamation, enjoining all freeholders of forty pounds per annum, to come and take the honour of knighthood.

It was about this time that King Charles’s necessities obliged him to retrench the vast ex- pence of his household, by abolishing the greatest part of the daily tables in his palace, being, till then, it is said, eighty in number, for the entertainment of his officers and servants; by allowing them, in lieu of those tables, a certain annual sum by the name of board wages: whereby both the crown and its household servants are in the issue considerable gainers. This was, probably, by Sir Robert Cotton’s advice, who, in a speech at the council table, told the King, “that there was never a back-door of his palace into Westminster, but what cost him “two thousand pounds yearly.”

This, we conceive, was the original of the board wages, which, in all the lists of the hous- holds of our monarchs, we see to be ever since allowed to the King’s menial officers and ser- vants. Some further reductions of the same sort have been since made in the King’s hous- hold, in lieu of which an addition has been made to their salaries.

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In this same year 1629, the Spanish admiral had orders, in his way to New Spain, to drive the English and French from the island of St. Christophers, where he seized on some English ships; and, landing, drove the French from their forts, and obliged them to embark, as he also did as many of the English as their own ships could hold. But, when the Spanish fleet was gone, the English left in that island, began to improve it with great spirit; the French also returned to their old plantations there, and both nations were well supplied and supported from their respective mother countries. And the English planters becoming, in a very short time, too numerous for their moiety of that island, they from thence soon after gradually peopled and planted the isles of Barbuda, Montserrat, Antigua, and Barbadoes; as the French also did Gandaloupe, &c. in the same neighbourhood.

We have seen, in vol. xix. p. 127, of the *Fœdera*, “a confirmation of a grant from King Charles to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and to his heirs for ever, of all and singular the islands, commonly called the Caribbees, situated between the tenth and twentieth degrees of north latitude, and between the three hundred and fifteenth and three hundred and twenty-seventh degrees of longitude, towards the continent of America:” herein named by the King, the province of Carlisle, and the islands of Carlisle;—(*Regionis five Provinciæ Carliolæ et Insularum Carleolarum.*) And, in December following, the said Earl of Carlisle appoints one Hugh Lamy, a French Protestant of Normandy, to receive, during life, all the rents and revenues of the said isles, upon his having undertaken to carry colonies of his countrymen thither, and to fortify and improve the said isles; allowing him the twentieth part of the said revenues: all which was confirmed by King Charles (p. 128, *ibid.*) in the same manner as they had been granted two years before to the Earl of Marlborough, as we have related under the year 1627. Which clear account of this matter we owe entirely to the *Fœdera*; which, it is plain, the author of the *British Empire in America* had not consulted, even in the second edition of that incorrect work, though re-published so late as the year 1741. How immense is the increase of the value of those Caribbee isles in our days.

In the same p. 128, *ibid.* King Charles confirms the appointment made by Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General, to the before-named Hugh Lamy, of the office of Receiver General of the Revenues of the province of Carolana, (now called Carolina) and the adjacent isles of Bahama, lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Sea. Which said Carolana, with the Bahama isles, had been before, on the 30th of October, in the fifth of Charles, and in the year 1629, granted by the King to the said Robert Heath, and to his heirs; and was the same country, exclusive of the isles, now named North and South Carolina, and Georgia, together with the usurped French colony behind them, called Mississippi, or Louisiana.

Sir Robert Heath afterwards conveyed this province to the Earl of Arundel, who was at the expence of planting several parts of it: but the war which broke out in Scotland, in which that Lord was the King's General, and the subsequent civil wars in England, prevented his further progress therein. The five Indian nations of the Iroquois, who have been so long the voluntary vassals of the English crown, (and who had lately conquered all the country from their own original country behind New York as far as the Mississippi and beyond it) made a surrender and sale of all those conquests to the Governor of New York, in King James the Second's reign; according to Cox's Description of Carolina, p. 109, 113, 116, &c.

Peace being concluded between England and France, we find, in p. 129, of the same nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, “a commission of enquiry by King Charles into certain goods,
“skins,

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1629 “skins, and other merchandize, taken by Captain Kirk, and his associates, from certain of the French which were remaining in the fort of Quebec, in the College of the Jesuits, and in a ship taken by him in Canada.” Yet it seems the final settlement of the peace was not effected (as we shall see) till the year 1632.

It is commonly said, that in and about this same year the English first began to plant on the island of Providence, the chief of the Bahama isles, in America, till then quite uninhabited. King Charles I. after the conclusion of peace with Spain, confirmed his before-named grant of those isles: and England has continued to keep up her right to the said isles as the first occupiers, although they have scarcely settled in any of them, excepting this of Providence: and even this is planted to very little purpose, any further than for a retreat in case of storms, and to prevent pirates and foreign nations from possessing it. Tortuga is also justly claimed by Great Britain, because of our having early resorted thither for salt; though not as yet properly planted by us.

In the before mentioned p. 129, *ibid.* King Charles issues the following proclamation, in behalf of the Eastland Company, viz.

“Whereas the Eastland Company have, by the space of fifty years at least, had a settled and constant possession of trade in the said Eastland parts in the Baltic Seas:”—it was first erected in the year 1579. “And have had both the sole carrying thither of our English commodities, and also the sole bringing in of all the commodities of those countries; as namely, hemp-yarn, cable-yarn, flax, pot-ashes, sope-ashes, Polonia wool, cordage, Eastland linen cloth, pitch, tar, and wood. Whereby our kingdom hath been much enriched, our ships and mariners set on work, and the honour and fame of our nation spread and enlarged in those parts.

“And whereas, for their further encouragement, the said Company have had and enjoyed, by letters patent from Queen Elizabeth, the exclusive privileges above-named, with general prohibitions and restraints of all others not licensed by the said letters patent: we, minding the upholding of the said trade, and not to suffer the said society to sustain any violation, or diminution of their liberties and privileges, have thought good to ratify the same.

“And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our customers, comptrollers, &c. that they suffer not any broad-cloths, dozens, kerseys, bayes, skins, or such-like English commodities, to be shipped for exportation to those parts, nor any hemp, &c. (as before-named) or any other commodities whatsoever, of those foreign countries wherein the said Company have used to trade, to be imported by any but such as are free of that Company.

“Provided always, that the importation of corn and grain be left free and without restraint. We also strictly command, that the statutes of the fifth of King Richard II. the fourth of King Henry VII. and the thirty-second of King Henry VIII. made against the shipping of merchandize in strangers bottoms, either inward or outward, be duly put in execution: and that neither the said Company, nor any other whatsoever, be permitted to export or import any of the above-named commodities in any but English bottoms, under the penalties in the said statutes contained.”

The great increase of the commerce of England having of late years very much increased the inland carriage of goods and merchandize, whereby the roads were become more broken than heretofore: King Charles (in p. 130, of volume nineteen, of the *Fœdera*) “issued his pro-

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1629 “ clamation, confirming one of his late father’s in the twentieth year of his reign, for the preservation of the public roads of England : commanding, that no common carrier, or other person whatsoever, shall travel with any waine, cart, or carriage, with more than two wheels, nor with above the weight of twenty hundred : nor shall draw any waine, cart, or other carriage, with above five horses at once.” How great is the alteration since this time, that waggons, permitted to carry above thrice that weight, have come into such universal use ?

In the catalogue of the grants of offices, by King Charles, during this year, p. 132, *ibid.* we have one, called, An Office for the Register and Sales and Pawns made to retailing Brokers. Which retailing brokers seem to have been much the same we now call pawnbrokers. This was, probably, one of that King’s lucrative monopoly grants.

London at this time abounded in wealth and grandeur, compared to its condition in former ages. The gay appearance of goldsmith’s shops shining with plate, on the south side of the street called Cheapside, thence named Goldsmith’s Row, was then thought very grand ; extending from Bucklersbury to the Old Change, (four shops only excepted, of other trades) which small exception made the Privy Council think it worth while to direct the Judges to consider what laws there might be in force to oblige the goldsmiths to establish themselves in Cheapside and Lombard-street, for the use of their trade.

1630 In the year 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic King of Sweden, having entered into Germany with an army, occasioned much damage to the commerce of the Hans-towns, by the devastations committed by his troops. In that King’s manifesto, “ he accuses the Imperialists” (vol. ii. p. 292—304, of the General Collection of Treaties) “ of forbidding his merchants all freedom of commerce, seizing on their merchandize, and confiscating the Swedish ships, under the pretence of establishing a general commerce at Lubeck for the Hans-towns ; which, in effect,” says that King’s manifesto, “ was driving the Swedes from the whole commerce of the Baltic, and erecting a naval force at the expence of his merchants, in order to freely ravage and pirate in that sea : having newly created an unheard of dignity of a General of the Seas for that purpose, and possessed themselves of the ports and fortified places of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, fortifying the port of the free Hanseatic city of Stralsund, for a receptacle and retreat to their pirates.” Had the house of Austria succeeded in their design of rendering themselves absolute in the empire, there would soon have been an end of all freedom of commerce in the ports of Germany : and this gave a fine handle to Gustavus to take the city of Stralsund under his protection ; whereby Sweden has ever since held a port so very commodious for introducing her armies into Germany. Although Stralsund is far from being bettered, since from a free city it is become subject to Sweden.

For the aid of the King of Sweden, and the support of the liberty of commerce, King Charles, of Great Britain, secretly encouraged James Marquis of Hamilton to sign a treaty this year with Gustavus, for raising and conveying six thousand Scottish troops to Germany ; though King Charles would not appear in it for fear of offending the Emperor, who gave him hopes of restoring the Palatinate to the King of Bohemia, his brother-in-law.

In the nineteenth volume, p. 155, of the *Fœdera*, we have King Charles’s proclamation in behalf of the English woollen manufacture, confirming one of his father’s, “ against the exportation of wool, woofsels, woollen-yarn, Cornish hair, Fuller’s earth, and wood ashes, and also hides, either raw or tanned, upon pain of confiscation, &c.

“ And

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1630 " And that, for the better utterance of cloth within this kingdom, all black cloths and mourning stuffs at funerals, shall be only of the wools of this kingdom. And, as the false dying of cloth and stuffs is a great hindrance to their vent, none therefore shall therein use any logwood or blackwood."

☞ Since those times, dyers have found means to make logwood of great use in their practice of dying black, &c.

We have another proclamation of King Charles, wherein he observes, " That iron-wire is a manufacture long practised in the realm, whereby many thousands of our subjects have long been employed : and that English wire is made of the toughest and best Osmond iron, a native commodity of this kingdom, and is much better than what comes from foreign parts, especially for the making of good wool-cards, without which no good cloth can be made. And whereas complaints have been made by the wire-drawers of this kingdom, that, by reason of the great quantities of foreign iron-wire lately imported, our said subjects cannot be set on work ; wherefore we prohibit the importation of foreign iron-wire, and wool-cards made thereof, as also hooks and eyes, and other manufactures made of foreign wire. Neither shall any translate and trim up any old wool-cards, nor sell the same, either at home or abroad."—*Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 163.

In p. 177, of the same volume, we have a fresh proclamation of King Charles, " against erecting of houses on new foundations in London, Westminster, or within three miles of any of the gates of London, or of the palace of Westminster. Also against the entertaining of inmates in houses there ; which," says the King, " would multiply the inhabitants to such an excessive number, that they could neither be governed nor fed." He also enjoins, the rebuilding of old houses with brick or stone ; and forbids cellars for victualling-houses, and sheds and other annoyances in the streets ; renewing also his former regulations for the making of bricks and tiles : also for the making of all these regulations effectual, he appoints Sir James Campbell, Lord Mayor of London, jointly with many lords and gentlemen, therein named, or any four of them, to be his commissioners for these ends."—See the *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 181, &c.

We have already made sufficient remarks on the inexpediency, &c. of such restraints with regard to building on new foundations in London, under the years 1580 and 1593 ; to which therefore we refer the reader.

The following proclamation in the *Fœdera*, in the same volume, p. 187, by King Charles, shews, in part, the state of the silk manufacture in England in the same year, viz.

" That the trade of silk within this realm, by the importation thereof raw from foreign parts, and throwing, dying, and working the same into manufactures here at home, is much increased within a few years past. But a fraud in the dying thereof being lately discovered, by adding to the weight of silk in the dye beyond a just proportion, by a false and deceitful mixture in the ingredients used in dying ; whereby also the silk is weakened and corrupted, and the colour made worse : wherefore, we strictly command, that no silk-dyer do hereafter use any slip, alder-bark, filings of iron, or other deceitful matter, in dying of silk, either black or coloured. That no silk shall be dyed of any other black but Spanish black, and not of the dye called London black, or light weight. Neither shall they dye any silk before the gum be fair boiled off from the silk, being raw."—With many other regulations relating to silk-dying, and the proportional weight before and after dying, too tedious to be now particularised.

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In the same volume, p. 189, we have King Charles's exclusive patent to four persons, for their pretended new invention, "for melting, forging, or fining of iron, lead, tin, and salt; and for the burning of bricks, tiles, lime, &c. with the fuel of peat or turf, reduced into a coal; without the use either of sea-coal, pit-coal, or wood."

One would naturally imagine, that the condition of England, in respect of flesh-meat, and other provisions, must in those times have been very different from what it is in our days; otherwise we should not, surely, have had a proclamation from this King, in the year 1627, as also several from King James, and likewise a law in 1563, in Queen Elizabeth's reign; all which tend to restrain the eating of flesh-meat in Lent, and on other fast days.

But we have in this year 1630, what in our days would be thought still a more extraordinary proclamation on this subject, in the nineteenth volume, p. 195, of the *Fœdera*.

"Therein King Charles takes notice of the abuses committed by ingrossers, badgers, brogers, and buyers of corn," it being then a year of scarcity. "And the King, the more to save the provisions of the nation, enjoins the general practice of the ancient laudable custom, that no suppers were wont to be kept on Fridays, nor on the eves of feasts commanded to be fasted, nor on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the Ember-weeks, and in Lent. The same course," adds the King, "being still observed in the King's household, and in the families of most of the nobility, and of many gentlemen, as also in the inns of court and chancery, and the colleges of universities. He also ordains, that the feasts at halls of the city companies be forborn; and that half the expence thereof be given to the necessitous poor. And whereas foreign ships frequently come empty into the ports of England, to victual for long voyages, which, in a time of scarcity, is by no means to be suffered: such ships, therefore, shall hereafter only take in such a quantity of provisions as the magistrates of the respective ports shall judge convenient, being only for their necessary subsistence till their return into their own country."

In p. 200, of the same volume, we have in this year a monopoly project, "for the practice of a new invention for the separating of gold and silver from or out of other baser metals, viz. copper, tin, and lead; granted for fourteen years: paying one-third of the neat profit thereof to the King."

In this year also, and in the same volume, p. 211, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles most laudably commissions a number of his great officers of state, "To enquire into the fishery on the British coasts, how the same may be rendered more beneficial to the nation, by framing a general fishery company, composed of some of each of his three kingdoms. For which end, he herein promises to issue like commissions to Scotland and Ireland."—See more of this under the year 1633.

In the same year 1630, *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 219, &c. "King Charles issues a commission, wherein he takes notice of the deceitful making of our white cloths, exported by the Merchant-adventurers Company, who have frequently many considerable sums deducted from them by persons they deal with beyond-sea, on account of defects in our said cloths, in point of length, breadth, and weight: whereby our cloths, in general, are depreciated in foreign parts. Wherefore, he appoints them commissioners for the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, and Oxon, to see the statutes for the right making of white cloth put in execution, and that the searchers and overseers do their duty."

In *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 219, &c. we have a treaty of peace and commerce between King Charles I. of England, and King Philip IV. of Spain, signed at Madrid.

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What relates to commerce is to the following effect, viz.

Articles VII. and XVIII. "The same articles or conditions of commerce are hereby renewed, that existed before the war broke out between Queen Elizabeth and King Philip II. and as stipulated in the ninth and twenty-second articles of the year 1604.

VIII. "The merchant ships, and ships of war of both Kings, so as the latter do not exceed eight in number, may freely resort to the ports of both countries, and may there take in provisions, refit their ships, and trade as by ancient treaties. But ships of war shall remain no longer than till they have refitted and reequipped. Neither shall a greater number of them come into any port of the other party, without special leave obtained from the sovereign of that port: nor shall they, under colour of lawful commerce, supply the enemy of either party with provisions, nor with naval or warlike stores.

XI. "No new impositions shall be laid in Spain, on the merchandize of that country, brought away by the English in their own ships.

XIX. "No disturbance shall be given in Spain to the English trading thither, on account of conscience, where no scandal shall be given.

XX. "Where any goods prohibited are exported, none but the delinquents shall be punished for the same: nor shall any thing more be forfeited but the said goods.

XXI. "The effects of persons dying in either country, shall be secured for the benefit of their heirs, &c.

XXIII. "In case of a rupture hereafter between the two nations, six months shall be allowed both parties to remove their effects.

XXIV. "The ships of neither party shall be detained in the ports of the other party, nor shall be employed for warlike, or other purposes, without the consent of their own sovereigns."

In the same volume, p. 235, we have another of King Charles's proclamations against the growing of tobacco in England and Ireland; where, it seems, great quantities were still raised. And, after inveighing, like his father's and his own wonted manner, against the inordinate use of tobacco, which he here terms an useless weed, he again forbids the importation not only of all foreign tobacco, without his licence, but even that the quantity of tobacco from Virginia, the Somer isles, and Caribbee isles, be annually limited by himself, and that none be imported but into the port of London only.

In Mr. Munn's judicious book, entitled, *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*, published after his death by his son, in the year 1664, treating of the advantages of permitting the free exportation of our own coin, as well as of foreign bullion, he observes, "That Ferdinand I. the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was very rich in treasure, and enlarged his trade, by lending to merchants great sums of money, at a low interest: that myself had forty thousand crowns of him, gratis, for a whole year; although he knew that I would presently send it away in specie to Turkey, to be employed in wares for his country; he being well assured, that in this course of trade, it would return again, according to the old saying, with a duck in the mouth.—By his thus encouraging of commerce, within these thirty years, the trade of his port of Leghorn is so much increased, that of a poor little town, as I myself knew it, it is now become a fair and strong city."

It is probable that Mr. Munn might write this book about the year 1660, and was at Leghorn about this year 1630.

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1630 In this same year, the Dutch West India Company again invaded Brasil, with better success than before, and possessed themselves of the city of Olinda there, with the entire province of Fernambucque; and afterwards they gradually extended their conquests much further into that country.

We shall close this year 1630, according to our late old stile, with some more of King Charles's monopoly projects, from the *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 239 to 242, viz. his exclusive grants or charters to one David Ramsay, a great projector in those days, for the following pretended new inventions, viz.

I. "To multiply and make saltpetre in any open field of only four acres of ground, sufficient to serve all our dominions.

II. "To raise water from low pits by fire.

III. "To make any sort of mills to go on standing waters, by continual motion, without the help of wind, weight, or horse.

IV. "To make all sorts of tapestry without any weaving-loom, or other way ever yet in use in this kingdom.

V. "To make boats, ships, and barges, to go against strong wind and tide.

VI. "To make the earth more fertile than usual.

VII. "To raise water from low mines and coal-pits, by a way never yet in use.

VIII. "To make hard iron soft, and likewise copper to be tough and soft; which is not in use in this kingdom.

IX. "To make yellow wax white very speedily."—This man seems to have had as fruitful a brain as even any of the famous year 1720.

Another project, p. 242, &c. in this same year, was, "For the conveying of certain springs of water into London and Westminster, from within a mile and a half of Hodfdon, in Hertfordshire, by the undertakers, Sir Edward Stradling and John Lyde," the projector being one Michael Parker. "For defraying the expences whereof, King Charles grants them a special licence to erect and publish a lottery or lotteries; according," says this record, "to the course of other lotteries heretofore used or practised." Which is the first mention of lotteries either in the *Fœdera* or Statute-book. "And, for the sole privilege of bringing the said waters in aqueducts to London, they were to pay four thousand pounds per annum into the King's exchequer: and, the better to enable them to make the said large annual payment, the King grants them leave to bring their aqueducts through any of his parks, chaces, lands, &c. and to dig up the same gratis."

We should also observe, that, in this same year 1630, a special licence was granted by King Charles, for importing of horses; and another for exporting of dogs.

1631 A project was now authorised by King Charles, for the sole use of an invention for the defence of marsh-lands from inundations from the sea. The projector to pay twenty shillings annually into the Exchequer.—*Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 251.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 287, we meet with the first essay for the coining of milled money in England, by mills and presses, in the beautiful method practised in our days, "In a commission from King Charles to Sir William Balfour, then Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Inigo Jones, Esquire, surveyor of the King's works, and five others; who were thereby directed to examine the practice thereof by the undertaker, Nicholas Bryitt, a Lorrainer, who, for that purpose, had gold and silver bullion delivered to him by Sir Robert Harley, master of the mint."

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1631 In p. 301, of the same volume, we have King Charles's commission to several great officers of state, &c. "To consider of, and report to him, the present state of Virginia, and of the "product, commodities, &c. most proper to be raised and advanced in that plantation; and its "further settlement and advancement."

Under the said year 1631, and in the nineteenth volume, p. 303, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that Quebec, in Canada, had been again seized on by Captain Kirk, in the year 1629, before he knew of the conclusion of peace between England and France that same year: "Wherefore King Charles now gives a promise, under his sign-manual, to his brother-in-law, "Louis XIII. of France, that, as soon as commissioners from him should arrive at Canada, "his people should deliver up to France the said fortrefs and town (*habitation*) of Quebec:— "And that whatever had been embezzled therein should be restored to the French."

The late King James having, it seems, in the twentieth year of his reign, granted letters-patent, which we have not before met with, for the sole use of a new method of making hard soap, with a material called berilia, without the use of any fire in the making thereof; as also for burning and preparing of bean and peas-straw, kelp, fern, and other vegetables found in his Majesty's dominions, into pot-ashes, for the making of soap, he, in the same nineteenth volume, p. 323, &c. "grants a fresh patent, for fourteen years, to the old patentees, Rôger "Jones and Andrew Palmer, jointly with Sir William Russell, &c. for further improving "the said inventions, and for their sole use thereof." This monopoly brought ten thousand pounds into the Exchequer.

In p. 329, of the same volume, that King again prohibits the eating of flesh in Lent, &c. as in his former ones.

In p. 335, of the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King Charles's proclamation "for restraining the excess of the private or clandestine trade carried on to and from the East "Indies, by the officers and sailors in the Company's own ships." But what is more for our purpose, is, the catalogue therein exhibited of the wares and merchandize licensed to be exported to India, and also of those licensed to be imported from thence, viz.

"Goods allowed to be exported to India:—Perpetuanas and drapery, pewter, saffron, "woollen-stockings, silk-stockings and garters, ribband-roses edged with gold-lace, beaver-hats, with gold and silver-bands, felt-hats, strong-waters, knives, Spanish leather shoes, iron, "and looking-glasses."

"Goods which might be imported from India:—Long pepper, white pepper, white powder sugar preserved, nutmegs and ginger preserved, myrabolans, bezoar-stones, drugs of all "sorts, agate heads, blood-stones, musk, aloes-sucatrina, ambergrease, rich carpets of Persia, "and of Cambaya, quilts of satin, taffaty, painted callicoes, benjamin, damasks, satins and taffaties of China, quilts of China embroidered with gold, quilts of Pitania embroidered with "silk, galls, worm-seeds, sugar-candy, china-dishes and puslanes, (*i. e.* porcelain) of all sorts."

By this catalogue, differing not a little from our modern India cargoes, we may learn, that many rich and useful commodities were then imported from India, and that china-ware or porcelain was then come into use in Europe, although this is the first authentic mention thereof to be met with in the *Fœdera*. Botero, indeed, mentions it so early as in the year 1590; and it is again mentioned in 1593. But neither tea nor coffee were as yet brought home by our India ships.

In p. 338, vol. xix. of the *Fœdera*, King Charles, confirmed a grant made by King James, for incorporating the starch-makers of London; who were to pay the King one thousand five
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1631 hundred pounds the first year, two thousand five hundred pounds the second year, and for every succeeding year three thousand five hundred pounds. And as for the playing-card monopoly, the King bought them all of the company, and sold them out again at a much higher price.

In this same year, a large Spanish fleet, attempting to cut off the communication between Holland and Zeland, were utterly overthrown by the Dutch Admiral Hollar, who took their whole fleet, and near five thousand sailors.

In a list of offices filled up in the nineteenth volume, p. 346, of the *Fœdera*, there is a grant to William Frizell, and others, of the office of postmaster for foreign parts, in reversion.—And, in the following year, in the same volume, p. 385, we learn, that this office had been first erected by King James, without naming the year. It seems, that before that first appointment, and even sometimes since, private undertakers only, conveyed letters to and from foreign parts. King Charles, therefore, now strictly enjoins, that none but his then foreign postmasters do hereafter presume to exercise any part of that office.

In p. 370 of the said vol. xix. King Charles, in the seventh year of his reign, erected, by charter, a second company for a trade to Africa, “granted to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, “and sundry merchants; to enjoy the sole trade to the coast of Guinea, Binny, (*i. e.* Benin) “and Angola; between Cape Blanco, in twenty degrees of north latitude, and the Cape of “Good Hope, at about thirty-four degrees of south latitude, together with the isles adjacent, “for thirty-one years to come. Which charter prohibits not only his own subjects, (the “patentees excepted) but likewise the subjects of every other prince and state, (*ac etiam sub-* “*ditis aliorum principum vel status cujuscunque*) to trade or resort to or within the said limits, “on any pretence whatsoever.” A very bold prohibition this, more especially as he well knew that the Portuguese were long before strongly settled on the coast of Angola, &c. and what surely he could never have been able to make good. “Neither were any but those pa- “tentees to import into his dominions any red-wood, skins, wax, gums, dyers-grains, (*grana* “*indioria*) nor any other merchandize, upon forfeiture of ship and cargo. And the paten- “tees were empowered to seize on all ships and merchandize they should find within their “bounds, contrary to this charter; and might also search into the inner parts of Africa.”

This charter is not to be found in the *Fœdera* under the year 1631, but is only recited in the page before-mentioned, on the twenty-third of April, 1632, as having been granted in the preceding year. “And the King,” in the year 1632, “grants his protection to a fleet of “ships, now fitted out by the above-named patentees, for the said coast of Africa, for com- “mencing of commerce there, within the said limits.”

The patentees proceeded in erecting forts and warehouses on that coast, at a great expence: yet the separate traders, then called by the Dutch term interlopers, again broke in upon this company, as they had done on that of the year 1618, and forced this trade, in a great degree, open again; and so it remained, till after the restoration of King Charles II. which we thought best to relate here, though one year out of its place. Yet in the year 1651, the Rump Parliament granted a charter for five years to the East India Company, who made use of the castles and trade of the Gold-coast, as lying in their way to the East Indies; and, it seems, found their account in this trade for some time: for here they landed their goods brought from England, and carried the gold which they there received into India; although it seems their capital stock for this trade never exceeded seventeen thousand four hundred pounds; therewith, however, they erected two new forts. This third temporary company likewise licensed ships

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1631 to trade to Guinea, for ten per cent. of their cargoes, or three pounds per ton on the ships.—
A fine trade, truly, for this company, if it could have held long !

In the said year 1631, two several attempts were made for discovering a north-west passage through Hudson's Bay to China, viz. one by Captain Luke Fox, by the command of King Charles, who arrived at Port Nelson, where he found the cross and inscription formerly erected by Sir Thomas Button, which he renewed for the King ; concerning which voyage, he afterwards published a small quarto treatise, of which we have elsewhere made mention ; its title being the North-west Fox : and Captain Thomas James, in this same year, was sent out by the merchants of Bristol, and wintered in Hudson's Bay, in latitude fifty-two, naming the country New South Wales, giving names also to several other Bays, capes, &c. as Cape Henrietta Maria, &c. His account was also printed in the year 1633, by King Charles's order.—The first-named author, Captain Fox, thinks there is a passage, though he missed it ; the latter, however, is of opinion, that there is no great probability of any such passage ; although he made more considerable discoveries in that bay than either Hudson, Button, or Baffin had done : so both those adventurers returned home, in the following year, unsuccessful.

In this year 1631, King Charles gave up the castle of Bristol, with all its precincts and inhabitants, to the said city, to be for the future in all respects a part of that city, for the consideration of nine hundred and fifty-nine pounds to that King ; and of a fee-farm to be paid to him of forty pounds yearly : by which considerable addition, the boundaries, or pomerium of the city of Bristol, was now above seven miles in circumference.

1632 The port of Sallee, on the Barbary coast, without the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, southward, being in rebellion against its own monarch, the Emperor of Morocco ; and being in the year 1632, become a mere nest of pirates, that Prince, desirous to reduce them to his obedience, but not having sufficient shipping of his own for that purpose, requested the assistance of King Charles I. of Great Britain. Accordingly, an English Squadron having blocked up that town towards the sea, whilst their own monarch besieged them on the land side, they were forced to yield ; and thereupon their fortifications were dismantled, their pirates executed, and three hundred captive Christians delivered into our King's hands ; whereby, says Dr. Heylin, p. 955, both he and the nation reaped great honour.

King Charles I. having, about that same time, built and newly repaired his naval arsenals, docks, store-houses, &c. so effectually, that Leigh, in his Choice observations of all the Kings of England, printed in octavo, in the year 1661, speaking thereof, says, " That those naval edifices, &c. erected by him, are so magnificent, and universally useful, that they are become " a principal pillar of the nation's support, so far as they relate to the naval defence of it ; affording a variety of employment by the manufacture of cordage, as also by the careening " and building of ships."—What more could he have said, had he viewed Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, Sheerness, Woolwich, and Deptford, in our days so vastly improved, enlarged, and beautified ?

In this year died in battle, the ever renowned Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden : who, partly by his conquests in Germany, some of which Sweden holds at this day, and his supporting the Protestants, and the liberty of that empire, greatly raised the reputation and power of his own nation ; having also been the great patron of learning, by enlarging the appointments of the professors of his own universities, which were before greatly decayed.

In this same year 1632, a treaty of peace with France was concluded by King Charles I. of England, by which the giving up to France the countries of L'Acadie, part of Nova Scotia,

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1632 and of Canada, was shamefully confirmed—See the *Fœdéra*, vol. xix. p. 361. This treaty was in substance,

“ I. and II. King Louis XIII. engages to pay into the hands of Sir Isaac Wake, King Charles’s ambassador at Paris, the value of the charges of three English ships; and to deliver up those ships now in his ports of Dieppe and Calais.

“ III. King Charles shall restore to France all the places possessed by the English in New France, L’Acadie, and Canada. Particularly Port Royal, since named Annapolis Royal, the fort of Quebec, and Cape Breton.

“ VIII. IX. X. XI. The sum of eighty-two thousand seven hundred livres, shall be paid to France for skins, knives, &c. found in Quebec. And also the value of the cargoes of several ships taken by the English, as herein specified. Also sixty thousand six hundred livres for five ships and their cargoes, taken by the English.” See vol. ii. art. xi. of the General Collection of Treaties.

Moreover, in a treaty of commerce, concluded on the same day and year, between the said two monarchs, it was stipulated in substance, viz.

“ Article III. To prevent damages to merchants, by detaining their ships at sea, by the ships of war of either party, under pretence of searching for contraband goods, there shall not above three persons, at any one time, enter any such merchant ships, from any ship of war, to view or search their papers for any such contraband goods.—After which they shall not stop the said merchant ships, nor turn them out of their way.

“ IV. The ships of both contracting parties, shall give ten thousand livres security, before they sail out of the respective ports of France and England, not to injure, nor attempt to injure, the ships and merchandize of either contracting party.”

The other articles relate only to the manner of treating prize ships and their men.

To this fatal treaty of peace may be truly said to be owing all the disputes we have had ever since with France concerning North America; our King and his Ministers being sadly outwitted by Richlieu’s superior dexterity. The three places now delivered up to France were not, it is true, thought of the same importance then, as they are since found to be; yet it was very obvious, even at that time, to any considerate observer, that as those French colonies should increase in people and commerce, these places would be of the utmost importance to France, and very dangerous to England: but more especially, our parting with Port Royal and Cape Breton is never to be excused; as the possession of them gave to the French a fair pretext for their settling on the south side of the river St. Laurence, and thereby gradually claiming the rest of Nova Scotia, bordering on New England; whereas, had the French been strictly confined to their original settlements on the north and north-west sides of that great river, the country is so bad, and the trade thereof so indifferent, that before this time they would, in all probability, have abandoned them.

Although ever since the Hollanders had commenced hostilities against Spain, upon the expiration of their twelve years truce, in the year 1621, their trade and wealth were greatly increased, and individuals more especially became greatly enriched, within the last eleven years of the war; yet the province of Holland, which bore the principal burden of that war, was, in its collective capacity, found to be in this year, 1632, no less than fifty-five millions of guilders in debt, or arrears: that province alone bearing by the original union of Utrecht, fifty-eight per cent of the whole annual charge of the war.

In

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1632

In the nineteenth volume, p. 365, of the *Fœdera*, we see King Charles's patent for fourteen years, "for the sole use and profit of an engine for diving in the sea and other deep waters, for lost goods and treasure."

In p. 371, *ibid.* there is also another patent to a physician, pretending "to have, by long study and great expence, found out the following six whimsical secrets, viz.

"I. An instrument, which may be called the Wind-mate; very profitable when common winds fail, for a more speedy passage of calmed ships and vessels, on seas and rivers.

"II. The Fish-call, or a looking glass for fishes in the sea; very useful for fishermen to call all kinds of fishes to their nets, sears, or hooks: as several calls are needful for fowlers to call several kinds of fowls or birds, to their nets or snares." All naturalists seem to agree, that fish have no auditory faculties.

"III. A Water-bow, for the more speedy preservation of houses on land, and ships at sea, from fire.

"IV. A Building-mould, or stone-press, very requisite for the building of churches or great houses; by which, stone windows, door cases, chimney pieces, &c. are made more speedily, without hewing, cutting, sawing, carving, or engraving. As also for the making of bricks and tiles more beautiful to the eye, and more durable against foul weather; being as smooth as glass, on the one side or end, with divers colours and works, as if carved by curious workmen.

"V. A moveable Hydraulic, or chamber Weather-call, like a cabinet; which, being placed in a room, or by a bed side, causeth sweet sleep to those, who either by hot fevers, or otherwise, cannot take rest: and it withal alters the dry hot air into a more moistening and cooling temper, either with musical sounds or without.

"VI. The Corrected-crane, by which wine, oil, or any other liquor, may be transfused from one vessel, which cannot well be removed, to another remote: as also water may be drawn from one place to another, without any sucking or forcing by the mouth, as vintners and others use to do."

All these were exclusive for fourteen years, paying the yearly rent of one pound six shillings and eight-pence, into the Exchequer.

These are such singular projects as are worth the recording, purely for their novelty: and were they any where else, but in so authentic a collection of our records, would probably be regarded in no other sense than as a burlesque on many other projects of this age; as also on the famous year 1720.

In this nineteenth volume, p. 374, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles once more issues a proclamation against the residing of the nobility and gentry constantly with their families in London. Wherein, beside the usual topics in former ones, he remarks, "that, by residing in London with their families, a great part of their money and substance is drawn from the several counties whence it ariseth, and spent in the city on excess of apparel; provided from foreign parts, to the enriching of other nations, and the unnecessary consumption of a great part of the treasure of this realm: and in other vain delights and expences, even to the wasting of their estates. That this also draws great numbers of loose and idle people to London and Westminster, which thereby are not so easily governed as formerly, the poor rates increased, and provisions enhanced. For all which reasons, they are now limited to forty days, from the date hereof, to depart with their families from London, Westminster, and their suburbs, and to reside on their estates."

After

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After reading of this, and similar proclamations, can any one wonder at this King's being termed arbitrary, and of his getting so many enemies amongst his subjects: since men of the greatest fortunes were hereby positively debarred a liberty, which, being innocent in itself, the meanest free subject would never patiently part with, of remaining where he likes best. Even this command was not without a view to the King's emolument; since those who did not obey punctually, were condemned in grievous fines by the Star-chamber, for the King's use.

Ibid. p. 376, we are again entertained with that King's fresh order against eating of flesh in Lent, and on other fast days.

Ibid. p. 386, King Charles, in this same year, licenses the East India Company to export forty thousand pounds in foreign gold bullion, to Persia and India, in lieu of so much of the one hundred thousand pounds, which by King James's charter, they were impowered annually to export thither in foreign silver bullion.

A dearth of provisions continuing, King Charles, p. 387, *ibid.* prohibits the exportation of corn for one year to come. And by the same proclamation, he renews a former one, against the exportation of wool, fullers-earth, and leather.

In the same vol. xix, p. 396, King Charles's special warrant to his treasury declares, "that, notwithstanding the laws and customs of England forbid the exportation of any gold and silver to foreign parts, either in coin or bullion; yet, he being desirous to cultivate the friendship of his most dear brother King Philip IV. of Spain, and of the merchants of the Spanish Netherlands, grants a license for the said merchants to export gold and silver, either in our coin or otherwise, being the produce of the merchandize they shall import into England, as far as the amount of two thousand pounds sterling, in every ship returning home; so as the said money be exported within the space of one hundred days from their unlading the merchandize they import, until we shall otherwise ordain. Any statute or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

In the same vol. xix. p. 403, *ibid.* "King Charles dispenses with Queen Elizabeth's prohibition of the year 1564, against the merchant-adventurers marrying foreign wives beyond sea, or holding lands or tenements there, upon pain of being disfranchized. This he did in behalf of four persons herein named. Provided they did not keep their wives any where out of England, and that they dispose of their foreign lands in a limited time."

In the English East India Company's vindication, in the year 1681, before the Privy Council, in answer to the allegations of the Turkey Company, amongst other points for shewing the great difficulties attending an East India trade, it is asserted, that although formerly they had a stock of one million five hundred thousand pounds, yet in fifteen years time, viz. from 1617 to 1632, their whole profit was no more than twelve and one-half per cent.

The crown being impowered, by the statutes of the fourth of King Edward III. and the twenty-eighth of King Henry VIII. from time to time to fix the prices of wines in England, King Charles, as per vol. xix. p. 405, of the *Fœdera*, fixed the following prices for one year certain, viz.

"I. Canary, Muscadel, and Alicant wines, to be sold in gross at sixteen pounds per pipe; and by retail at twelve-pence per quart.

"II. Sacks and Malagas at thirteen pounds per butt, in gross; and by retail at nine-pence per quart.

"III. The best Gascon and French wines at eighteen pounds per ton, in gross; and at six-pence per quart by retail.

"IV. Rochelle,

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“ IV. Rochelle, and other small and thin wines, at fifteen pounds per ton, in gross; and
“ at five-pence per quart by retail.

“ These several prices to hold at all the ports where the said wines shall be landed, and
“ within ten miles thereof; but for every thirty miles of land carriage beyond the said ten
“ miles, there shall be allowed four pounds per ton, and one-penny per quart, for the said
“ carriage, to be added to their prices.” This method of compelling merchants to any fixed
price for their merchandize would now be deemed equally unjust and impracticable.

Here we see, that the best French wines in those times sold at a much lower price than
the best Spanish wines did: and this difference held pretty near the same in the reign of his
son King Charles II. and (such is the humour of the world) until the high-duty laid on wines
from France brought them into high esteem: ever since which period, French wines have
been in much greater esteem than Spanish or Portugal wines.

This same year gave birth to the fine and now prosperous colony of Maryland, being a part
of what was then reckoned Virginia.

Sir George Calvert, Secretary of State, he or his son being afterwards created Lord Balti-
more, having, in the years 1621 and 1622, obtained of King James a grant of part of New-
foundland, he some time after removed thither with his family; but he soon found it to be
one of the worst countries in the habitable world. Whereupon he returned back to England;
and “ he being a conscientious Roman Catholic,” says Sir William Keith, in his History of
Virginia, “ was inclined to retire with his family to some part of Virginia, there quietly to
“ enjoy the free exercise of his religion; for which purpose he went thither himself,” in or
about the year 1631: “ but being discouraged by the universal dislike which he perceived the
“ people of Virginia had to the very name of a Papist, he left Virginia, and went further up
“ the Bay of Chesapeake: and finding there a very large tract of land, commodiously watered
“ with many fine rivers, and not yet inhabited by any Christians, he returned for England,
“ and represented to the King, that the colony of Virginia had not as yet occupied any lands
“ beyond the south bank of Potowmack River:” whereupon he obtained a promise of the
King’s grant of that unsettled country. But he dying before the grant was made out, his son
Cæcilius took it out in his own name, on the twentieth of June, 1632; the King himself
naming it Maryland, in honour of his Queen Henrietta Maria. It is held by the Lords Bal-
timore of the crown, in free and common soccage, as of the King’s honour of Windsor,
yielding and paying yearly for ever, at Windsor Castle, if demanded, two Indian arrows: by
which charter this Lord-Proprietary has as plenary or sovereign a power as any in America;
having the sole right to all the quit rents of land therein, which he shall grant out to his land-
holders, who, however, are empowered by the crown to lay on all proper taxes, &c. in their
general courts, composed of their representatives, duly elected, and of the council; and the
governor is always to be appointed by the said Lord-Proprietary, with the King’s approba-
tion. In other respects, the King has no concern with the government of Maryland, any
further than relates to commerce, and to his customs on merchandize, as also to the Admi-
ralty-jurisdiction, which our King has wisely retained in all our colonies in America: and,
with respect to these last mentioned points, the governors of this and all other charter as well
as regal colonies, are obliged to obey the directions of the King and Council, as also such
orders as shall, from time to time, be sent to them from the Lords Commissioners for Trade
and Plantations, since the creation of that most useful Board.

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1632 The island of Montserrat was now first planted by Sir Thomas Warner, governor of the neighbouring isle of St. Christophers, who brought a colony thither from Ireland, and was also appointed its first governor. At first the planters thereof sent great quantities of Indigo to England; though, of late years, they have run almost entirely into the sugar trade, with some little cotton and ginger. It is about three leagues in length, and nearly the same in breadth. It has thriven extremely well; and may probably be inhabited by about four thousand five hundred white people, and about ten thousand negro slaves. It is better supplied with fresh water than Antigua; but has no good harbours, and is somewhat dangerous of approach, by reason of the many rocks on its shores.

In this same year, according to the French historian of the Caribbee isles, published in the year 1658, and already quoted, the Hollanders West India Company first planted the small isle of St. Eustatia, one of the said isles: being five leagues in compass, and lying about three from St. Christophers. It is the strongest by nature of all those isles, having but one good landing place; where, however, a few men might keep off a great army. It produces sugar; but is chiefly useful to the Dutch by its commodious situation for private, *i. e.* contraband or smuggling, trade with all the European colonies in its neighbourhood, when they happen to be disappointed of supplies from home; it being always well stocked with European merchandize for those ends. Some have made its white inhabitants to amount to five or six thousand, and its negroes to fifteen thousand.

While Sir Thomas Warner was governor of St. Christopher, some English families in or about this year ventured to settle on the island of Antigua, or Antego, in that neighbourhood; although it was for some time reckoned uninhabitable, because it has no fresh water brooks, or scarce any other but rain water preserved in ponds or cisterns. And, for that reason, it was soon after quitted by them, and remained in a deserted condition, as we shall see, till after the restoration of King Charles II.

1633 In 1633, the young Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, carried two hundred persons to his new colony of Maryland, mostly Papists, for the reason already related under 1632.

This colony had in the beginning a very great advantage in being in the neighbourhood of that of Virginia, which was already settled, from whence they supplied themselves at first with flesh meat, poultry, &c. so that Maryland, being quickly and easily settled, became in a few years flourishing and populous. It is therefore at length become a large and noble estate to my Lord Baltimore.

In this province, as well as in that of Virginia, the planters live mostly in separate situations and not in towns, for the convenience of the great number of rivers, and of creeks and in-lets of the great Bays of Chesapeak and Delawar, whereby they so easily convey their tobacco to the ships: so that in neither of those colonies are there as yet any towns of considerable bulk or importance. For the greater planters have generally storehouses within themselves, for all kinds of necessaries brought from Great Britain, not only for their own consumption, but likewise for supplying the lesser planters and their servants, &c.—And, whilst that kind of œconomy continues, there can be no prospect of towns becoming considerable in either province; which is so far a benefit to their mother country, as without towns, wherein home manufactures and handicrafts are generally first propagated, they must continue to be supplied from Britain with cloathing, furniture, tools, delicacies, &c.

The tobacco of Maryland, called Oroonoko, being stronger than that of Virginia, is not said to be so generally agreeable to the British taste as the sweet scented tobacco of the latter colony;

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1633 colony; but the northern nations of Europe are said to like it better: and they are thought to raise about as much tobacco and to employ near as many ships as Virginia does. Its soil is in general extremely good, being mostly a level country.

In the same year, the Parliament of Scotland reduced their national interest of money from ten to eight per cent. being nine years after it had been so reduced in England.

By the management of Cardinal Richlieu, Prime Minister to the French King Louis XIII. a subsidy treaty was, in this year 1633, concluded between France and Sweden, whereby Louis agreed to pay Queen Christina of Sweden one million of Livres annually, "for the defence of their common friends; for securing the Ocean and Baltic Sea; and for obtaining lasting peace in the empire." So says the author of Richlieu's life; though it was well known to be principally intended for the depression of the House of Austria. This was, probably, the first proper subsidy treaty between France and Sweden; since then frequently repeated.

In the so often quoted nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 445, we see a long proclamation of King Charles I. "for preventing of frauds in the making of woollen cloths, in respect of weaving, dying, mitting, stretching, sealing, measuring, searching, &c." Many or most of which being, since then, repealed or altered, we shall not enlarge thereon.

And in p. 472, *ibid.* of the same volume, "our said King grants a special commission for one Young, to go out with what ships, merchandize, and people he should judge proper, for the discovery of the unplanted parts of Virginia, or any where else in America, not possessed by any European power; and to settle the same as an English colony, &c."

In the same year he issues his proclamation, "for regulating the retailers of tobacco in cities and towns; wherein none but reputable and substantial traders shall retail the same; of whom a catalogue should be made for each city and town: and he expressly prohibits all keepers of taverns, ale-houses, inns, victualing-houses, strong-water-sellers, &c. from retailing of tobacco." How little seemed he in this, as in many other respects, to understand his true interest.

And, in p. 476, *ibid.* that King's officers of the Board of Green Cloth complaining, in this same year, "that provisions of all sorts were become dear of late years, whereby the annual charge of the King's household was much increased; the court of Star-chamber made an enquiry into the causes thereof, and made several regulations for keeping down the prices of provisions and horse-meat in London and Westminster, viz.

"I. That, for the future, taverns shall forbear their lately taken up practice of selling flesh and fish; and that henceforth they are to sell nothing but wine, and bread to eat therewith.

"II. Bakers shall not make their bread above twelve or at most thirteen to the dozen: whereas now they make sixteen; which pinches the poor.

"III. Ordinaries shall not take above two shillings per head for dining, wine included; nor above eight-pence per head for a servant attending his master.

"IV. Considering the present prices of hay and oats, six-pence per day and night for hay and stabling for a horse, and six-pence per peck for oats, shall be sufficient, without taking any thing for litter.

"V. The inn-keeper may take one-penny only per horse for stabling room, not being unbridled, and going away the same day; and two-pence if he be unbridled and have hay, and goes away before night."

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In this same year, a Dutchman erected a wind saw mill or engine for sawing of timber, on the river Thames opposite Durham-yard in the Strand, London: by which machine, with the sole attendance of one man and one boy, as much work was sawed as twenty men can perform in the usual way. But this method was afterwards put down, lest our labouring people should want employment.

• How just such sort of reasoning seems is submitted to the public; since, by a parity of reasoning, all wheel carriages, &c. should be suppressed. There is one such saw mill in being at the town of Leith, near Edinburgh, which also goes by wind: and, as there is no legal restraint against so useful an engine, it is somewhat strange, that in times, when useful hands were so much wanted elsewhere, it has never since been attempted. Possibly the danger of popular clamour may have deterred men from pursuing it.

It appears, in p. 511, of this nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, “that the clerk of the market for the King’s household had made several inquiries by a jury, concerning the usual prices of provisions: whereupon King Charles issued a proclamation, declaring, that the prices therein named were reasonable prices, to be observed by poulterers, victualers, wood-mongers, &c. within three miles of any of the gates of London.”

A few of which prices here follow, for a specimen, viz.

“A turkey cock, in the poulterer’s shop, four shillings and six-pence.—A turkey hen three shillings and four-pence.—A wild duck eight-pence.—A tame duck eight-pence.—A partridge one shilling.—The best fat goose, in the market, two shillings.—The same, in the poulterer’s shop, two shillings and four-pence.—A capon fat and crammed, the best in the market, two shillings and two-pence; and in the poulterer’s shop two shillings and six-pence.—The best fat and crammed pullet, in the poulterer’s shop, one shilling and eight-pence; and of the second sort one shilling and six-pence.—A hen of the best sort, in the market, one shilling; and in the poulterer’s shop one shilling and two-pence.—A chicken of the best and largest sort, in the market, five-pence; and in the poulterer’s shop six-pence.—A rabbit the best, till Allhallowtide, seven-pence; and from thence to Lent, eight-pence.—A dozen of wild pigeons one shilling and eight-pence; and a dozen of tame ones six shillings.—Three eggs for one penny.—A pound of the best salt butter four-pence half-penny.—And of the best fresh butter, from All-Souls to May-day, six-pence, and the second sort five-pence.—A pound of the best fresh butter, from May-day to All-Souls, five-pence, and the second sort, four-pence.—A pound of tallow candles made of wick three pence halfpenny; and of cotton four-pence.”

From the above rates it appears, that most of the usual eatables, &c. for the middling or lower ranks of people, were near one-third cheaper than in our days. For we have purposely omitted pheasants, cygnets, &c. from the prices of which no true judgment can be formed of the rate of living then and in our days. But the price of wheat, malt, &c. at this time happened not to be proportionably cheaper: yet, as butcher’s meat, malt liquors, house rents, fuel, &c. were considerably cheaper, we conceive it to be a very fair conclusion, that the rate of living then, compared to what it is in our days, is nearly as two is to three.

In the catalogue of offices bestowed in this year 1633, by King Charles, *ibid.* we find John Howe is appointed Consul General in the kingdom of Portugal: which is the first instance of that office in Portugal to be found in the *Fœdera*.

The author of part. iii. p. 93, of the *Present State of England*, published in the year 1683, acquaints us, “that lacquer-varnish, which, imitating the gold colour, has saved much cost
“ formerly

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1633 "formerly bestowed on the gilding of coaches, &c. was, in this year 1633, first brought into use in England, by the ingenious Mr. Evelyn, of Says-court, near Deptford."

In this year also, a new and great association or company was formed in England, for carrying on the fishery; in which the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Courten, Sir John Harrison, Sir Paul Pindar, &c. were concerned: and King Charles, for encouraging of that laudable purpose.

First, Enjoined Lent to be more strictly observed.

Secondly, He prohibited fish caught by foreigners to be imported: and,

Thirdly, He agreed to purchase of that company his naval stores, and the fish for his royal navy. This was in consequence of his commission three years before, as mentioned under the year 1630. Yet all this, in a few years after, came to nothing, for want of judgment as well as honesty in the management of it: but as we have on many other occasions presumed freely to censure this King's conduct, we ought to do him the justice to acknowledge, that he did every thing in his power to promote this truly national design.

1634 King Charles I. being determined on fitting out a formidable fleet, he now commands the city of London to send to Portsmouth, at their sole charge, their following quota of ships, being seven in number, with ordnance, tackle, &c. for twenty-six weeks, for the following year 1635; and similar commands were sent to the other sea-port towns, for their proportionable quotas, viz.

One ship of nine hundred tons, and three hundred and fifty men.

One ship of eight hundred tons, and two hundred and sixty men.

Four, of five hundred tons each, and two hundred men.

And one of three hundred tons, and one hundred and fifty men.

This is properly the first year of that King's ship money project, which so much contributed to his ruin.

At this time, according to James Howel's life of King Louis XIII. of France, that kingdom being in perfect tranquillity, many wholesome laws were made for the suppression of luxury, and finery of apparel.—A new company of merchants was established for New France; and Paris had her skirts enlarged; the Thuilleries and part of St. Germain being brought within her inclosure.

In vol. xix. p. 546, of the *Fœdera*, we find that King Charles appoints "Sir Sackville Crowe to be his ambassador in Turkey; with the usual powers for nominating of the consuls there, &c." He remained in Turkey many years in that honourable station; but was loudly complained of in print, after the King's death, for his cruel and arbitrary proceedings during his enjoyment of that office.

On the next page 547 of the same volume, King Charles, by his own sole authority, lays a duty of four shillings per chaldron on all sea coal, stone coal, or pit coal, exported from England to foreign parts.

And, p. 554, *ibid.* he issues a proclamation against the landing of tobacco any where else in England but at the custom-house quay of London: for the better preventing the defrauding his Majesty of the duty thereon. Also against planting of tobacco in England and Ireland, still much practised, and against the importation of tobacco-seed.

In the same page and year, that King grants an exclusive patent, for fourteen years, "for the art and mystery of affixing of wool, silk, and other materials, of divers colours, upon linen cloth, silk, cotton, leather, and other substances, with oil, size, and other cements;

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1634 "to make them useful and serviceable for hangings, &c. paying ten pounds yearly into the Exchequer for the same."

The tobacco planters in Virginia, &c. being kept poor by the exorbitant prices which merchants made them pay for their necessities from England, King Charles, for the keeping up of the price of tobacco, and for preventing the planters from sending any of it directly to foreign parts, whereby he might be deprived of his custom thereon, issued a declaration, "that he now resolved to take the sole pre-emption of all tobacco into his own hands, at a reasonable price. He therefore grants a special commission to a number of gentlemen and merchants, to transact this affair for him."

The King, however, is not now so lavish of his reflections on the malignity of tobacco as formerly, beginning to find the benefit arising from his custom thereon: he therefore now observes, "that in the colonies of Virginia, the Somer Isles, and Caribbees, being but in their infancy, the chiefest commodity that must support them, and enable them to raise more ample commodities, is this of tobacco." See the *Fœdera*, vol. xix, p. 560.

In this year 1634, the Dutch Greenland Company made an experiment of the possibility of the human species living through a whole winter at Spitzbergen; till now believed to be impossible. They left seven of their sailors to winter there; and one of them kept a diary thereof from the eleventh of September to the twenty-sixth of February following, when they were spent with the scurvy, and their limbs quite benumbed with cold, till they could no way help themselves: they were all seven found dead, in the house they had built for themselves, at the return of the Dutch ships, in 1635. Had any of those men lived till the next ships arrived, a Dutch fort would, without doubt, have been erected there.

As for the claims of several different European nations to a monopoly of the fishery of whales at Spitzbergen, they stood thus for some years after this time, viz.

I. The English alleged, their having been the first discoverers, by Sir Hugh Willoughby, in the year 1553.

II. But the Dutch denied his having been so far north as Spitzbergen, and alleged, their having first discovered it, in 1596.

III. The Danes laid claim to it, as a supposed part of Old Greenland, possessed by them at a very early period: but, if prior discovery gave any just exclusive right to a country uninhabited and uninhabitable, it is most probable that the Biscayners, who were the first whale-fishers of later ages, had the best right to it.

Since those times, however, all nations have wisely dropped their exclusive pretensions; and that part of the icy world remains now alike free to all nations for this fishery.

A patent had, it seems, been granted by King Charles, the preceding year, and is in this year confirmed, p. 561, vol. xix, of the *Fœdera*, "for the sole practice of an invention, for the saving of much fuel, and for preventing much of the offence of smoke; to the great benefit of all people, and more especially of brewers, dyers, soap boilers, salt makers, &c."

Also, *ibid.* p. 564, "another patent for the sole invention of cleansing, grinding, &c. of indigo: for which monopoly forty marks were to be paid annually into the Exchequer."

The next record, p. 566, *ibid.* is a proclamation "for regulating the manufacture of soft soap; and for preventing the importation of fish-oil-soap, and all other foreign soaps: and that the said soft soap, made by the Westminster soap company, shall not be sold for more than three-pence per pound.

And,

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And, p. 369, 571, *ibid.* we have two more exclusive projects, viz.

“ First, “ A new invented engine, for the earing and plowing of land, without horses or oxen : for which twenty pounds was to be paid yearly into the Exchequer. And,
“ Secondly, Another for an engine, for getting up of ships and goods sunk in the sea.”

In the same nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 572, we have the original rise of Sedan Chairs in London, being King Charles’s grant to Sir Sanders Duncomb, viz.

“ That whereas the streets of our cities of London and Westminster, and their suburbs, are of late so much encumbered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches, that many of our subjects are thereby exposed to great danger ; and the necessary use of carts and carriages, for provisions, thereby much hindered ; and Sir Sanders Duncomb’s petition, representing, that in many parts beyond sea, people are much carried in chairs that are covered, whereby few coaches are used amongst them :—wherefore we have granted to him the sole privilege to use, let, and hire, a number of the said covered chairs for fourteen years.”

It seems that one John Day, citizen and sworn broker of London, had, for three years past, printed and published weekly bills of the several rates or prices of all commodities in the principal cities of Christendom ; “ which” says this King’s grant to him this year, “ has never yet been brought here to that perfection answerable to other parts beyond sea ; by which neglect within our city of London, (being one of the mother cities for trade in all Christendom) our said city is much disgraced, and our merchants hindered in their commerce and correspondence.—Wherefore, we grant unto the said James Day, the sole privilege of vending the said weekly bills for fourteen years.”—*Fœdera*, vol. xix.

N. B. We must here do this King and his Privy Council the justice to remark, that in the last-mentioned exclusive patent, and also in some few former ones, there is a proviso, “ That, if at any time, during the said term of fourteen years, it shall appear, that such grant is contrary to law, or mischievous to the state, or generally inconvenient, then, upon signification made by us, under our signet or privy-seal, or by six or more of our Privy Council, under their hands, of such prejudice, &c. this our present grant shall be void.”

☞ This precaution was, probably, owing to many of this King’s exclusive grants having been declared, by trials at common law, to be illegal monopolies ; which the King was therefore obliged to revoke and make void.

In the same year, the Hollanders seized on the small isle of Curacoa, from Spain : which, being but eight leagues from the coast of *terra firma*, has given them an opportunity, of which they have ever since availed themselves, of carrying on a great illicit trade with the Spaniards : and though it be not fertile, the diligent Hollanders, however, have cultivated it into fine sugar and tobacco plantations. They have plenty of logwood and cattle ; and its town, of the same name, is well fortified, and is inhabited by rich merchants. The Dutch also possess Bonaire and Aruba Isles, near it, and which are subject to its Governor. They also possess the isles of Saba and St. Eustatia, and part of St. Martins, all inconsiderable isles near our island of St. Christopher.

King James having, in the third year of his reign, 1605, incorporated the Gardeners of London, and within six miles of it, King Charles now confirmed that charter.—*Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 582.

In p. 583, *ibid.* we find, that the Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England had, in this same year, interest enough, probably by the aid of their common purse, to get King Charles to issue a proclamation, “ strictly prohibiting all persons from exporting any white
“ cloths,

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1634 " cloths, coloured cloths, cloths dressed and dyed out of the whites, Spanish cloths, bayes, " kersies, perpetuanos, stockings, or any other English woollen commodities, to any part, " either of Germany, or of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands; save only to the " mart and staple towns of the said Fellowship of Merchant-Adventurers for the time being." This proclamation further subjoins: " And, to the end that the said trade may be hereafter " reduced and continued in an orderly and well-governed course, we do hereby declare our " royal pleasure to be, that the said Fellowship of Merchant-Adventurers shall admit to the " freedom of their said trade all such of our subjects, dwelling in our city of London, and " exercised in the profession of merchandize, and no shopkeepers, (except they give over their " shops) as shall desire the same, for a fine of fifty pounds a-piece; and those of the out-ports " for twenty-five pounds a-piece. And that the sons and servants of such as shall be so ad- " mitted shall pay, at their admission, twenty nobles, *i. e.* six pounds thirteen shillings and " four pence a-piece. Lastly, that none shall trade to the said countries of Germany and the " Netherlands, in any of the species of woollen goods above-named, but only such as are free " of the said Fellowship."

And in a small treatise, intituled, *Free Trade*, published in the year 1648, by J. Parker, a proviso is added, (not in the *Fœdera*) viz. " Provided the London merchants make them- " selves free by Midsummer 1635, and those of the out-ports by Michaelmas 1635. But, if " they suffer those times to lapse, they were to pay double the respective sums." Parker, and others, who were opponents of this company, allege, that, in this and preceding reigns, the Company constantly made handsome presents of annual new year's gifts to the ministers of state, for the continuance of their interest: as, for instance, in the year 1623, to the Lord Treasurer two hundred gold pieces of twenty-two shillings each, and a piece of plate: other presents were also then made to the Duke of Buckingham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord President, the Secretaries of State, &c.

In this same year, *ibid.* p. 583, we have a flagrant instance of the shameful as well as impolitic bigotry of King Charles I. and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; who makes his report, (*inter alia*) to the King, pursuant to his instructions, of the ecclesiastical state of his province of Canterbury: " That the Dutch churches in Canterbury and Sandwich are great nurseries " of inconformity." And he prays his Majesty, " that such of the French, Italian, and " Dutch congregations, as are born his subjects, may not be suffered any longer to live in " such a separation as they do: and insinuated the danger of the church of England from a " toleration of foreign protestants."

The Walloons of Norwich too were under the same prohibition, though they pleaded the toleration granted to them by King Edward VI. and so down to his then Majesty: but Laud's answer was positive, " they must obey." And the King, against the margin of this part of Laud's report, wrote as follows: " Put me in mind of this at some convenient time, when " I am at council, and I shall redress it."

Laud, it seems, thought it a great piece of condescension, in permitting those Walloon and Dutch, who were not born in England, to enjoy their own way of worship, while he ordered that their offspring should be compelled to go to their own parish churches. It is here needless to remark, how little that Prince understood the true interest of his kingdom and of its commerce, in giving way to that wretched bigotry.

Roger Coke, in his *Detection of the Court and State of England*, affirms, " That Laud's " injunctions for these foreigners educating their children in a different profession from their " own,

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1634 "own, forced one hundred and forty families into Holland; where they taught the Dutch the way of managing the woollen manufacture, which has proved of very bad consequence to England." And, without doubt, similar causes will ever produce similar effects.

In p. 592, of the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, we find, that King Charles, by a proclamation, further strengthens the monopoly of his Soap Company, in Westminster, by prohibiting all persons whatever, not free of that Company, from either making or importing any soap.

Ibid. p. 597, "King Charles grants a licence to one Thomas Skipwith to make the river Soare navigable, from its falling into the river Trent up to the town of Leicester.—Skipwith yielding a tenth part of all the profits of such new navigation to be paid into the King's exchequer." It is noble and wise in Princes to encourage inland as well as foreign navigation, as greatly beneficial to commerce; but this annexed condition to the above-named licence was, or at least in our days would be deemed, sordid and disgraceful.

In p. 601, *ibid.* that King renews his former proclamations, "for prohibiting all dovecotes, houses, stables, cellars, warehouses, &c. (except those of persons of quality) from being paved with stone, brick, boards, sand, lime, or gravel: and, instead thereof, enjoining, that they be laid with mellow earth, fit for the generation of the mine of saltpetre, so absolutely needful for the making of gunpowder."

And, by the next record of the nineteenth volume, p. 603, "he assumes to himself the pre-emption of all saltpetre made in England, as also the monopoly of gunpowder made thereof."

More grants for exclusive or monopolizing offices, in this same year, appear in p. 605, *ibid.* viz.

First, One "for the searching and sealing of all foreign hops.

Secondly, Another, (p. 606, *ibid.*) "for the viewing and weighing of all hay and straw, in loads or trusses." And,

Thirdly, One "for branding and marking of all butter casks."

1635 In this and the following year 1635, Cecil Lord Baltimore, was at the charge of sending ships, with people and provisions to settle and cultivate his province of Maryland, which had been granted to him by King Charles, in the year 1652, the expence thereof amounting to at least forty thousand pounds. (This sum of his expence is set forth by the Guardian of Charles, Lord Baltimore, a minor, in his petition to Parliament against a bill "for regulating the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America," in the year 1715.) "The interest of which sum" says this petition, "he never received by any profits he had from thence."—Yet, it is since well known, that the family has long received a much greater revenue therefrom.

In this year 1635, the Dutch East India Company invaded and conquered the large island of Formosa, near the Chinese coast, and expelled the Portuguese from thence: yet, we shall see that, twenty-six years after, they were themselves expelled from thence by the Chinese.

In this nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 649, this year begins, in commercial matters with King Charles's proclamation, importing, that "whereas to this time there hath been no certain intercourse between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, he now commands his Postmaster of England for foreign parts to settle a running post or two, to run night and day, between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in six days: and

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1635 “to take with them all such letters as shall be directed to any post town in or near that road. And that by-posts be placed at several places out of the road, to bring in and carry out the letters from and to Lincoln, Hull, and other places: and to pay port for the carrying the said letters, two pence the single letter if under eighty miles, and four pence between eighty and one hundred and forty miles, and six pence if above one hundred and forty miles; and upon the borders of Scotland, and in Scotland, eight pence. And in this proportion for double letters and packets. The like rule shall also be observed to West Chester, Holyhead, and thence to Ireland.—Also to Plymouth, Exeter, &c. on the west road. And, so soon as possible, the like conveyance shall be settled for Oxford, Bristol, and other places on the road: also to Colchester, Norwich, and divers other places on that road. And that the three first named conveyances, viz. from London to Edinburgh, to Chester and Holyhead, and to Plymouth and Exeter, shall begin the first week after Michaelmas next: two pence halfpenny per mile to be paid on the roads to the several postmasters for every single horse carrying the said letters. No other messengers nor foot-posts shall carry any letters, but those alone which shall be employed by the King’s Postmaster-general, unless to such places whither the King’s posts do not go; excepting common known carriers, or messengers particularly sent on purpose, or else a letter by a friend.”

Thus, the increase of England’s foreign commerce augmenting her domestic commerce and correspondence, rendered the further extending the post carriage of letters absolutely requisite. It is indeed somewhat strange, that, trade being, even before this time, got to a considerable height, these posts were not sooner established. On the other hand, it is possible that King Charles’s necessities might put him upon this extension of post carriage sooner than otherwise might have happened. Since his time, there have been posts established on many more by-roads, and some very lately in our time; and those to most of our manufacturing towns, the two Universities, and to the King’s naval ports, have been extended to every week-day throughout the year.

Portpatrick, in Scotland, being the nearest passage to the north of Ireland, both for the Scottish and north of England people, being not above three or four hours sailing, and the inhabitants of that port being unable to erect a proper pier or quay there, the former one having been carried away by the sea; King Charles, in this year, grants a brief for a collection in all the churches of England, (as had before been done in Scotland and Ireland); “for the making of the said harbour a safe retreat for ships and boats.”—*Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 651.

After the Eastern Tartars had, for twenty years together, harrassed China with constant war, they, in this year, entered and subdued it with a vast army; placing their own Prince on the throne of that immensely populous and opulent empire; whose posterity have reigned there to this present time.

In this year 1635, the Bank of Rotterdam was erected, wherein bills of exchange are paid in large money, and only ten per cent. paid in schellings, as we have already related, when treating at large, in the year 1609, of the Bank of Amsterdam. And as we have under that year likewise mentioned the banks of Hamburgh and Stockholm, we can now add nothing further about them.

This year 1635, is remarkable for King Charles the First’s most memorable imposition of *Ship Money*, for the ensuing year 1636, on all the counties, cities, and towns in England, by virtue of his own sole prerogative.

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1635 That Monarch's pretence for this arbitrary imposition was, that the Hollanders pretended a right to a free and undisturbed fishery on his coasts; to which pretension they had been encouraged by their countryman Grotius's famous treatise, intitl'd *Mare Liberum*, published in the year 1612. Although, as we have already related under that year, Grotius had not so much as once named the Dutch claim to the freedom of the said fishery on our coasts, being content with only shewing the justice of the freedom of their fishing on the sea in general; yet, before King Charles and his Ministers would break with the Dutch, and openly vindicate by arms his claim to the sovereignty of the four seas, it was judged necessary to put so considerable a person as John Selden, Esq; upon writing in favour of that claim; who, besides his general learning, was a great lawyer, antiquarian, and historian. He was therefore judged equal to the arduous task of answering and confuting so great a man as Grotius. Mr. Selden had begun his work so early as the reign of King James, probably upon the first appearance of Grotius's *Mare Liberum*; and, after many years intermission, he afterwards reviewed, altered, and enlarged it, as he himself relates, by command of King Charles, to whom he dedicated it, when he first published it, in this same year 1635, under the thundering title of *Mare Clausum*. Sir William Beecher, one of the Clerks of the Council, by the King's command, solemnly delivered a copy of it to the Barons of the Exchequer in open court, who ordered it to be placed amongst their records, where it still remains.

It is not possible to give, in a small compass, a summary account of so large a work as the said *Mare Clausum* is. And, it is sufficient to observe in general, that it is compounded of motives and arguments drawn from old records and precedents of the titles and claims of our Saxon and Norman Kings, in times when there was little or no commerce nor naval power existing any where without the Mediterranean Sea: times so very different from that wherein he wrote, when all the maritime nations of the west and north have, more or less, both a maritime commerce and a naval force; and when such claims, strenuously asserted by any one naval potentate, might reasonably, and perhaps probably, bring about a confederacy of all the potentates for reducing that one to more moderate designs. But, as is remarked in our Preface, the author of our work is eased of the trouble of any further enlarging on this delicate subject, by a learned and most judicious summary of it, long since published, by Sir Philip Meadows; which, containing many other curious historical observations on commercial points, will be found, verbatim, in our Appendix. We shall only further observe, that Rapin, in his History of England, has fallen into a mistake, in saying, under the year 1636, that the quarrel between King Charles and the Dutch, at this time, produced the two famous treatises, intitl'd, *Mare Liberum*, and *Mare Clausum*. Since, as we have shewn under that year, the *Mare Liberum* was published in the year 1612, and was expressly answered by one William Welwood, in a short Latin treatise, in the year 1615.

King Charles, bent on bringing the Dutch to acknowledge his sea dominion, had, beside other naval armaments, built, in this same year 1635, the greatest ship of war that had ever been seen in England, before, and gave it the superb name of the Sovereign, of ninety-six guns, and one thousand seven hundred and forty tons, or, as it is commonly called the Royal Sovereign. And, the better to enable him to fit out a superior fleet, we find, in the *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 658, &c. his special warrant to his Chancellor Coventry, for issuing writs to the Sheriffs of the several counties, and to the Magistrates, &c. of several towns, for assessing and collecting of "money for the fitting out ships of war for suppressing of pirates and for the guard of the seas." The Latin precept for the county and towns of Dorsetshire being here given at large, viz.

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1635 " They were commanded to procure and fit out a ship of five hundred tons burden, with
 " a commander and two hundred sailors: with cannon, small arms, spears, darts, ammuni-
 " tion, &c. answerable; and stored with provisions, and double equipage, and all other ne-
 " cessaries for twenty-six weeks at least. All which was to be paid and maintained at their
 " own charge."

• Here follows a list of all the ships, being forty-five in number, which the several counties of
 England and Wales were commanded to supply, viz. for the year 1636.

	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Dorsetshire, as already mentioned, one ship of	500	200
Cornwall, one of	650	260
Leicestershire, one of	450	180
Middlesex, (Westminster included) one of	550	220
Suffolk, one of	800	320
Huntingdonshire, one of	200	80
Buckinghamshire, one of	450	180
Bedfordshire, one of	300	120
Derbyshire, one of	350	140
Hertfordshire, one of	400	160
Norfolk, one of	800	320
Cumberland and Westmoreland, jointly, one of	100	40
Yorkshire, two, each of	600	240
	600	240
Staffordshire, one of	200	80
Wilts, one of	700	290
Herefordshire, one of	400	160
Monmouthshire, one of	150	60
Shropshire, one of	450	180
Surrey, one of	400	160
Hampshire, one of	600	240
Warwickshire, one of	400	160
Devonshire, one of	900	360
Kent, one of	800	320
Northamptonshire, one of	600	240
Nottinghamshire, one of	350	140
Berks, one of	400	160
Oxon, one of	350	140
Rutlandshire, one of	100	40
Bristol city, one of	200	80
Gloucestershire, one of	550	220
Cambridgeshire, one of	350	140
Lincolnshire, one of	800	320
Somersetshire, one of	800	320
Northumberland, one of	500	200
Worcestershire, one of	400	160
Sussex, one of	500	200
London		

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						Tons.	Men.
1635	London city, one of	-	-	-	-	800	320
	———, one of	-	-	-	-	800	320
(This is much more moderate than his command of seven ships last year from London.)							
	Durham county, one of	-	-	-	-	200	80
	Lancashire, one of	-	-	-	-	350	140
	Essex, one of	-	-	-	-	800	320

(One example may serve for all, viz. that of the ship for the county of Essex, which was estimated at eight thousand pounds, of which the following towns paid as follows, viz.

				£.
Thaxted	-	-	-	40
Walden	-	-	-	80
Colchester	-	-	-	400
Malden	-	-	-	80
Harwich	-	-	-	20
				£. 620

The rest was levied on the parishes at large:

Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan Shires, one of	-	-	-	-	500	200
Montgomery, Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth Shires, one of	-	-	-	-	400	160

Total, 44 ships, consisting of	11,500	8610
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This duty was repeated four years, viz. to 1639, and was valued at two hundred thousand pounds per annum, according to the author of the Royal Treasury of England, published in octavo, in the year 1625.

And by a later commission, in this same year, (*ibid.* *Fœdera*, p. 697) “ King Charles excuses those towns and counties, who, by their situation, cannot fit out the ships above specified, wherewith they are charged; provided that, in lieu thereof, they pay in their quotas in money.”

By a subsequent commission, “ the King directs the officers of his own navy to receive the said quotas of money, and therewith to rig out, victual, and man, from the King’s yards docks, a like ship or ships.” So that, after issuing a proclamation for restraining all but his own subjects from fishing on his coasts, without his licence, he sent out a great fleet, in the year 1636, and attacked and dispersed the Dutch fishing ships, some of which they sunk, and compelled the rest to retire into the English harbours for shelter. Whereupon, the Dutch agreed to pay King Charles thirty thousand pounds, (not florins, as Rapin has it) for permission to continue their fishing for that summer: which Rushworth, in his second volume of Collections, p. 322, says was actually paid, and a willingness testified by the Dutch for paying a future yearly tribute for the like liberty. Yet, De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, (speaking of the bad curing of the herrings caught by the English Fishing Company, whereby they were rejected at Dantzick in the years 1637 and 1638, and which brought that Com-

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* In the same nineteenth volume, p. 686, of the *Fœdera*, we find, that, "King Charles directs a special commission for making the river Wey navigable, from Guildford to the river Thames at Weybridge." It seems, that river had formerly been navigable ; because this record observes, "That it is now become unfit for carrying of barges, boats, or vessels of any burden, for transporting of commodities to and from the town of Guildford : and the commissioners were thereby authorised to survey the said river Wey, and to enquire by what means the same was become unfit for the carrying of barges, &c."

In Richlieu's Political Testament, we find, that France even then abounded with the finest and best of manufactures : "Such" says he, "as the serges of Chalons, and of Chartres, which have abolished those of Milan.—That the Turks prefer the French draps de sseau of Rouen, before all others, next to those of Venice, which are made of Spanish wool.—Such fine plushes are made at Tours, that they are sent into Spain, Italy, &c. also fine plain taffaties.—Red, purple, and spotted velvets, made finer here than at Genoa.—France is the only place for silk serges.—Mohair (camblet) is made as good here as in England ; and best cloth of gold finer and cheaper than in Italy."

In the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 690, "King Charles, by proclamation, prohibits the importation of foreign purles, cut-works, or bone-laces, or of any commodities laced or edged therewith." This he declares to be "at the request, and for the benefit of, the makers of those goods in and near London, and other parts of the realm, now brought to great want and necessity, occasioned by the great importation of those foreign wares : to prevent which for the future, he appoints the English made goods to be sealed or marked."

Another of his proclamations, p. 693, *ibid.* "prohibits the importation of any sort of glass from foreign parts." It seems, that King James, in the thirteenth year of his reign, had prohibited the making of glass with wood firing, for the better preservation of timber, and also prohibited the importation of foreign glass.—"Yet," says King Charles, "ill-minded persons, to the prejudice of our own glass-works, having presumed to import foreign glass,—we now strictly prohibit the same, during the term granted by King James to Sir Robert Mansell, for the sole making of glass ; he having, by his industry and great expence, perfected that manufacture with sea coal or pit-coal ; whereby not only the woods and timber of this kingdom are greatly preserved, but the making of all kinds of glass is established here, to the saving of much treasure at home, and the employment of great numbers of our people ; and our subjects are now furnished with glass at far more moderate prices than they were when brought from foreign parts.—Yet the King permits the said Sir Robert Mansell to import such glasses from Venice, Morana, or other parts of Italy, as he should think fit, for special uses and services." This permission, without doubt, related to the fine Venetian flint glasses, for drinking, the making of which in England was not brought to perfection till the reign of King Charles's grandson, King William the Third.

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We have also, in p. 716, of the same volume, King Charles's monopoly patent to one "for the sole making of wines, for fourteen years, from dried grapes or raisins; which the patentee by his travels in foreign parts had learned. Which wines have been approved of by all such as have used them, to be a most wholesome and good wine, which will keep for sea voyages. The patentee paying forty shillings yearly into the King's Exchequer."

We have a proclamation from King Charles, *ibid.* p. 718, "prohibiting any coin, plate, or bullion from being used in the making of gold and silver thread, copper gilt or silvered, gold or silver foliate, purles, ores, spangles, wire, and such other manufactures, except what shall be imported from foreign parts, or which shall arise from the same works and manufactures being moulten again. And that none of the current gold and silver coins of this realm be hereafter moulten down by any refiner, goldsmith, &c. And that all gold and silver hereafter to be employed in the said manufactures be provided, prepared, and digressed by such persons only as we shall assign, and by none others; and which shall be by them sold and delivered to all persons who shall use the same, according to such standards, and at such rates and prices as we shall limit, and at such places in London as our commissioners shall assign.—And none shall make the said wares but such as shall be by them authorized: and a stamp to be put on all the said manufactures."

Thus almost every proclamation, order, or grant, relating to manufactures, new inventions, &c. had a principal regard to the augmentation of this King's revenue; which, at any rate, he seemed inclinable to increase, rather than to be obliged to call a Parliament for that end; since they would still, probably, persist, as before, to have national grievances go hand in hand with his supplies.

In the said *Fœdera*, vol. xix. p. 721, we have King Charles's proclamation, purporting, "That the great numbers of hackney coaches of late time seen and kept in London, Westminster, and their suburbs, and the general and promiscuous use of coaches there, were not only a great disturbance to his Majesty, his dearest consort the Queen, the nobility, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets, but the streets themselves were so pestered, and the pavements so broken up, that the common passage is thereby hindered, and made dangerous; and the prices of hay and provender, &c. thereby made exceeding dear.—Wherefore we expressly command and forbid, that no hackney or hired coaches be used or suffered in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, except they be to travel at least three miles out of the same. And also that no person shall go in a coach in the said streets, except the owner of the coach shall constantly keep up four able horses for our service, when required."

Historians tell us, for which we acknowledge we have no other more authentic authority, that, in this same year 1635, King Charles I. in the fifteenth year of his reign, granted a licence to the French, to cure and dry their fish on the island of Newfoundland, in consideration of a certain annual tribute of five per cent. Yet even this concession was better than that stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, which allowed that ill-judged privilege to France without any consideration at all.

In p. 730, of the *Fœdera*, vol. xix. in the same year, "that King ordains two-pence to be advanced on or added to every shilling paid to the reelers, &c. of the woollen manufacture. He also appoints an officer for the sole searching, surveying, and sealing of the reel staff in every county, allowing a fee to the said surveyors for their trouble herein; and for register-

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1635 "ing the names of the owners of each reel in a book; which reels shall be all of one uniform size—whereby the goodneſs or badneſs of yarn would be eaſily known."

In the ſame year, *ibid.* King Charles iſſued a commiſſion for the repair of Dover pier, lately damaged by the ſea: for which end he laid an additional duty of twelve-pence on every pack of goods ſhipped thence by merchant-ſtrangers: to continue for three years to come.—That pier is directed to be further repaired by cap. v. of the eleventh and twelfth of King William, and by the ſeventh ſtatute of the ſecond and third year of Queen Anne.

The laſt record for our purpoſe in the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, is in p. 760.

It ſeems, that private copper-farthings, or tokens, as they were then called, were ſtill in uſe in retailing buſineſs: "King Charles therefore, in the year 1635, iſſued a proclamation, "forbidding the currency of them, and that none other be uſed but thoſe formerly iſſued by "his father's authority."

In this year 1635, the iſle of Gardeloup, or Gaudaloupe, which the French author of the hiſtory of the Caribbee iſles ſays is one of the largeſt of them, was firſt ſettled by the French. "It is alſo, ſays that author, who wrote in the year 1658, one of the moſt flouriſhing of "them.—That the French in that iſland uſed the plough, a thing not to be ſeen in any of the "other iſles; and after the plough, it bears rice, Turkey wheat, Caſſia-root, potatoes, and "in ſome parts ginger and ſugar canes, with great increaſe."

"And alſo that the French, from St. Chriſtopher's, in this ſame year 1635, firſt planted "the Caribbee iſle of Martinico; where they found many native Caribbeans, with whom at "firſt they lived peaceably, but had afterwards fierce war with them, till they drove them "into inacceſſible rocky places and mountains.—That the French inhabitants were," in 1658, "ten thouſand in number, and the Indians and negroes as many more: it being the largeſt "of all the Caribbee iſles, and is forty-five leagues in circuit.—That though at firſt, like the "other iſles, they chiefly planted tobacco and cotton, yet it now," *i. e.* in 1658, "produced "ten thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, beſide ginger, pimento, cocoa, caſſia, &c." Here the governor general of all the French Caribbee iſles reſides to this day. It is now ſo fruitful and populous as to be ſaid to have a militia of ten thouſand men or more, and ſixty thouſand negroes: being alſo finely furniſhed with rivers, ſprings, and harbours, and moſt excellent fruits, vaſt quantities of ſugar, molasses, coffee, cotton, indigo, ginger, &c.

In the ſame year, Colonel Jackſon with a number of Engliſh ſhips, from our Leeward iſles, landed on the then Spaniſh iſland of Jamaica, and with only five hundred men attacked the fort of St. Jago de la Vega, which had two thouſand Spaniards in it: which fort and city they took and ſacked, with the loſs of forty men only; they then re-embarked, after receiving a ranſom for forbearing to burn it.

In or about this ſame year the French firſt ſettled on the iſle of Cayenne, over againſt a river of the ſame name on the coaſt of Guiana; from whence, however, they were ſeveral times driven out by the Dutch: but the French finally retook it in 1676, and have held it ever ſince. It is about ſeventeen leagues in compaſs. Here they have ſeveral ſugar plantations. They have ſince neſtled on the continent over againſt Cayenne.

We cannot be quite poſitive whether the French did not about this time ſettle on the great river of Niger, otherwiſe called Senegal river, on the weſt coaſt of Africa, where the beſt gum ſenegal is produced; but we imagine, from ſome circumſtances, that it was nearly at this time.

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1635 In the same year a very rich lead mine, in which was said to be much silver, was discovered in Swedish Lapland, near the town of Pitha, at the bottom of the Bothnic Gulph.

In the same year 1635, the Spaniards, with twenty-two galleys and five galleons, took from France two small inconsiderable isles on the coast of Provence, named St. Margaret and St. Honorate; which, however, they held but two years, as will be seen hereafter.

1636 The first record we find for our purpose in the twentieth and last volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, is in page 3, being King Charles's new regulation, in the year 1636, of the colony of Virginia. Whereby "he appoints Sir John Harvey to be continued governor thereof; "and for him and any three of his council to appoint a commission for the enlarging its "limits; and for finding out what trades may be most necessary to be undertaken for the "benefit of the colony. Also to send out forces for subduing the Indians; and to make war "or peace, as may best suit the safety of the colony, and our honour.—That in case of the "governor's death, or his necessary absence, not to be allowed by less than four of the coun- "cil there, one of the council, to be appointed by the rest, shall act in his stead. The go- "vernor and council to be subordinate, subject, and obedient to the lords commissioners "and committees here for our plantations, touching the present government of that colony, "to whom as well as to us, the governor shall, on the death of any member of the council, "give notice thereof, that we may appoint another in his stead."

As these regulations are, in general, the same by which the colonies called regal, or such as are immediately under the crown, are still governed, they are for that reason here exhibited, being the first establishment thereof in that manner.

In p. vi. of the same volume, we have "King Charles's special commission to a number "of lords and gentlemen, for enabling William Sandys, Esq; to make the river Avon na- "vigable for boats and barges, from the river Severn near Tewksbury where it falleth in, "through Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, to the city of Coventry. "And also the river Team, on the west side of the Severn towards Ludlow."

In p. 10, *ibid.* we see "another fresh commission of enquiry by King Charles, in this "same year, into houses erected in or near London or Westminster on new foundations, and "into the nuisances thereby occasioned."

In p. 12, *ibid.* in this same year, we have King Charles's proclamation in favour of Selden's then famous book, intitled, *Mare Clausum*, importing, as follows:

"That whereas there was published, in the year 1635, by our express command, a work, "entitled, *Mare Clausum*, seu de *Dominio Maris*; for the manifesting of the right and do- "minion of us and our royal progenitors, in the seas which encompass these our realms and "dominions of Great Britain and Ireland: and whereas, since the publication thereof, some "persons, not well affected to us and our proceedings, have caused the same book to be print- "ed in some place beyond the seas, and to the same impression have added some other things, "as if they were parts of that which was first printed here by our command; and have falsely "put the name of our city of London on the title page for the place of the impression.— "Wherefore the said foreign impression, and all other copies of *Mare Clausum*, not printed "here by authority, are hereby expressly prohibited to be imported or vended here."

Of this book and its design we have said enough under the preceding year.

In p. 15, of the twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have King Charles's renewal of a proclamation of King James's, in the seventh year of his reign, "prohibiting all persons, not "his natural born subjects, from fishing on the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland, "without

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“ without a special licence first obtained from his Majesty. And, by these presents, we make public declaration, that our resolution is, at times convenient, to keep such a competent strength of shipping upon our seas as may, by God’s blessing, be sufficient both to hinder such further incroachments upon our regalities, and to assist and protect those our good friends and allies, who shall henceforth, by virtue of our licences to be first obtained, endeavour to take the benefit of fishing upon our coasts and seas in the places accustomed.”

• In p. 16, of the same volume, we have King Charles’s proclamation, confirming another of King James’s, of the seventeenth year of his reign, “ prohibiting the importation of whale fins by any but the Russia Company.—And he now directs, for the encouragement of that Company and the increase of navigation, that none, whether natives or foreigners, shall import any whale fins or whale oil, but the said Company only; and this in their joint stock capacity alone in respect to the whale fishery; under pain of forfeiting, &c.”

In p. 41, *ibid.* we find that King Charles again descends “ to the regulation of the clock-reel, or reel-staff, for woollen yarn; by again enjoining one only dimension for it. He also enjoins, that there be but one weight and one measure for every commodity to be bought or sold throughout the kingdom. And that his clerk of the market for his household should have the overseeing and examination of all weights and measures: for which consideration the King hereby appoints certain fees to be paid to him.”

N. B. This ancient officer had formerly great power, which was generally abused to the great oppression of the subject: wherefore that office is long since justly in disuse. It is somewhat strange, that to this day nothing has been effectually done for reducing all merchandize to one weight or measure, so obviously convenient throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

In p. 47, of the same twentieth volume, we find that King Charles now issues “ a commission for enquiring into and preventing encroachments on the river Thames, by ladders, stairs, trap doors, &c. from whence rubbish and dirt were usually thrown into it; to the great detriment of its navigation.”

And in p. 52, *ibid.* we meet with a commission from King Charles “ for compounding with such as had been guilty of the unlawful importing, selling, or using a false dying-wood, called Logwood, Blackwood, or Campesea-wood, *i. e.* Campeachy-wood, contrary to two statutes, of the twenty-third and thirty-ninth of Queen Elizabeth: and for punishing such as shall hereafter be found guilty in this respect.” Concerning the present use thereof by dyers, we have already animadverted in its place.

And in p. 56, &c. of the same volume, we have “ King Charles’s commission for levying of ship money throughout the several counties of England and Wales, for the ensuing year 1637.”—But further on, in this same year, *ibid.* p. 74, “ the King alters the quota for Cumberland and Westmoreland jointly, from a ship of one hundred and twenty tons to one of one hundred and forty tons, and fifty-six men. And of the city of London, from two ships of eight hundred tons each, to two of seven hundred tons each, and each two hundred and eighty men, instead of three hundred and twenty. Also Middlesex county, instead of one ship of five hundred and fifty tons, shall now furnish one of but five hundred tons, and two hundred men. Also Northumberland, instead of a ship of three hundred and seventy tons, shall furnish only one of two hundred and ten tons, and eighty-four men.”

In the same year, vol. xx. of the *Fœdera*, King Charles granted a patent to Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane, for the sole coinage of copper or brass farthings. And, pursuant to

A. D. 1636 an order of the star-chamber, of the year 1634, it was now provided, that the said brass farthings should not be forced upon poor labourers in payment; they having formerly been compelled to take all or most of their wages in such farthings from designing men, who had bought up great quantities of them at a low rate or discount. "Silver," says Rushworth, "was so scarce, and gold so plenty at this time, that when cattle were sold in Smithfield, they commonly bargained for to be paid in silver, and not in gold; insomuch, that two-pence, or more, was usually given for exchanging of a twenty shillings piece into silver, although the gold was full weight."

In the same twentieth volume, p. 68, of the *Fœdera*, we see "King Charles's commission for compounding with the transgressors of the laws made against destroyers of timber-trees and woods, in the melting and forging of iron."

In p. 93 of the same volume, that King issues a monopolising proclamation, "That none shall buy any ballast out of the river Thames, but a person appointed by him for that purpose."

King Charles having, as already quoted, monopolised all the saltpetre and gunpowder, "he now appoints a commission for receiving of his two gunpowder-makers, all the powder they shall make, at seven-pence halfpenny per pound weight; and for again selling the same out to his subjects, at such prices as they," the commissioners, "shall from time to time fix."—*Fœdera*, vol. xx. p. 96.

N. B. In this same commission we find that the King was not able to carry on this monopoly without the importation of saltpetre from foreign parts; there not being enough thereof produced in England for the manufacture of all the gunpowder requisite for the use of himself and his subjects. For this end, we find, further on, in p. 107, of the same volume, "That he prohibits the importation of foreign gunpowder; and directs, that his officers shall not take above one shilling and sixpence per pound weight for gunpowder sold out to his subjects. (We see above, that it was to be delivered to him at seven-pence halfpenny; a monstrous advantage taken of his subjects!) "Lastly, that no retailers of it, to whom it is thus sold, shall again sell it for above one shilling and eight-pence in London, and one shilling and eight-pence halfpenny per pound in the country, if distant thirty miles or more from London."

In p. 102, of the same nineteenth volume, that King frames a malt and brewing monopoly, in his "commission, this same year 1636, for restraining the excessive number of common maltsters; by means of whom, not only a greater consumption and waste of barley is occasioned, but also sundry abuses in the bad making of malt. Likewise, for restraining the great number of innkeepers and victuallers, who take upon them to brew ale and beer, which they sell by retail, and make too strong and heady, serving for drunkenness and excess."—Was there ever a lamer introduction to usher in the most shameful monopoly? viz. "That from thenceforth, the King was to appoint, in fit places, throughout the realm, a competent number of maltsters, to be incorporated, and also of common brewers; under such fines and early payments to us as should be thought meet."

In p. 103, of the said twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, we find that "King Charles contracts with John Crane, Esquire, surveyor-general, for the victualling of his navy; much in, or very near, the form and substance of the contract for the like-purpose already related under the year 1622. Mr. Crane was to be allowed for sailors in harbour, seven-pence halfpenny per day for their provisions; and when at sea, eight-pence halfpenny per day."

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In p. 113, of the same volume, we see that "King Charles incorporates all the tradesmen and artificers inhabiting such places of the city of London as are exempted from the freedom thereof; as also those of the out-parts of Westminster and Middlesex, within three miles of the said city of London. Thereby also excluding, for the future, all such as shall not have served seven years to their respective occupations, as well as all foreigners, from practising their respective trades." The pretences, scarcely plausible, for this most extraordinary corporation, as in this proclamation, were, "in order to prevent those places from being pestered with inmates; and also, to prevent the prejudice done to such as were free-men of London: and for the more orderly disposing of trade and tradesmen." But, although no payments into his Exchequer are herein named, it seems reasonable enough to suspect, that he was hereby laying a foundation for some such tax.

As in p. 126, of the same volume, in a list of offices bestowed in this twelfth year of King Charles's reign, there is one "for the office of clerk and keeper of all the King's stores and store-houses at Deptford, Chatham, Portsmouth, and elsewhere, for his Majesty's ships and navy;" it seems probable, that neither Plymouth, Sheerness, nor Woolwich, had then royal docks and store-houses: otherwise, it should seem, they would have been named in that grant; the words, *and elsewhere*, seeming to be merely an expletive.

By this time the Dutch West India Company had taken possession of the greatest part of the coasts of Brasil, having, according to Voltaire's General History of Europe, chap. xi. in the space of thirteen years, sent thither eighteen hundred ships, for war and commerce, (others say but eight hundred) which were valued at four millions and a half sterling; and had, in that space, taken from Spain, then sovereign of Portugal, five hundred and forty-five vessels. That company, in this year 1636, sent thither Prince Maurice, as governor-general; and whilst he remained there, which was eight years, their affairs in general prospered well enough: but yet their first declension in Brasil may be dated from, or was properly owing to, the Portuguese shaking off the Spanish yoke, in the year 1640, soon after which remarkable revolution, they gradually gained ground on the Dutch in Brasil, from whence we shall see the latter were quite expelled in the year 1654.

The Spaniards having, as we have seen, possessed themselves of the two small isles of St. Marguerite and St. Honorat, in the year 1635, on the coast of Provence, near Antibes, whereby they greatly annoyed that coast; to revenge so great an affront, France, in the year following, fitted out forty-two ships at Rochelle, and sailing into the Mediterranean, they were joined by twenty-four galleys, all which were commanded in chief by the Count de Harcourt; who, on the coast of Italy, near Monaco, attacked the joint fleets of Spain, Sicily, Naples, and Florence, and obtained a complete victory, says Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, sinking their best ships, and putting the rest to flight. From thence they went and ravaged the island of Sardinia.

Moreover, Cardinal Richlieu, the prime minister of France, and director-general of her marine, having, ever since the English fleet had blustered fiercely before Rochelle, though to little purpose, in the year 1624, maturely considered how much France lay open to the attacks and insults of England, for want of a maritime force, he had for some years been preparing all the naval force which he could either purchase from other powers, or collect from all the French ports, both of the ocean and Mediterranean. He, in the year 1637, had got together what the judicious author of an excellent pamphlet, published in the year 1699, named, *Considerations requiring greater Care for Trade in England*, calls, France's first line of battle; consisting

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- 1636 consisting of upwards of fifty ships, and twenty galleys: with which force France, in this same year, recovered the two isles above-named, after vanquishing the Spanish fleet, and taking five large Spanish ships, twenty-two galleys, and eighteen smaller vessels.
- 1637 This was properly the first time that France began to shew her superiority over Spain at sea, as she had before done at land. Upon this occasion, the motto placed on the stern of the largest French ship of war, was modest enough, viz.

Florent quoque lilia ponto! i. e.

Even on the main,
Our Gallic lilies triumph over Spain!

Or, as Sir Philip Meadows gives it paraphrased in prose, “Richlieu first taught France, that the fleur-de-luces could grow at sea as well as at land.” After which, Richlieu went on destroying the remains of Spain’s naval strength till at length it was reduced to the lowest ebb.

It was about the years 1636 or 1637, according to Roger Coke’s Second Discourse on Trade, p. 53, in quarto, published in 1670, that one hundred and forty families out of Norfolk and Suffolk, settled themselves at Leyden, Alkmaer, and other parts of Holland; and there established, or confirmed the establishment of the woollen manufactures of those places.

Count Maurice of Nassau, the Dutch West India Company’s governor-general of Brasil, took there, at this time, another fortress from the Spaniards: and some of that company’s ships sailed from thence to the coast of Guinea, and made themselves masters of the famous castle of St. George del Mina, the principal Portuguese fort of all that coast, which they have kept to this day, as also of several other lesser forts there. By these conquests on the Guinea coast, the Dutch were supplied, at first hand, with negroes, for carrying on their sugar plantations, &c. in Brasil. Bosman, a Dutch author, in his Description of Guinea, compares the Portuguese, on this account, to setting-dogs, serving to spring the game; which, when they had done, was seized on by others: which proved literally true, both with respect to Africa and India.

In the twentieth volume, p. 143, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles issues a proclamation, importing, “That being informed that numbers of his subjects are every year transporting themselves and families, with their estates, to the English plantations in America; amongst whom there are many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is, to live, as much as they can, without the reach of authority. The King thereby commands, all the officers of the several ports, that they do not hereafter permit any persons, being subsidy-men,” (that is, payers of the usual subsidies) “to embark themselves thither, without a licence from the commissioners for plantations. Nor none under the value of subsidy-men, without a certificate of his having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and likewise, from the minister of the parish, of his conversation, and conformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England.”—This was levelled against the Puritans; then going in great numbers to New England, to avoid persecution at home: and a better sample need not to be desired of the wisdom and character of this King, and his favourites and ministers.

In this same year, and in the same volume, p. 145, we find, that an officer was appointed by King Charles, for the sealing or stamping of all playing-cards and dice; for which a certain sum was to be paid to the King’s officers.

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In p. 146, &c. of the same volume, we find, that some of the English East India Company's ships, having, in the year 1634, touched at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, they were kindly treated by the viceroy there; with whom the English concluded a truce, and also a free-trade, not only thither, but to China, and all other parts where the Portuguese were settled in India. Whereupon, in the following year, 1635, King Charles of England granted a licence to the said persons, viz. to Captain John Weddel, &c. with six ships, to make a voyage to Goa, and the coast of Malabar, and also to the coasts of China and Japan; there to trade in such commodities as they could, to the best advantage for themselves, and all other his subjects for the future. "But the East India Company have neither planned nor settled a trade in those parts, as we expected, nor made such fortifications and places of surety, as might encourage any hereafter to adventure to trade thither; neither have we received any annual benefit from thence, as other Princes do, by reason of the said company's neglect to fortify; they having merely pursued their own present profit, without providing any safety or settledness for establishing of traffic in the said Indies, for the good of posterity: whereas the Portuguese and Dutch had both planted and fortified, and also established a lasting and hopeful trade there, for the good of posterity; by the advantage whereof, they had not only rendered our people there subject to their insolencies, but had, in a manner, worked them out of the trade; which we find by the complaint of divers adventurers in that society; and, principally, by the daily decrease of our customs for imports from India, owing to the said company's supine neglect of discovery, and settling trade to divers parts, when they had a plentiful stock, and fair opportunities to effect it.

"And, as all the attempts for a north-west passage to East India have hitherto proved unsuccessful, which, however, we believe might be performed from Japan, north-east, to the north of California, on the back-side of America, in about forty degrees north latitude, and so to coast along northward, eastward, and westward, as the land will give way, to sixty-four degrees northward, where it was left undiscovered by Sir Thomas Button, Captain Luke Fox, and others, to come through the Straits of Hudson, in the Western or Atlantic Sea. The King, in the said grant of 1635, directed, that the grantees should, from the sea of China, Japan, or elsewhere, send one of their ships, well furnished and manned, to attempt the before-named north-west discovery; allotting them half the customs, and other benefits that should arise from all such new discoveries as should be made, reserving to himself the other half, with the sovereignty of the countries.

"The King next prescribes the rules and government of those ships and people, in the voyage to and from India, China, and Japan, and on land there. He grants them the use of a new common-seal; and, to all intents, makes them a separate company for the East India trade: directing the old company, their agents, and servants, not to molest them in their said East India commerce."

The persons who set on foot this new company were, Sir William Courten, Sir Paul Pindar, &c. but the King himself, as he therein declares, and Endymion Porter, Esquire, a groom of his bed-chamber, had shares therein, jointly with the last named persons, and with Captain John Weddell, &c. In this year 1637, therefore, "the King confirms his said privileges" (the ships being already gone on their voyage) "to the said adventurers, as to all places in India where the old company had not settled any factories or trade before the twelfth of December, 1635; but without prejudice to the said old company in other respects. This new company's grant of trade and privileges was to last for five years to come; during which

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1637 " time they might annually re-export what India goods they should bring home; and might, " in that case, draw back the entire customs paid on their importation. Moreover, during " the said five years, they might export forty thousand pounds to India in gold and silver bullion, paying to the King one pound ten shillings per cent. for that privilege: and they " might also, during the said term, admit any others to be partners with them in this adventure."

Note,—That Sir William Courten, who had the largest share in this adventure, died before this first voyage was completed; and his son and executor, William Courten, Esquire, was, by the King, in this last grant, substituted in his father's place: and he has left, in print, several large accounts of his great losses by this adventure, amounting to the sum of one hundred and fifty-one thousand six hundred and twelve pounds, occasioned by the Dutch East India Company's seizing, in the year 1640, on their two rich ships, and destroying their factories in India; which made much clamour both before and after the restoration of King Charles the Second; many pamphlets being published, to shew the great damage done to hundreds of families, creditors of Courten and Pindar: and in the treaty between King Charles the Second and the Dutch, in the year 1662, satisfaction was stipulated to be made by the Dutch East India Company for the said two rich ships. Yet, so late as the year 1682, we still find complaints in print on this point; so that, probably, no redress was ever obtained of the Dutch East India Company for those damages.

To say the truth, the scheme of this new English company was an iniquitous one against the old company, whose charters were, doubtless, entirely exclusive of all others; and the King was, probably, put upon it by his ministers, on the plausible pretext of great profit to himself. For even the principal reason or pretence for breaking in upon the old company's exclusive grant, would hold equally good against the present or any other company: for what company can ever be able to plant or settle factories in all parts within their extensive bounds in India? And, indeed, all the King's allegations before recited, are shamefully mean, and unworthy of a great monarch.

On this voyage to India, Sir William Courten's ships made a small settlement on the great isle of Madagascar; which was soon after ruined by the old East India Company.

In the twentieth volume, p. 157, of the *Fœdera*, King Charles I. of England, issues a fresh proclamation concerning malt and brewing: wherein he expressly enjoins, " That, for the " sake of the poorer sort of his people, whose usual bread was barley, as well as for the reasons assigned in his proclamation of the preceding year, already recited, the common-maltsters in every county be incorporated, and none of them shall follow any other calling.— " Also, that no maltster shall be a brewer, nor cooper, at the same time. And that common " maltsters, and common brewers, shall only practise their trades in such places as should be " assigned by the King and council; and none but such to practise any where. No innkeeper, alehouse-keeper, or victualler, shall brew the drink they retail, unless there be no " common brewer near the place where they live. Which restrictions, however, were not " to extend to the city of London, nor within four miles of it.

We have seen King Charles's proclamation, for the restraint of hackney and other coaches, under the year 1635. We shall now see him in a contrary strain, in this year 1637, in p. 159, of the same volume. It is his special commission to the Marquis of Hamilton, his master of the horse, viz.

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“ That we, finding it very requisite for our nobility and gentry, as well as for foreign ambassadors, strangers, and others, that there should be a competent number of hackney-coaches allowed for such uses, have, by the advice of our privy-council, thought fit to allow fifty hackney-coachmen in and about London and Westminster; limiting them not to keep above twelve horses apiece. Also so many others in other places of England as shall be necessary. We therefore grant to you,” (the Marquis) “ during your life, the power and authority to licence fifty hackney-coachmen, who shall keep no more than twelve good horses each, for their or any of their coach and coaches respectively. You also hereby have power to licence so many in other cities and towns of England, as in your wisdom shall be thought necessary; with power to restrain and prohibit all others from keeping any hackney-coach to let to hire, either in London, or elsewhere. Also to prescribe rules and orders concerning the daily prices of the said licensed hackney-coachmen, to be by them, or any of them taken, for our own particular service, and in their employment for our subjects; provided such orders be first allowed by us, under our royal hand.” By allowing each of these fifty coachmen twelve horses, it is plain, there might be, and most probably were, many more than fifty coaches kept by them; possibly even as far as three hundred in number.

In p. 160, vol. xx. of the *Fœdera*, in this same year 1637, “ King Charles issues a proclamation against deceits in the packing of butter, and for marking the casks by a proper officer, who was to have a fee for that purpose.” We have met with several such proclamations on this subject in the reign of this King, and his father; and that no butter be exported without a licence; and for regulating the size of their casks. All which we scarcely thought worth our notice.

In p. 161, of the same volume, we have a similar proclamation of this King, directing the pigs and bars of iron made in England, to be marked or stamped by his surveyors of the iron-works, for preventing the making and selling of bad iron: and that iron was not to be exported without the King’s licence, under pain of forfeiture, &c.—Those surveyors were hereby also empowered to enter any woods that were “ felled, cut, or corded, to be converted into coal for making of iron; whereby it might appear of what condition those woods were that should be employed that way; that they be not cut down contrary to law.”—A very proper regulation, if rightly executed.

A proposal being in this year made to King Charles, “ for the better working of lead mines in Wales, so as to extract more silver therefrom than hitherto the miners there have had skill to do, in order for the coining of money therefrom:—The King therefore hereby erects a mint at the castle of Aberistwith, in Cardiganshire, and appoints the proposer, Thomas Bushell, Esquire, to be warden thereof: who, on his part, covenants with the King, to coin five different silver coins there, viz. Half-crowns, whereof twenty-four, and two shillings over, shall make a pound troy; shillings, sixty-two in the pound troy; sixpences, whereof one hundred and twenty-four to be in the pound troy; two-pences, whereof three hundred and seventy-two in the pound troy; and pence, whereof seven hundred and forty-four in the pound troy: which pound troy shall contain eleven ounces and two pennyweights of fine silver, and eighteen pennyweights alloy; which is the old right standard of the monies of silver in England. But two shillings out of every pound weight of coined silver shall be retained at the mint; viz. fourteen-pence for the charges of the said mint, and ten-pence for the King: so that there shall only be delivered out to the owner three

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1637 “pounds by tale. The said money to have the feathers stamped on both sides of it, to shew that it was coined in Wales.”—*Fœdera*, vol. xx. p. 163.

In this same year 1637, King Charles again directed ship-money to be levied, for the service of the year 1638. The number of ships, tonnage, and men, the same as in the preceding year.—*Fœdera*, vol. xx. p. 169.

In the same volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 171, we see an instance of the form of reprisals, granted by King Charles on all Holland ships and merchandize to the sufferers, on account of an hostile act committed in the year 1630, at sea, on certain English ships, by a ship of Rotterdam; the sufferer having in vain used all possible endeavours to recover his goods, and to obtain justice. The captors to render a just account of their prizes to the admiralty.

King Charles, p. 174, of the same volume, in this year, permits the moderate use “of wine casks by brewers, victuallers, &c.” which he had last year prohibited, “upon their paying a fine, or else an annual payment to the King for that indulgence.”

It would be almost needless to recount all the little ways (for such they really merited, for the most part, to be esteemed) of this sort, which this unhappy Prince was put upon for raising of money, rather than to meet the representatives of his people, in the constitutional method of Parliament; which yet he was, at length, with an ill-grace, necessitated to do. In the mean time, his orders, proclamations, injunctions, prohibitions, grants, and patents, were to have the force, and to supply the place, of acts of Parliament.—*Stat pro ratione voluntas!*

After all the exclusive powers, &c. which King Charles had granted to his soap company in Westminster, he found himself obliged, in this same year, to recal them all, as appears by the twentieth volume, p. 181, of the *Fœdera*: but, in their stead, he erected another new exclusive soap company, within the city of London, equally illegal, having the Lord Mayor, Edward Bromfield, Esquire, at their head. “Whereby he prohibits all others throughout England, but such as shall be free of this new corporation, from making of soap, (excepting Sir Richard Weston, and several soap-makers of Bristol, Bridgewater, Exeter, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, who had licences to make limited quantities and sorts of soap; for which they probably gave due satisfaction) “or from buying of pot-ashes, &c. The Westminster company having first resigned their charter into the King’s hands.”

In p. 186, of the same volume, we see “King Charles’s special commission to Robert Earl of Warwick, his agents and associates, with as many armed ships as he should judge proper, at his and their costs, for an undertaking tending to the advancement of our service and revenue, and the enlargement of our territories in the West Indies, and to the public honour of the nation. And to assail, take, burn, or otherwise destroy, any carracks, ships, gallies, &c. in those seas, or any where else, where the free navigation, trade, or commerce of any of our subjects is or shall be denied, or actually intercepted, or opposed in any kind. Saving the carracks, ships, &c. of all Princes and states keeping league and amity with us, and not denying or actually interrupting, &c. the said free navigation in the seas aforesaid. Empowering the said Earl, and his associates, in an hostile manner, by force of arms, stratagem, and other policy of war, to invade, surprise, vanquish, retain, possess, and keep to our use, any lands, islands, cities, castles, or other parts, lying and being within the continent or islands of America, or elsewhere, which he shall any way bring under his power; and therein to plant, inhabit, and fortify, or else to demolish and destroy the same: and to take to his use all the ammunition, goods, and treasure found therein, &c.”

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Every one may presently guess, that this private expedition was intended against the Spanish West Indies: for although there was then peace between England and Spain in Europe, yet there never had been any proper treaty of peace between those nations, relating to the West Indies, or other parts of America; concerning all which parts, the pretensions of the crown of Spain ran still so high as to claim the absolute sovereignty. And that very wild and arbitrary claim gave a reasonable ground for other maritime nations to get possession of as much as they could of those undetermined territories: whereas, if Spain had made treaties with England and France in those early days, for ascertaining the distinct property of each of the said three nations there, she might at this day have preserved her claim to some parts thereof, which the feebleness of that monarchy in succeeding times obliged her to give up. This intended expedition, however, probably, did not succeed; or rather, perhaps, did not take place, since none of our naval historians or voyagers make any mention of it.

In p. 191, of the said twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have, “King Charles’s patent to Thomas Earl of Berkshire, for the sole use of his new-invented kiln, for the drying of malt and hops, with sea-coal, turf, peat, or any other cheap fuel; with power to him to compound for a sum of money, to be paid by such as shall desire to use his said invention.”

Private letter-carriers between England and France we find were still in use, notwithstanding King Charles’s proclamation, in the year 1636, and also King Louis the Thirteenth’s, in the same year, both prohibiting the same. In consequence of an agreement between those two Princes, the route of the public posts was from Dover to Calais, and thence to Paris, by Boulogne, Abbeville, and Amiens: whereas the private posts sailed from Rye to Dieppe, and thence to Paris. Wherefore, in vol. xx. p. 192, of the *Fœdera*, “King Charles, by proclamation, forbids any letters from being sent from Rye to Dieppe, or any other way whatever, but from his postmaster-general, by the way of Calais, as above. He also again prohibits all private posts at home; hereby renewing his former declaration of the several rates of postage, as exhibited under the year 1635.”

In England, gentlemen, merchants, and traders, not long before this time, were forced to employ less certain carriers; or else were at the greater expence of special messengers with their letters. Universities and great towns had their own particular posts; and the same horse, or foot-post, went quite through the journey, and returned with other letters, without having different stages, as at present. It was thus practised still later in Scotland, as having less commerce than in England.

In p. 190, of the same volume, in the list or catalogue of offices filled up in England, for the said year 1637, we meet with the following ones, viz.

“First, The agency for the sole making and selling of all counterpoises, or weights and grains; and the approving and allowing of all balances for his Majesty’s coins or money of gold, within England and Ireland.

“Secondly, The office of measurer of all foreign barks and timber.

“Thirdly, The office of agency for his Majesty to grant licences to sell tobacco by retail.

“Fourthly, The office of intelligence; and of entering the names of all masters, mistresses, and servants; and of all goods lost and found, &c. in London, Westminster, and three miles distant.

“Fifthly, The office of sealer of all playing-cards and dice.”

In the same year, we find another monopoly of King Charles, though not in the *Fœdera*. It is in a small quarto book, published in the year 1655, intitled, *England’s Grievance discovered*

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1637 covered in relation to the Coal Trade; where, in cap. xxi. it is said, that, in the thirteenth year of his reign, he granted to Sir Thomas Tempest, and others, notwithstanding the former exclusive and perpetual right, by charter, of the Hostmen of Newcastle, “the sole power of selling of all coals exported out of the river Tyne, for twenty-one years.”

At this time James, Duke of Courland, made a considerable figure in naval power and commerce: he built a good number of stout ships of war, and also some forts on the coast of Guinea, where he settled factories: he also settled a colony on the isle of Tobago in the West Indies: so that King Charles Gustavus, of Sweden, is reported sometime after this to have pleasantly said, “my cousin of Courland is too great for a Duke, and too little for a King.” But as that Dutchy had not a sufficiency of materials and manufactures for a great commerce, and that the superior genius of that Prince died with him, Courland after his death sunk to its former proper and intrinsic value.

By an order of King Charles and his Council, in this same year, as appears by all the London historiographers of that age, that King, who delighted too much in copying after any arbitrary order of other nations, commanded “all the London silversmiths to live in Goldsmith’s-row, “being the south sides of the two famous streets of London named Cheapside “and Lombard-street.” The cruelty and absurdity of this almost frantic order is so obvious to every one, that it is needless to make any further animadversion on it. Possibly, such as were to be indulged in this case paid sufficiently for it.

The first Europeans who settled in that part of America, since named New Jersey, and in part of Pennsylvania, were Swedes: we cannot fix the exact year, although probably about 1637, but it was however in Queen Christina’s reign. They are said, through our unaccountable supineness, to have erected three towns therein very early, whose names still remain, viz. Gottenburg, Helsingburg, and Christina. Yet the Swedes, not being so industrious as their neighbours the Dutch of New Nidderland, now New York, were by them dispossessed of the northern part, which they named, in Latin, Nova Belgia. But, as neither Swedes nor Dutch had any right to settle there, that country being part of our province of Virginia, as then so called; the Duke of York, as we shall see, made no scruple to dispossess them both, in the year 1664.

1638 By the quarto treatise already quoted under the foregoing year, and entitled, England’s Grievance discovered in relation to the Coal Trade, chap. xxii. we learn, that, in the year 1638, King Charles incorporated a Company of Coal Monopolizers, viz. Thomas Horth and other masters of ships, “who were impowered to buy all coals exported from the ports of “Sunderland, Newcastle, Blithe, and Berwick,” paying to that King one shilling per chaldron custom. “And to sell them again to the city of London, at a price not exceeding “seventeen shillings per chaldron in summer, and nineteen shillings in winter; provided they “had a free market and a just measure at Newcastle, &c.” As this is not the same grant as that in the preceding year, it is probable the latter was revoked.

The French fleet, under the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, now beats the Spanish fleet of galleons, of which they took several; and, in the same year, the galleys of Marseilles vanquished those of Spain, near Genoa.

The Dutch, from Batavia, worsted the Portuguese at Ceylon, in this year, both at sea, and on land: whereupon the former took possession of their forts on that island. Upon which, the Emperor, as the voyagers of those times think proper to call him, or King of Candy, concludes a treaty with the Dutch, and grants them many privileges, and a re-imbursement of

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1638 the charges of their expeditions against the Portuguese, to be paid in cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo, wax, &c. with great presents sent to Batavia.

In pursuance of two acts of Parliament, of the thirty-ninth and forty-third of Queen Elizabeth, for the true making of cloth, directing all kinds of woollen cloth, brought for sale to London, to be first carried to Blackwell-hall, the common cloth market for the said city, to be there searched and sealed; and of King James's proclamation, in his eleventh year, directing, that all sorts of vendible cloths, bayes, felts, says, stuffs, as well old as new draperies, made in England and Wales, should be brought to the said Blackwell-hall, for the like purpose; King Charles published a proclamation to the same effect; as also to prevent those who, to elude the said laws, make contracts for those woollen goods in the country, and bring them afterwards to London, to inns, warehouses, &c. to be there sold; whereby, says the King, much deceit and damage redoundeth to our subjects, and discredit to our cloths in foreign parts; and also the poor children of Christ-hospital, in London, are defrauded of the duties of hallage there, appointed for their relief.—*Fœdera*, vol. xx. p. 221.

In this same volume, p. 223, of the *Fœdera*, "King Charles commands, by his proclamation, all merchants, and masters of ships, &c. not to set forth any ship or ships with passengers or provisions for New England, without his or his Privy Council's special licence, for divers weighty and important causes well known to us." This was for restraining the Puritans from going to New England; who, at this time, flocked thither in great numbers, to enjoy that liberty in a wilderness which every man has an undoubted right to, demeaning himself in a peaceable manner, in his native land. Most cruel therefore was the proceeding of this King in regard to those people; on the one hand, to persecute them at home, and, on the other, to prevent their withdrawing from such persecution.

The said Prince's proclamation, in the sixth year of his reign, having prohibited any raw silk from being dyed before the gum be fair boiled off; "being now better informed by merchants, mercers, silk-men, and silk-weavers, that there is a sort of silk called hard silk, dyed upon the gum, necessarily used in the making of tufted taffeties, figured sattins, fine slight ribbons, and ferret ribbons, both black and coloured; and although it be dyed upon the gum, yet will it not be increased in weight above the limitations following, viz. the pound weight of raw or thrown silk not to exceed sixteen ounces when dyed into any coloured hard silk, with half an ounce at most for remedy; and being dyed into Spanish black hard silk not to exceed nineteen ounces when dyed, without any addition for remedy. Wherefore, in this year 1638, *ibid.* p. 223, he directs his last-named scheme to take place. And he further directs, that no hard silk be used or mixed in the making of any other manufactures of silk than the above-named ones. Also, that none shall import any stuffs or other manufactures made or mixed with hard silk, other than tufted taffeties and figured sattins; nor any stuffs whatsoever made or mixed with silk, which shall not be in breadth a full half yard nail and half nail within the lists, on forfeiture thereof."

That King having lately incorporated the makers, in London, of hats and caps of beaver wool; "and the wearing of beaver hats, says the King, *ibid.* p. 230, being of late become much in use by those of rank and quality; he therefore prohibits the importation of any hats or caps of beaver, or of any other sort whatever: and that none shall make any hats for the future but freemen of that corporation. Also, that no hair, wool, or other stuff, be by the said hat makers mixed with their beaver wool in hat making: nor shall any hats, called

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1638 " called demy-castors, be henceforth made to be sold here; but, as they are demanded in foreign parts, they may be exported beyond sea."

In p. 234. *ibid.* " King Charles repeals all the restraints he had lately laid on malsters or malt makers, in the year 1636."

In p. 241, of the said twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, we find, that the wine merchants and vintners, of England, having agreed to pay forty shillings per ton to King Charles for all the wines they should import, that King, in return, " prohibits the wine coopers, who had already crept into the wine trade, from importing wines."

By the same record it also appears, that licences for retailing of wines were then under the management of the Vintner's Company, for his Majesty's benefit. The King also hereby directs, that " the custom of retailing of wines in bottles and other undue measures be laid aside; and that all wines be retailed by just measures alone."

Bigotry in religion, ever obstructive of the freedom of commerce, and an unaccountable bias to the old laws, before commerce became considerable in England, had so blinded King Charles and his Ministry, that many proclamations and orders were now made which were very hurtful to the due freedom of commerce: of which weakness we have already seen various instances: and in p. 220, of the twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, we have one more example thereof. It is in a tedious proclamation, " for reforming of abuses in the manufacture and breadths of silks and stuffs of foreign materials, such as velvets, plushes, tissues, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, taffatics, garters, ribbons, and laces; hereby empowering the Weavers Company of London to admit such a competent number of such persons, as well strangers as natives, into the freedom of their Company, as had exercised the trade of weaving at least one whole year before the date of the new charter, which he had in this same year granted to that Company, who shall be conformable to the laws of the realm, and the constitutions of the church of England."

What, in the name of common sense, had the constitution of any church to do with the trade of weaving. What other qualification could be requisite in weaving, but that the weaver should be a peaceable subject, and, considering those times, a Protestant of some denomination or other.

In p. 278, *ibid.* we have King Charles's proclamation for a very praise-worthy purpose, in this same year, viz. " for deducting six-pence per month from sea officers pay, and four-pence per month from all sailor's wages, in the merchants service, in the port of London; to be applied for the relief of maimed, shipwrecked, or otherwise distressed sailors in the merchants service; and of the poor widows and children of such as shall be killed or lost in merchandizing voyages. This money to be under the management of the corporation of the Trinity-house, then kept at Ratcliff. Excepting, however, sailors in the East India Company's service; who had even so early as this time, as they still have, a provision of this kind settled on them."

✚ In our own days a charitable corporation, for this good purpose, has lately been erected in London, supported by the voluntary contributions of merchants, &c.

In this same year, King Charles somewhat relaxes in his ship money, for the succeeding year 1639, as appears in p. 286, of the said twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*. For although it is said to be levied all over England, as in the two preceding years, yet it was now to be only for eighteen ships and pinnaces: but how the assessment for this levy was made does not appear in the *Fœdera*. The clamour which took place on the levying of it at all, without

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1638 the consent of Parliament, and Mr. Hampden's trial for refusing to pay it, had now begun to make that Prince more cautious in the extension of his prerogative; as indeed he had great need to be, considering the storm soon coming on him.—He therein directs his Lord Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, to supply, as usual, ships out of his own navy, for such countries whose situation disabled them from fitting out any themselves, and to apply the money they shall pay to him as therein directed.

In p. 289, of the same volume, we find that King Charles issues a proclamation against the selling or exporting of tin from Devonshire and Cornwall, until it be duly assayed, weighed, and coined, as the stamping of it is termed by the stannary laws, by his officers. He also prohibits the importation of tin from foreign parts.

It appears by p. 293, *ibid.* that, in the said year, “ King Charles had given his obligation “ to Sir Paul Pindar, an eminent merchant of London, for a pendant diamond, cut faucet- “ wise, weighing twenty-one carats, for the sum of eight thousand pounds, which that “ famous merchant had paid for it. For which sum he was allowed the legal interest of eight “ per cent. to be paid out of the allum duties; but the principal was not to be paid till the “ year 1642.” And, probably, never was paid at all.

In p. 298, *ibid.* “ it appears that the English East India Company having represented to “ King Charles, the great scarcity of Spanish silver, whereby they were disabled from supply- “ ing themselves with a sufficient quantity for their occasions, in their intended voyage to “ Persia and India with three ships; he licences them to export twenty thousand pounds in “ foreign gold; or, if that cannot be done, in English gold:—Any law, statute, act of Par- “ liament, proclamation, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding.”

In p. 301, of the said twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, “ King Charles settles the annual “ expence of his Queen's diet, and that of her household or family; and makes also a provision “ for the stables, and other necessary charges for herself and servants; the whole amounting “ to forty thousand pounds per annum:—To be paid out of the greater and lesser customs on “ merchandize exported and imported; and to commence after his decease.”

There was coined at the mint in the Tower of London, from March 1619 to March 1638, six millions nine hundred thousand and forty-two pounds eleven shillings and one-penny in gold and silver.—Happy future State of England, in folio, 1689, p. 78.

Cardinal Richlieu seems to have understood, very early, the great importance of which the French West India isles would prove, even before they had any sugar canes planted in them: and having the glory and interest of France very much at heart, he laboured to give his sovereign, Louis XIII. favourable impressions of them, although they produced nothing yet but cotton, ginger, and bad tobacco. Wherefore he, at this time, got his King to appoint the governor of those isles to be his own lieutenant general there. By such means the French isles soon became much improved, and more particularly Martinico, and their moiety of the island of St. Christopher.

As for the English West India isles, they were encouraged also at this time, and had much the same productions; yet it is easy to conceive how inconsiderable they were before they entered into the sugar trade. They made some indigo, and had cotton and ginger also; but their tobacco was bad, and more especially that of Barbadoes was deemed the worst of all.

With respect to England's Royal Fishery Company, it certainly was very ill conducted. The Grand Pensionary of Holland, Mr. De Witt, has upon this account made the following satirical remark, in his book of the Interest of Holland, part. ii. chap. 1. viz. “ England, in

“ those

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1638 " those days, had challenged the sovereignty of the narrow seas ; and alleged, that the fishery
 " belonged solely to them : yet when England had set on foot a herring fishery, in the reign
 " of King Charles the first, and had taken their herrings at one and the same time and place
 " with the Hollanders, and sent them to Dantzic, in the years 1637 and 1638, the Dutch
 " herrings were there approved as good ; but the English herrings, to the very last barrel,
 " were esteemed naught."

1639 Although Spain's declension was now become extremely visible, yet, in this year 1639, that
 monarchy was still able to make the greatest effort at sea that it had ever done since their famous
 armada, in 1588 ; for it consisted of sixty-seven large ships from Corunna, carrying twenty-
 five thousand seamen and twelve thousand foldiers.

This great and numerous naval armament was intended to relieve Dunkirk, before which
 the Dutch fleet lay, and otherwise to support their Netherland provinces : although Puffen-
 dorf, surely improbably, conjectures, that it was intended to assist Denmark against Sweden.
 This great armada, however, was first encountered in the English Channel, and afterward in
 the Downs, by the Dutch fleet, of one hundred ships, under Van Tromp ; which in the end
 gained an entire victory, and destroyed most of their ships, amongst which was a great Portu-
 guese galcon, of one thousand four hundred tons, eighty cannon, and eight hundred men ;
 Notwithstanding that King Charles the First of England had endeavoured by his Admiral,
 Sir John Pennington, with thirty-four ships of war, to preserve a neutrality between those
 two huge fleets, whilst they lay watching each others motions, for near three weeks, on the
 coast of Kent.

This terrible blow, followed by several subsequent defeats at sea by the French, entirely
 broke the naval power of Spain ; so as never to recover it in any degree till our own times.
 These disasters induced Spain to come into terms with the Dutch at the Munster treaty.

In the said year 1639, we have, in the twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, p. 336, a treaty
 of peace and commerce between King Charles I. of England and Christian IV. of Denmark,
 concluded by Sir Thomas Rowe, at Gluckstad. What is to our proper purpose briefly fol-
 lows, viz.

" Article III. No warlike succours, either in money, provisions, arms, ammunition, ma-
 chines, (machinas) guns, &c. shall be supplied to the enemies of either party.

" IV. If either of the contracting parties be attacked by any third power, whom he had
 " not first attacked nor provoked, or shall make any pretensions to a right to or superiority
 " over any of his countries or dominions not actually possessed by the claimer, then the other
 " party, if not at war himself, shall, in four months at furthest, supply him with the follow-
 " ing ships of war, viz. four of one hundred and fifty or two hundred tons each, and one
 " hundred and fifty or two hundred men, and twenty pieces of ordnance in each ship : and
 " four other ships of one hundred to one hundred and twenty tons each, carrying one hun-
 " dred or one hundred and twenty men each, and sixteen cannon in each ship : and supplied
 " with all suitable stores by the tender, and with three months provisions ; but afterwards,
 " during the war, they shall be supplied, &c. by the party whom they are sent to assist.

" XIV. The King of Great Britain's subjects shall not resort to the ports of the King of
 " Denmark prohibited by former treaties, without the special licence of his Danish Majesty
 " asked and granted ; unless compelled to it by storm : in which last case they shall by no
 " means trade there.

" XV. Ships

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" XV. Ships and merchandize wrecked on the coasts of either contracting party may be freely claimed by the proper owners; and the natives of those coasts shall not injure nor obstruct them, but shall rather be ready to assist them, being paid for their trouble.

" XIX. And because the isles of Orkney and of Shetland cannot well be omitted to be mentioned in this treaty, it is now agreed, that, during the lives of both Kings, and the life of the longest liver of them, nothing shall be moved or treated of concerning them." *Quod omnis inde tractatus quiescit.* " Saving always, nevertheless, the right or pretensions of their successors.

" XX. Nothing in this treaty shall derogate from former ones, unless where expressly repealed by the present treaty.

There are some things particularly remarkable in the foregoing treaty. As,

First, The poor naval assistance to be afforded to either party.

Secondly, In keeping up still the old article of the prohibited places of Westmomy and Iceland, which were not to be traded to without a special licence from the crown of Denmark. And,

Thirdly, The Danish monarch tacitly keeping up his pretensions to Orkney and Shetland, after the crown of Scotland had quietly possessed those isles for so many centuries. To which isles the Danish crown had renounced, by treaty, all former claims long before this time. All which is now quite obsolete, and is besides so plain and obvious, that it requires no further animadversion.

King Charles being at York, on the ninth of April 1639, going to suppress the Scottish rebellion, he found himself obliged, for the quieting the minds of his people, to publish the following proclamation, for revoking many of his illegal grants and monopolies; as it appears in p. 340, of the twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, viz.

" Whereas divers grants, licences, privileges, and commissions, had been procured from him, on pretences for the common good and profit of his subjects, which since, upon experience, have been found to be prejudicial and inconvenient to his people,—and in their execution have been notoriously abused: he is now pleased, of his mere grace and favour, with the advice of his Privy Council, to declare these following to be utterly void and revoked, viz.

" 1. A commission touching cottages and in-mates." This was granted last year, to compound with all such as had built cottages, without four acres of land annexed to each of them; and with such as suffered in-mates, or more families than one, to reside in any of the said cottages.

" 2. A commission touching scriveners and brokers.

" 3. ——— For compounding with offenders touching tobacco," *i. e.* such as sold it without the King's stamp.

" 4. ——— For compounding with offenders for transportation of butter beyond sea," without his stamp and licence.

" 5. ——— For compounding with offenders, for importing or using of Logwood.

" 6. ——— For compounding with sheriffs, for selling their under-sheriffs places.

" 7. ——— For compounding for the destruction of woods, by iron works.

" 8. ——— For concealments and encroachments within twenty miles of London.

" 9. ——— For a licence to export sheep skins and lamb skins.

" 10. A com-

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- “ 10. A commission for compounding with the dressers of venison, pheasants, and partridges, in inns, alehouses, ordinaries, and taverns.
- “ 11. ——— For licensing of brewers.
- “ 12. ——— For the sole transporting of lamperns.
- “ 13. ——— For weighing of hay and straw.
- “ 14. ——— For an office of register to the Commission of Bankrupts, in divers counties.
- “ 15. ——— For gauging of red herrings.
- “ 16. ——— For the marking of iron made in England.
- “ 17. ——— For the sealing of bone-lace. .
- “ 18. ——— For the marking and gauging of butter casks.
- “ 19. ——— For the privilege of using kelp and sea-weed.
- “ 20. ——— For sealing of linen cloths.
- “ 21. ——— For the gathering of rags.
- “ 22. ——— For a grant of a factory for Scottish merchants.
- “ 23. ——— For searching and sealing of foreign hops.
- “ 24. ——— For the sealing of buttons.
- “ 25. All grants of fines, penalties, and forfeitures, before judgment granted.
- “ 26. All patents for new inventions, not put in practice within three years from the date of their respective grants.
- “ 27. Lastly, The several grants of incorporation to hatband-makers, gutstring-makers, spectacle-makers, comb-makers, tobacco-pipe-makers, butchers, and horners.
- “ And the King herein declares, that a writ of *quo warranto* or *scire facias* shall be issued to recal the said grants and patents, unless they do voluntarily surrender them.”

By these and all other projects of small note the King was reckoned to have raised about two hundred thousand pounds yearly; according to the book, intitled, *The Royal Treasury of England*. Octavo, London, printed in the year 1725, p. 284.

In this same year, p. 342, of the same volume, “ that King being informed, that sundry merchants, notwithstanding his proclamation of last year to the contrary, did continue to trade in woollen goods to other ports of Germany and the Netherlands, than to the mart-towns or staple-towns of the Merchant-adventurers Company; he now renews that proclamation, and prolongs the time formerly allowed them to keep their freedom in that fellowship. He also hereby strictly prohibits the exportation beyond sea of wool, woollfells, woollen-yarn, fullers-earth, and tobacco-pipe-clay, (now,” says the King, “ found to be of the same nature and use with fullers-earth;) by the exportation whereof,” he is informed, “ there is a great decay of the woollen manufacture.”

In p. 334, of the said twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, King Charles, in the said year 1639, “ revokes much of the extravagant power and authority which he had formerly granted to the clerk of the market of his household, and to the water bailiff: as also his charter of incorporation to the makers of bricks and tiles, near London and Westminster, as being found hurtful. Also that the issues of jurors shall not be farmed, as being a grievance to many of his subjects.”

In p. 346, *ibid.* “ that King grants a commission of enquiry into the conduct of Peter Richaut, merchant, treasurer of the Fishery Company, concerning oppressions and wrongs done by him to several poor tradesmen dealing with that Company.—To enquire also, whe-

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1639 “ther the stock of that Company be diminished: and, if so, how it came to be so:—also to
 “enquire into all other matters relating to the said Fishery Company; and into the means,
 “for the future, of settling the said fishery business; for the best advantage of the common-
 “wealth of our kingdoms: to the end, that, upon return of the said commission, it may
 “appear which way so worthy an undertaking, for the honour of us and the common good
 “of our subjects, may be advanced, &c.” We may here observe, that several of the mono-
 polies and projects before-named, which the King now revokes, are not to be found in
 the *Fœdera*; and that, on the other hand, many mentioned in that noble collection are
 not now mentioned to be revoked.—~~at~~ This Prince was, to his very last breath, ever too
 late, either in redressing of grievances, or in other respects complying with his people’s just
 complaints.

In the same year 1639, and p. 357, of the same volume of the *Fœdera*, we have “King
 “Charles’s commission to five persons to repair to the island of Barbadoes, and to remove the
 “then pretended governor of it, who presumed to continue to act as such, after another had
 “been appointed by James Earl of Carlisle.” It recites, “that Barbadoes was esteemed one
 “of the Caribbee isles, and a part of the then so called province of Carlisle, in America,
 “granted to James Hay, the late Earl of Carlisle, and to his heirs,” as already mentioned in
 the preceding part of this work. It seems, “that this pretended governor, Captain Henry
 “Hawley, had only had a commission from the King, in the beginning of this year, for
 “treating with the inhabitants of Barbadoes, and of other island colonies, concerning a mo-
 “deration to be held in the planting of tobacco;” sugar not being as yet produced in any of
 them, “and for regulating the prices thereof; and for none other employment intended by
 “us,” says the King. “Under colour of which he took on himself the stile of Lieutenant-
 “general and Governor of Barbadoes, &c.”

In this year 1639, the English first settled on the pleasant isle of St. Lucia, one of the Ca-
 ribbee isles, within seven leagues of Martinico, seven also from St. Vincents, and twenty-four
 from Barbadoes; being twenty-four miles in length and eleven in breadth; abounding with
 plenty of timber, proper for houses and mills, with which the neighbouring isles, both Eng-
 lish and French, are still supplied. It has also plenty of fustic and cocoa; and good harbours
 and anchoring places. Two years after, the English governor and most of his people were
 murdered by the Caribbean natives, and the rest driven out of the island, by the instigation,
 as was suspected, of the French at Martinico, though disowned by the French governor.
 Neither did the French, at that time, nor for many years after, form any pretensions to that
 island:—But, during the civil wars of England, between King Charles the First and his Par-
 liament, Monsieur Parquot, from Martinico, sent forty Frenchmen to take possession of St.
 Lucia; which the French call St. Alouzie, but the Caribbeans, being as much at enmity with
 the French as with the English, killed two of their governors and many of their people, and
 maintained their independence, till after the restoration of King Charles the Second.

Amongst the offices (in p. 381, of vol. xx. of the *Fœdera*) which we find to have been filled
 up in the said year 1639, by King Charles, there is one, “For surveying of gamesters using
 “the exercise of wrestling, in any place or places within the compass or distance of three
 “miles of the city of London:” which we only remark for its seeming singularity. Every
 age has its peculiar diversions and customs; and though this may appear strange in our age, it
 was probably in great vogue at that time, even perhaps (as much as cricket lately was) by per-
 sons of high rank.

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1639 Between the years 1630 and 1640, whilst there were no Parliaments in England, the Hollanders carried on a most profitable commerce, to the English American plantations; there not being then any legal prohibition of foreign shipping resorting thither.

In the former part of the reign of Louis the Thirteenth, the divisions and confusions in France, during his minority, were great obstructions to the promoting of commerce. On the other hand, the Protestants of France became thereby so considerable, as, at length, to conduct their affairs independently, and more like a free republic, than as subjects. This consideration drew Richlieu's vengeance on those poor people, by the siege and taking of Rochelle, their capital city, which was become a kind of emporium for their commerce. Dr. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, says, that when besieged, it had one hundred and twenty merchants in it, each worth one hundred thousand crowns. After which, that Cardinal, as we have seen, first began to form a considerable royal navy about this time; the French having before had scarcely any good ships of war of their own,—but made use of the ships of other nations occasionally. “I doubt,” says Dr. Heylin on this occasion, “some neighbouring princes in the mean time, looked not well about them.”

1640 This memorable year 1640, was propitious to the commerce of England, and of other nations, on account of the great revolution in Portugal, when John Duke of Braganza found means to drive out the Spaniards, and to ascend the throne of Portugal by the name of King John the Fourth. For, while Spain was able to supply their American provinces with the silk, spices, calicoes, &c. of the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, she thereby not only had more of her own American treasure left in her hands; but, moreover, England and other states had not till now so great a call for their merchandize, wherewith to supply Spain and its American provinces. But, since Spain lost Portugal, and consequently the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, having few or no manufactures, and but little product of her own, wines excepted, for supplying of her American provinces, the English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, and, latest of all, the French have, more absolutely than formerly, supplied Spain with the great bulk of their commodities and manufactures, both for her home consumption, and the much greater one of her vast American territories. Ceuta, however, having a Spanish garrison, did not revolt to the Duke of Braganza, as the rest of the Portuguese territories had done; but remains to this day, in the possession of Spain.

It has not proved so favourable to the commerce and other interests of the rest of Europe, that France gained, in this same year, so much the ascendant over Spain, both by protecting the revolted Catalans, and by taking from her the city of Arras, the capital of the province of Artois, by the Flemings till then deemed impregnable.

King Charles, being in this same year 1640, engaged in preparing for a religious war with the Scots, and not as yet stooping to call an English Parliament for a supply, he fell on very extraordinary methods for raising money: amongst others, he bought, this year, upon credit, of the East India Company, all their pepper, which he sold out again for ready money. In a stated account of money disbursed out of the tonnage and poundage duty for the navy, to the 9th of June 1642, we find the following payment, viz. “To the East India Company, in part of a debt owing to them by his Majesty, for pepper, bought by my Lord Cottington, nine thousand four hundred and thirteen pounds fourteen shillings and seven pence.”

In King Charles's special commission for making provision, in the said year 1640, for his army going against Scotland, we find, that bows and arrows were then still in use; and that stone shot, or cannon bullets of stone, as well as of iron, were still in use also, for their fire-artillery.—*Fœdera*, vol. xx. p. 417.

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King Charles being in this same year informed, that a tin mine was lately discovered in Barbary, (*ibid.* p. 423) and being, on that account, apprehensive of the decrease of his revenue from the tin mines of Cornwall and Devonshire, “ by proclamation, prohibits the importation of foreign tin, as also the carrying, in any English shipping, the tin of Barbary to any other place whatever. Also, for the promoting of the consumption of English tin and pewter in his realms, he directs, that all the measures for wine, ale, beer, &c. to be used in taverns, victualling-houses, shops, &c. shall be of tin or pewter, and shall be stamped or sealed.”

In p. 430, of the same twentieth volume of the *Fœdera*, we meet with the first mention of a Consul General for England at Alicant in Spain: the preamble of whose commission runs as follows:

“ Whereas we are given to understand, how convenient and necessary it is for the good of our loving subjects trading to Alicant, in the kingdom of Valencia, to have some person of judgement and experience, that is able to govern and direct them in their just and lawful occasions, to be placed and appointed as Consul there: know ye, &c.”

“ This Consul’s allowances were to be, the ancient allowance of two ducats on every British ship trading to that port, and also one fourth of one per cent. for all merchandize of ships trading thither.”

King Charles’s inability to oppose the Scottish army, now preparing to march to the borders of England, obliging him at length to call an English Parliament, so much against his will, after twelve years intermission; he began with demanding of the House of Commons, a sufficient supply for this war: and he also further alleged to the Parliament, that all the neighbouring princes were preparing great fleets of ships:—and also, that the Algerines were become so insolent, since they had prepared no fewer than sixty sail of ships, that they had taken divers English ships, and particularly one, called the Rebecca of London, taken on the Spanish coast, and worth at least two hundred and sixty thousand pounds. But the House of Commons thought the immediate redress of their many grievances to be of greater importance than his immediate supply for the above-named war, &c. This incensed the King so much, that he hastily and very angrily dissolved his Parliament, before any one act had been passed; which, as my Lord Clarendon owns, he immediately after repented of. For supplying his present wants, therefore, without a Parliament, he took several extraordinary methods of raising money; such as Coat and Conduct Money from every county;—an exorbitant fine laid on the city of London, for having, as he alleged, occupied more lands in Ireland than was granted by their charter: but the true reason was, their refusing him a loan of two hundred thousand pounds; which two hundred thousand pounds had been forcibly borrowed of the merchants who had lodged their money in the King’s mint in the Tower of London; which place, as elsewhere observed, before banking with goldsmiths came into use in London, was till now made a kind of bank or repository for merchants therein safely to lodge their money; but which, after this compulsory loan, for so it was, of two hundred thousand pounds, was never after trusted in that way any more, although the King gave the lenders the security of his customs.—(See this violence more clearly related by Sir William Temple, under the year 1672, who makes it to be done in 1638; which is indeed more probable, though not material.)—A subscription has also been made, for his present supply, by his privy-counsellors and favourites, Lord Strafford alone subscribing twenty thousand pounds. And, beside all these, the Clergy in Convocation, which, contrary to all custom, sat after the dissolution of this Parliament, granted him six subsidies, of twenty thousand pounds each subsidy, to be paid in six years,

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1640 years, at the rate of four shillings in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings, &c. in the King's books. Yet, after all these aids, and the ship-money likewise, the King finding himself unable to maintain his army of twenty-four thousand men, for three months only, for less than two hundred thousand pounds, he was necessitated to conclude a temporary treaty with commissioners from the Scottish army; he having utterly lost the hearts, and consequently the purses, of the great body of his people; that army having moreover defeated part of his troops, and taken possession of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By which treaty the Scottish army was to be allowed eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem, for their maintenance. For the defraying of which great expence, there was now no other effectual means but that of a Parliament, which the King therefore was constrained to call; and which met on the third of November, in this same year 1740, in a very different humour from what he had hoped and expected,—the debates and speeches in the House of Commons running extremely high in regard to the nation's grievances, occasioned by the King's arbitrary proceedings in both ecclesiastical and secular matters. But as we have nothing to do with such points, any further than they may relate to commercial matters, we shall only under this year briefly remark, that the grievances complained of were so many, and so various, both public and private ones, laid before the Commons, by complaints and petitions, that there were above forty several committees appointed by that House for examining them: and of all those grievances, that of monopolies gave such offence, that the House of Commons expelled four of their own Members who had been concerned in them: and Whitlock, in his Memoirs, alleges, that many other Members thereupon withdrew themselves from Parliament, and others were elected in their stead. In consequence of all which strict enquiries, the following acts were passed, which the King was obliged to consent to, viz.

First, “ That a Parliament should be held at least once in three years for the future, even “ although the King should neglect to call it.” This was intitled, An Act for preventing of Inconveniencies happening by the long Intermision of Parliaments; which the kingdom had so much smarted for in this reign. This was the first act of this Parliament, and passed before the year 1640 expired, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Charles, according to the then stile; when the Parliament also, (cap. ii. and iii. seventeenth Charles) granted to the King four entire subsidies, “ for the relief of his Majesty's army, and the northern parts of “ the kingdom.” And, in the same Session of Parliament, but in the year 1641, (which, for connexion's sake, we briefly relate here, though we have not done with the year 1640) two more subsidies were granted for the same purpose.

Secondly, They passed an act, cap. vii. whereby “ this Parliament should not be dissolved, “ prorogued, nor adjourned but by act of Parliament!” *i. e.* not without their own consent. By which act, and the impeachment of the King's two great and wicked favourites of high treason, viz. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, both already imprisoned in the Tower, and afterwards put to death, they brought that unhappy Prince to be entirely in their power; whilst, at the same time they granted sufficient supplies for the public occasions of the nation, by the several acts for tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported: and for a provision of money for the speedy disbanding the armies, and settling the peace of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland: by charging several sums upon persons, according to their ranks, dignities, offices, callings, estates, and qualities. Whilst, by another act, they abolished forever, the two wicked and oppressive tribunals of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court.—

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1640 By another, the King's raising of ship-money, without the authority of Parliament, *was declared illegal, and never to be allowed in future.—Another act was for abolishing oppressions in the Stannary Courts ;—and another for ascertaining the boundaries of forests.—Another, for confirming the treaty of pacification between England and Scotland.—Another, for limiting the powers of the King's Clerk of the Market.—Another, for abolishing the King's power to issue writs, upon pretext of an ancient custom, to compel landed men to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a fine to the King.—Another, granting liberty for all men to import gunpowder and saltpetre ; and also, for the free making of gunpowder in England.

In King Charles's then circumstances, he could not avoid giving his consent to the above-named restrictive laws, how mortifying soever they were to him. His former wicked advisers and judges were removed from him ; and as the Parliament was, in effect, rendered perpetual, there was no middle course for him to steer : he must either have directly waged war with this Parliament, or else, as he at present did, have acquiesced in their measures : but this state of things did not hold long. In the mean time, we must for a small space suspend this subject, until we shall have completed the other more immediate affairs of the year 1640.

In which year, we find, by the second volume of the General Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, second edition, London 1732, p. 318, that by a treaty between King Charles I. and Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange, a marriage was concluded between that King's daughter, the Lady Mary, and Prince William, son of the said Prince of Orange. By which treaty, the lady's portion was to be forty thousand pounds sterling ; and her dowry was to be ten thousand pounds yearly, in lands. The domestics she was to carry over with her from England were, in all, twenty-six men, and forty women.

In the said year 1646, the Dutch, from their island of St. Eustatia, first settled on the small isle of Saba, one of the Caribbees, thirteen miles north-west from the former ; being about four leagues in compass. It is but an inconsiderable place, having no harbour for shipping, and an extremely shallow shore. The Dutch here are said to be but a few families ; who, however, raise a small quantity of sugar, besides some cotton and indigo. Some write, that the Danes had once dispossessed the Hollanders of it. Many of those small isles among the Caribbees were, in the beginning, very little regarded, until our island of Barbadoes became rich by early entering into the sugar trade ; when the mother countries of those, till then, insignificant isles, found it their interest to lay public claim to them, to fortify them, and to appoint Governors over them.

The haven and town of Malacca, possessed by the Portuguese, at the extremity of the famous promontory or peninsula of that name, in the Further Indies, was so happily situated for the convenience of the Dutch East India Company's commerce, that it is no wonder they greedily cast their eyes on so delicious a morsel so very early as in the year 1606, Portugal being then subject to Spain ; with which last-named nation the Dutch were then at war : yet they were at that time unable to master it, although they had actually defeated and burned a Portuguese fleet there, wherein were three thousand men. But, in this year 1640, the Dutch, after a six months siege became masters of that very important place ; which they have held to this day. They found upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants in the town and its territory, with many churches and convents, and a good booty. Since then, the Dutch have much improved its fortifications : and as all ships trading from Siam, Cambodia, Tonquin, Cochin-China, China, Japan, and the Philippines, to Bengal, and the coast of Coromandel, are necessitated to pass through the strait of Malacca, the Dutch are said to have obliged all but English ships

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1640 ships to pay an anchorage duty there.—Hereby also they over-awe the smaller princes in its neighbourhood, and gain great advantages in their commerce, though not like what it formerly was, before Batavia became the grand staple of all their India commerce.—Thus the Dutch Company made a very rapid progress, whilst our English East India Company became extremely languid, partly by the encroachments of the said Dutch Company, and partly also by King Charles's temporary grants to others, to interfere with them in the East India trade: so far, as that some of the writers on commerce, at this time, insinuate, that hitherto the Company had been losers by this trade; which, however, we scarcely think, was the real fact.

In this same year 1640, the French began to plant at a place on the continent of South America, called Surinam, in nine degrees of north latitude, from the mouth of the river Orinoko, southward to the river Maroni. But that country being low, marshy, and unhealthy, they soon after abandoned it: whereupon the English took possession of it, and kept it till the year 1674, when they were surprised by the Dutch, as we shall see.

Notwithstanding the popular clamour at this time in England against the arbitrary proceedings of King Charles, wherein they mixed frequent complaints of the decay of England's commerce; yet it is very plain that our commerce was constantly increasing throughout all that time. Even in and about this very year 1640, we find the suburbs of London expanding themselves very much every way by new foundations, more especially westward, such as Claremarket, Long-acre, Bedfordbury, and other parts of what was then in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields. The very names of the older streets about Covent Garden are taken from the Royal Family at this time, (some indeed in the reign of King Charles II. as Catherine-street, Duke-street, York-street, &c.) such as James-street, King-street, Charles-street, Henrietta-street, &c. all laid out by the great architect Inigo Jones, as was also the fine Piazza there. Although that part where stood the house and gardens of the Duke of Bedford, are of a much later date, viz. in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne.—Bloomsbury, and the streets at the Seven Dials, were built up somewhat later, as also Leicester-fields, viz. since the restoration of King Charles the Second; as were also almost all St. James's and St. Anne's parishes, and a great part of St. Martin's and St. Giles's. I have met with several old persons, in my younger days, who remembered that there was but one single house (a cake house) between the Meuse Gate at Charing-cross, and St. James's Palace Gate, where now stand the stately piles of St. James's Square, Pallmall, and other fine streets.—They also remembered the west side of St. Martin's-lane to have been a quickset hedge. Yet High Holborn and Drury-lane were filled with noblemens and gentlemens houses almost one hundred and fifty years ago.—Those fine streets on the south side of the Strand, running down to the river Thames, have all been built since the beginning of the seventeenth century, upon the sites of noblemens houses and gardens, who removed further westward, as their names denote.—Even some parts within the bars of the city of London remained unbuilt within about one hundred and fifty years past; particularly, all the ground between Shoe Lane and Fewters (now Fetter) Lane; “so called,” says Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, “of Fewters, (an old appellation for idle people) loitering there, as in a way leading to gardens;” which, in King Charles the First's reign, and even some of them since, have been built up into streets, lanes, &c.

Several other parts of the city, it is well known, have been rendered more populous by the removal of the nobility, &c. to Westminster liberties; on the sites of whose former spacious

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1640 ous houses and gardens whole streets, lanes, and courts, have been added to the city since the death of Queen Elizabeth.—Howell, in his said *Londinopolis*, published in the year 1657, drawing a parallel between London and other great cities beyond sea, tells us, “ That the last census of Paris came under a million :”—there could not be perhaps quite half a million at Paris.—“ But,” adds he, “ in the year 1636, King Charles sending to the Lord Mayor to make a scrutiny of what number of Roman Catholics and strangers there were in the city, he took occasion thereby to make a census of all the people; and there were of men, women, and children, about seven hundred thousand that lived within the bars of his jurisdiction alone : and this being twenty-one years past, it is thought, by all probable computation, that London hath more by the third part now than she had then.” He goes on as wildly to conclude, “ That, with Westminster, and the places before-mentioned, together with the northern suburbs of Clerkenwell, those beyond the bars of Bishopsgate (Spital-fields was not as yet built on) and Aldersgate, those beyond the Tower, and in Southwark, all being contiguous to London herself, they may amount in all to a million and a half of souls.”—There were not all together a third part of this number at that time; and even, at present, are little, if any at all, above half this number: (see more of this subject in our Preface.)—Southwark, it is true, is an ancient burgh; but Rotherhithe, Horsleydown, and other contiguous parts, are all built up by the mere growth of our commerce and shipping: and the like may be said of Limehouse, Wapping, Shadwell, Spitalfields, &c. And even with respect to Westminster, properly so called, although it was never eminent for commerce, nor manufactures, yet the general increase of our commerce, its neighbourhood to the city of London, and the gradual removal of the nobility and gentry from the last-named city westward, have increased it, within the last two hundred and fifty years, from a better sort of village, to the size of a city.

1641 It may not be improper to observe, under the year 1641, that the ingenious Dr. Heylin, who wrote the first, or rather perhaps the second, edition of his *Cosmography* about that year, remarks, concerning the once famous Hanseatic city of Lubec, “ That there were then still belonging to it, though declined from its pristine grandeur, above six hundred ships of all sorts; some of which were of one thousand tons and upwards.”—“ And,” he adds, what could not be then said of London itself, “ that to every private house a pipe of water was conveyed from the public conduit: and that from the pattern thereof the first conduits were made in London :” though very long before this century.

We have a notable instance of the industry of the town of Manchester, in Lancashire, so early as the year 1641, from an author of credit, Mr. Lewis Roberts, a merchant, author of the noted book, intitled, *The Merchant's Map of Commerce*: it is in a small treatise, entitled, *The Treasure of Traffic*, published in this year.

“ The town of Manchester,” says he, “ buys the linen-yarn of the Irish, in great quantity, and weaving it, returns the same again in linen into Ireland, to sell,”—which might possibly and naturally give the first hint towards the Irish linen manufactures. “ Neither doth her industry rest here; for they buy cotton wool in London, that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna,”—it seems we had not much as yet from our American isles; “ and work the same into fustians, vermillions, dimities, &c. which they return to London, where they are sold, and from thence, not seldom, are sent into such foreign parts where the first materials may be more easily had for that manufacture.”

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So early as in this year, we find, in a judicious pamphlet, intitled, *England's Safety in Trade's Increase*, by one Henry Robinson, that the French had already began to make ordinances and laws which proved prejudicial to the commerce of England. "And the Author expresses his fears lest they should in time be able to beat us out of our trade; more especially" says he, "when Christendom shall be at peace, whereby the trade of Spain will be free for other nations, which at present, as it were, we monopolize to ourselves."—This writer has proved, in too great a degree, a true prophet.

In the before-quoted Mr. Lewis Roberts's *Treasure of Traffic*, the customs of England are said to amount to no less than five hundred thousand pounds yearly. A vast increase since the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The piratical state of Algiers seems, in this year 1641, to have been in its zenith of naval power. Morgan, in the second volume of the *History of that State*, quotes one D'Aranda for his author, in saying, "That, in the summer of this year, the Algerines had in their cruise no fewer than sixty-five ships, besides several galleys or galiots, all at one time." And although it be well known that their naval force is greatly lessened since that time, yet even in our days they have enough remaining to give considerable interruptions to the naval commerce of such of the powers of Christendom as they chuse to make war upon.

It would be almost endless to recount all the disputes that have happened, at different times, between Denmark and other nations, and more especially with the Hans-towns, concerning the toll paid by ships in passing the Sound. In this same year 1641, the cities of *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, and *Bremen*, entered into stricter engagements together, by reason of Denmark's too rigorously exacting that toll, for the supporting of their commercial interests, and those of such other Hans-towns as should join with them, by arming both by sea and land: yet, without naming this toll expressly in the said treaty.—And this, like former treaties, had good consequences attending it for some time after.

In this year 1641, there was published, at Rome, a treatise, intitled, *Petri Baptistæ Burgi, de Dominio serenissimæ Genuensis Reipublicæ in Mari Ligustico*. Tending to prove, by the usual trite arguments, "that the sea is capable of property as well as the land; and that the republic of Genoa has a territorial right to the dominion of her adjacent seas." In which treatise he pretends to answer Grotius's *Mare Liberum*, &c.

This wild pretension of Genoa's, after she had long since lost all naval greatness, was like shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen. And this will ever be the case of such claims to the end of time: so long as they, *i.e.* any state whatever, are stronger on the seas than their neighbours, just so long will they be able to pretend to so invidious a dominion; but when such superiority ceases, the claimants will be the just objects of contempt. In our own wiser age, therefore, we hear no more of such airy pretensions. The actual possessors of such superiority, contenting themselves with the substantial benefits alone resulting therefrom.

After the English had been in possession of the isle of Providence, in America, and had partly planted it, ever since the year 1629, they were now attacked by the Spaniards with a great force: and, although they made a stout resistance, they were obliged to surrender that isle to them, with considerable loss to the planters. Yet the Spaniards did not after this settle thereon at all. But their sole aim in driving our people out was purely to keep up their idle and unreasonable pretensions to a sole right to all the Bahama isles: but England again took possession

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1641 possession of the island of Providence : and we now claim the sole property of all the Bahama isles.

It was in this same year 1641, that the French, for the reasons we have before assigned, abandoned the colony of Surinam, in South America, on which they had first settled in the preceding year, near the mouth of the great river Oroonoko : and, in the same year, the English, at the expence of the Lord Willoughby, first settled there. That Lord is said to have wasted his paternal estate in the planting thereof.

The want of due care and provident foresight in princes and states, for the cherishing and improving of the commerce of their respective dominions, has often proved to their irretrievable detriment, by the loss of their traffic, the best source of their wealth and power. Lewis Roberts's *Treasure of Traffic*, published in this year 1641, already quoted, gives us three pregnant instances hereof, which also affords us some part of the history of three very eminent mercantile cities, viz. " The want of good order in the government of the trade of Antwerp, " and their imposing of heavy customs upon the merchants, hath, within these fifty years, " brought that town to the lowness wherein we see it.—Lyons, in France, hath suffered wonderfully by the same inconveniencies.—And Marseilles, within the days of my knowledge, " had a wonderful great traffick for many places of Turkey, Barbary, Spain, &c. and was " able to shew many ships employed in merchandize about twenty-five years ago, carrying " thirty and forty pieces of ordnance ; and now the best of their vessels, and those too but " very few in number, have not above ten pieces of ordnance." Mr. Roberts had been himself an eminent merchant : and although the ruin of Antwerp is well known to have been principally from its being sacked by the Spanish army, and by the subsequent blocking up of the river Scheldt, by the forts built by the Dutch below that city ; yet the cause he here assigns, might be a considerable one likewise, before the said siege of it by the Spanish army. Lyons and Marseilles have since his time prospered exceedingly under wiser management. All which shews how delicate a matter commerce is, and how carefully and constantly to be attended to by the rulers of states and kingdoms.

It was in this same year 1641, that the Dutch East India Company found means to get the Portuguese and other Christians excluded from all trade to Japan. But whether it was done in so deceitful and impious a way as their enemies gave out, we shall not take upon us to determine. They enjoy a trade thither from Batavia and other parts of India to this day, though subject to difficulties therein from the caprice of that very jealous nation. " It was a " cunning trick," says Puffendorf, in his *History of Europe*, under the head Portugal, " in " the Dutch at Japan to drive the Portuguese out of that trade, by laying before the Emperor an intercepted letter from the Portuguese Jesuits there, to the Pope ; promising his " Holiness, in a short time, to reduce all Japan to his obedience. But it produced terrible " effects, not only to the said Jesuits, but to the poor Japanese converts, who, to the number of four hundred thousand and upwards, were all put to death, and the Portuguese forever shut out from Japan, on pain of death." Dr. Gemilli says, that the Dutch factory at Nangasacki enjoys not that liberty nor authority which they have in their trade to other parts ; for, as soon as the ships come to an anchor, a Mandarin comes on board, to count the men, and to carry the sails and rudder on shore.—They have no communication with the city, but live in the factory, which is on a rock inclosed with a wall.—And no trade is allowed but once in a year.

“ And

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1641 Hitherto, according to Ligon's History of Barbadoes, and other authors of the History of the Caribbee Islands, the planting of very bad tobacco, together with ginger and cotton, was all the trade they had at Barbadoes till this year 1641, when some of the most industrious planters procured some sugar-canes from Fernambouque, in Brasil; and these thriving very well, they planted more and more, as they multiplied; and at length found it would answer well to set up a very small ingenio, or sugar-mill; yet the secret of making sugar was not so well understood by the Barbadians till two or three years after, when some of their people were so curious as to make a voyage to Brasil, from whence they brought better instructions, and more sugar-plants. Yet, even at Mr. Ligon's arrival at Barbadoes, which was not till the year 1647, although there were then many sugar-works already set up, they were, nevertheless, ignorant of four main articles of that manufacture, viz.

First, The true manner of planting.

Secondly, The time of gathering.

Thirdly, The right manner of placing of the coppers in their furnaces: and,

Fourthly, The true way of covering their rollers with plates or bars of iron.

But that they were much mended, both in the goodness of the sugar, and in the method of making it, in the year 1650, when he left that island; so that a plantation of Major Hilliard's, of five hundred acres, which, before they began to plant sugar, he knew could have been purchased for four hundred pounds sterling, was, at his landing there in the year 1647, worth fourteen thousand pounds. Moreover, Colonel James Drax, whose beginning on that island was founded on a stock of three hundred pounds sterling, raised his fortune to such a height, that our said author has heard him say, "He would not return to settle in England, for the remainder of his life, till he should be able to purchase a land estate of ten thousand pounds per annum, which he hoped in a few years to accomplish." And Colonel Thomas Modyford had often told him, "That he had taken a resolution to himself not to set his face for England, until he had made his voyage and employment there worth one hundred thousand pounds sterling."

These instances, in such early times, are sufficient clearly to shew the vast importance of our sugar plantations to the nation.

The first planters of sugar finding such immense profit, encouraged many people to go thither from England, which also induced merchants at home to send more ships with provisions, tools, cloathing, and other necessaries, in exchange for the product of that island. And this being the first of our colonies which engaged in sugar plantations, it greatly hastened the improvement of our other Caribbee isles, which soon after entered upon the planting of sugar, to very great advantage. And, as it was impossible to manage the cultivation of that commodity by white people, in so hot a climate, so neither could sufficient numbers of them be had at any rate. Necessity, therefore, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the negro slave-trade from the coast of Guinea; and it is almost needless to add, that such great numbers of slaves, and also the increase of our white people in those islands, soon created a vast demand for all necessaries from England, and also a new and considerable trade to Madeira for wines, to supply those islands; which were so far from draining their mother-country of her cash, that they annually supplied her with considerable quantities thereof, as the trade hither was then, and and many years after, left open to all nations, until after the restoration of King Charles the Second; when the Parliament observing the great detriment that such an open trade thither

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did to the kingdom, the said trade was absolutely confined to our own people, by the several acts of navigation : in consequence whereof, the ports of London and Bristol soon after became the great magazines for sugar, for supplying with that article all the north and middle parts of Europe, reducing the Portuguese sugars of Brasil in time so low, as from eight pounds, to two pounds ten shillings per hundred-weight : and so it remained, until the French, in their turn, so greatly improved their sugar islands, as to be able to undersell us in most parts of Europe.*

Barbadoes, however, and the other Caribbee isles, continued proprietary colonies till after the restoration ; when, as we have elsewhere shewn, King Charles II. purchased them, and made them regal governments. Most of the rich sugar planters have always fixed at last in England with their fortunes, and have thereby laid the foundation of many great families ; which, if we mistake not, was the case with respect to one of the names above-mentioned.

What numbers of large fortunes have there not been added to the general wealth of the nation since those beginnings of riches in the British sugar islands !—And it is the peculiar honour of Barbadoes, to have it said to this day, to be the noblest and best cultivated spot of ground in all America, and to produce the finest sugars, and also the greatest quantity, of any of our isles, Jamaica alone excepted.

“ In this year 1641, and on Saturday the twenty-third of October, a day dedicated to Saint Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus,” says Sir James Ware, in his *Gesta Hibernorum*, “ broke out the dreadful rebellion and general defection of the Irish, and even “ of most of the old English Papists in Ireland ;” who, “ by a general massacre, attempted to “ extirpate the whole race of Protestants ; and, in the first three months, destroyed one hundred and fifty-four thousand Protestants, with great cruelty ; the design not being discovered till the night before.”

The Irish Papists had lived quietly ever since the quelling of Tyrone’s rebellion, at the close of Queen Elizabeth’s reign : but, in the beginning of this year, they had formed the execrable plot, of first cutting the throats of all the English throughout Ireland, seizing on all fortified places, and of absolutely shaking off the English yoke. In all parts at any distance from Dublin, the plot was executed on the day above-named, and to the first of March following ; but the project of seizing, on that day, on the castle of Dublin, was discovered the night before ; otherwise their infernal scheme would probably have been rendered effectual.

We just briefly mention this horrid massacre, purely as it had a bad influence on commerce. And we shall only further observe, that it had also a great influence on the English Parliament and people, to the detriment of King Charles and his Popish bigotted Queen. The Parliament sent succour and supplies to Ireland in such slender quantities, and with such deliberation, as testified, that they believed the King’s aim was to drain England of troops, and to engage the Parliament in an Irish war, thereby to prevent their meddling with his prerogative, and the lessening of his power : so the breach between the King and the Parliament became every day wider.

For the effectual suppression of this rebellion, an act of Parliament passed in this year, cap. xxxiii. for disposing of the rebel lands, viz. two millions and a half of acres, to well-affecting lenders of the following sums, viz. for two hundred pounds, a thousand acres of good land in the province of Ulster ; the like quantity of acres in Connaught, for three hundred pounds ; the like in Munster, for four hundred and fifty pounds ; and the like in Leinster for six hundred

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1641 dred pounds, all freehold; paying quit-rents in Ulster, of one penny per acre; in Connaught, three-halfpence; in Munster, two-pence farthing; and in Leinster, three-pence per acre.—Those lands to be set out to the subscribers by lot. And thus were a great number of well affected Protestants settled on the lands of lazy and bigotted Papists, very much to the future improvement of that kingdom.

1642 But waving those matters as much as possible, as not falling directly in our way,—we shall now give the last regal record, relating to our proper province, in the twentieth and last volume of the noblest collection of public records that any nation upon earth can produce or boast of; viz. Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 523, &c. It is a treaty of peace and friendship, concluded at London, on the twenty-ninth of January, foreign stile, between King Charles the First, and John the Fourth, King of Portugal, ratified by King Charles at York, on the twenty-second of May, 1642; Portugal having shaken of the Spanish yoke two years before.

What relates to commerce, is in substance, viz.

“ Article I. There shall be a free commerce between the subjects of both crowns, in all countries, islands, &c. where it was permitted in the times of the Kings of Castile, or since.

“ IV. The English shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities in Portugal as the natives themselves: nor shall they be loaded with higher duties, customs, &c. than the natives. And they shall enjoy all the privileges which the English enjoyed in Portugal before it was united to Spain.

“ V. The merchant-ships of England, coming into the havens of Portugal, shall not be obliged to take any other goods on board than what they shall themselves think fitting.—And the Portuguese shall have the like freedom in England.

“ VIII. England shall have consuls residing in Portugal, to take care of the interests and commerce of their nation.”—This is the first and only instance of consuls in Portugal to be found in the *Fœdera*.

“ IX. The effects of the English dying in Portugal, shall not be taken possession of by the judges, or other officers of Portugal; but shall be put into the hands of the defunct's executors or trustees, if on the spot; or, if absent, into the hands of one or two English merchants, not married, (*modo cœlibes sint*) sworn to do justice, in trust for those who shall appear to have the right to the said effects.

“ X. English ships shall not be stopped or detained in Portugal, without the King of Great Britain's knowledge and consent; but shall be freely permitted to depart at their pleasure.—Neither shall the goods and merchandize of the English be taken for the King of Portugal's use, unless for a just and usual price, which shall be paid for in two months time, unless otherwise agreed for.

“ XII. Things shall remain in the East Indies, in point of peace and commerce between both nations, for three years to come, as they were settled by treaty in India, in the year 1635,” (that treaty is not found in the *Fœdera*) “ between the president or governor, William Methwold, for the English there, and the Portuguese governors:—After which, a perpetual peace shall ensue.

“ XIII. The subjects of England, living or settled on the coast of Africa, under the Portuguese, viz. at Guinea, &c. and in the island of St. Thomas, and other isles on that coast, who had this privilege under the Kings of Castile, shall not be molested therein.—

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" And the King of Portugal may freely hire the English ships trading to those coasts, until " otherwise settled between both nations." This hiring of ships was for the carrying of negroes to Brasil, our ships having been very early employed that way; and, probably, they thereby discovered the planting of sugar-canes at Barbadoes.

" XIV. The subjects of the King of Great Britain shall have the same liberty of importing " into, and exporting from Portugal, all sorts of goods and merchandize, as has been granted " to the States of Holland, &c. by treaty, in 1640.

" XV. The English shall not be liable to imprisonment, nor to seizure of their persons, " goods, books of accounts, &c. in the same manner as has been, or shall be granted to the " subjects of any other potentate.

" XVII. The English in Portugal shall not be disturbed on account of conscience, or difference of religion; provided they give no scandal to the natives, &c."

From this time forward, we find nothing in this twentieth and last volume relating to commerce, but what is taken out of Thurloe's very authentic state papers, said here by the publisher to be in twelve volumes in manuscript, but since printed in seven folio volumes; from which work, and from the four volumes of octavo of the General Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, second edition, London, 1732, we shall henceforth be furnished, and by other means, with materials for commercial treaties, stipulations, &c. as well as from many other authors in various commercial points.

In this year 1642, died the great Cardinal Richlieu, who had brought the commerce, colonies, and manufactures of France to a considerable height, and had laid a solid foundation for much greater improvements to be made by his successors in the office of prime minister. At his death also he left France possessed of one hundred warlike ships and galleys, with suitable naval stores in the royal arsenals. Yet France, from this time, till about the year 1660, seems to have rather gone backward in naval matters than otherwise, by reason of civil dissensions, and the succeeding minority of King Louis XIV. but after this last-named period, she again resumed the improvement of her marine, as will be seen in the sequel.

Richlieu had taken the province of Roussillon, and therein the strong city of Perpignan, from Spain, in this very year; which has remained annexed to France to this day.—At Richlieu's death also, the crown revenue had been so greatly improved by him, as to have amounted to seventy millions of livres annually; whereas, at his accession to the ministry, it had been reckoned at but just one half of this sum, viz. thirty-five millions. He also created a company for the trade to the West India islands.

The last legal act of Parliament of the reign of King Charles the First, (that is, an act by King, Lords, and Commons) was in this year 1642, and cap. xxxvii. It confirms the grant of two millions and a half of acres of land in Ireland, forfeited by the rebels there, and granted by two former acts, of cap. xxxiii. and xxxv. to all persons and corporations in England who should pay down certain sums, as are specified in the same thirty-third chapter; and is now extended to all persons, English, Scotch, Irish, and Dutch, being Protestants. And such as should, by this last act, subscribe, should have acres of a larger measure than English statute ones, viz. each to be one hundred and sixty poles, of twenty-one feet, instead of sixteen feet and a half each.

Towards the close of this year 1642, the war between King Charles and his Lords and Commons commenced; to the no small interruption of commerce and manufactures, as may easily be imagined.

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1642

The French author of the History of the Caribbee Isles, first published at Paris, in the year 1658, says, That about this year 1642, a company of traders of the province of Zeland, first planted on the island of Tobago, in the West Indies, by sending two hundred men thither, and giving that island the name of New Walcheren; but, it seems, the natives murdered some of the Dutch, and forced the rest to desert it. Yet, in the year 1650, the Zelanders, from Flushing, replanted that isle; which lying the most southerly of all the Caribbee isles, and nearest to the continent, seemed very conveniently situated for a contraband trade with the Spanish province of New Andalusia, and also for the growth of sugar-canes, cotton, and ginger. The Dutch, however, made nothing considerable of that promising spot, although it has the conveniencies of water, soil, and climate; and they have long since abandoned it.—This author takes no notice of the Duke of Courland's having been the first who planted on this isle, as will be seen to be alleged under the year 1664.

Sir Josiah Child, in his Chapter on Plantations, p. 196, endeavours to account for the small success the Dutch had, compared with England, in the settlement of remote colonies.

“ First, They have not had those causes for peopling of colonies which England has had; viz. the persecution of the Puritans in the reign of King James and King Charles the First.

“ Secondly, King Charles's party, after the battle of Worcester, and the Scots being routed there, helped to plant Barbadoes and Virginia.

“ Thirdly, At the restoration, the royalists getting into all employments and offices, and the army being disbanded, &c. many of the commonwealth party withdrew to New England, &c.

“ Fourthly, The lowness of the interest of money in Holland, as well as of the customs on merchandize, together with their toleration of all religions, and their other encouragements given to trade, occasions employment for all their own people at home, as also for multitudes of foreigners who come to settle there.”

And indeed we may add, that, for the most part, none who can live comfortably, and have full employment at home, will care to go into either violently hot, or extremely cold, or unusual climates, to work at the painful employments of new plantations. Moreover, the Dutch have scarcely had one other great means which we had for the first peopling of Virginia and Barbadoes, viz. the picking up of many loose and vagrant people, chiefly in the streets of London and Westminster, and other idle and dissolute persons, who by merchants and masters of ships were for many years spirited away, as they then termed it, to those colonies.

As to what the Dutch have done in the East Indies, in the way of colonies, it was either by war or for traffic, by erecting of strong forts on the sea-coasts, where, as at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the isles of Ceylon, Java, &c. they have mostly made use of the natives for plantation and cultivation: and this has also been partly the case with the Spanish and Portuguese greater colonies in America; but not, in any great degree, in those of France, from which last populous kingdom, immense numbers of people have been sent to their colonies in America.

The following extracts from an account printed in the year 1642, of several naval charges and equipments of the years 1640, 1641, and 1642, by order of Parliament, will, in part, shew the immense difference, both in respect to strength and expence, between our English navy then and now, viz.

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	£	s.	d.
1. The charge of ten of the King's ships, and ten merchant-ships employed on the narrow seas, in the year 1641	—	—	—
2. ——— Ordinary of the navy, for the year 1640	—	—	—
3. ——— ——— for the year 1641	—	—	—
4. ——— ——— for the year 1642	—	—	—
5. Charge for the victualler of the navy, for the ordinary expence of the year 1642	—	—	—
6. The exemptions of the office of ordnance, for the years 1641, and 1642, together	—	—	—
7. Charge of setting forth fifteen of his Majesty's ships for the narrow seas, in the year 1642, for eight months, to the treasurer of the navy	—	—	—
8. Ditto, for twenty-four merchant-ships, for the same year and time	—	—	—
9. For victualling the said fifteen King's ships for that time	—	—	—

In this same year 1642, the Dutch West India Company, observing that the native Indians of Chili were inveterately incensed against their conquerors, the Spaniards, had flattered themselves that they should be able to make an easy conquest of that fine country. For this end they fitted out a squadron of ships, hoping thereby to possess themselves of some of their gold mines. At first, indeed, they defeated a party of Spaniards in that country, and gained over some of the caciques, or chiefs of the native Indians, to enter into an alliance with them against the Spaniards; which encouraged the Dutch to erect a fort at Baldivia, and to propose a commercial correspondence with the natives: yet the latter, through some mischance or other, becoming jealous of their proceedings, the Hollanders were, in the end, obliged to retire from Chili, to that part of Brasil which was at this time in their possession.

In this same year 1642, Cardinal Richlieu had attempted to erect a fresh company of French merchants to trade to the East Indies: but although they sent out a ship every year for India, yet most of those ships were either entirely lost, or else most of their sailors died from distempers. And although they made great attempts to settle a permanent colony at Madagascar, yet it did not succeed; and so this third company came to nothing. Yet some private merchants from St. Maloes sent ships to India, which, it is said, for a while, turned out to some account, but afterwards was dropped.

In Dr. Harris's Collection of Voyages, p. 608, to 610, we learn, That, in the said year 1642, two Dutch ships sailed from Batavia, in the East Indies, on discovery southward.—They found a new passage by sea to the south of New Holland, Vandiemansland, &c. Coming to New Zeland, in forty-two degrees ten minutes, south latitude, they there found a cruel, barbarous people, who murdered four of their men. Thence they sailed north-west, amongst many islands, to some of which they gave the names of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, &c. Thence they sailed west about, to New Guinea, and thence home to Batavia, after being out about ten months.

1643 In March 1642-3, the English Lords and Commons, in Parliament, made an ordinance, without the King, for raising thirty-four thousand one hundred and eight pounds ten shillings per week, which amounts to one million seven hundred and seventy-three thousand six hundred and forty-nine pounds sixteen shillings per annum.—Rushworth, vol. v. p. 150.

By this ordinance of the said Lords and Commons in Parliament, in the year 1643, the fines for being made free of the Company or Society of the Merchant-adventurers of England were doubled, viz. one hundred pounds for a Londoner, and fifty pounds for one in any

of

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1643 of the out-ports; with power also for this society to imprison such as refused to pay the said fines. The words of the ordinance of the Lords and Commons, being one of the first acts or ordinances issued by their sole authority, without having the royal assent to it, are as follow, viz.

“ That this company having been found very serviceable and profitable to this state, and especially to the ancient and great trade of cloathing, this fellowship shall therefore continue and be a corporation, with power to levy monies on its members and their goods, for the necessary charge and maintenance of their government. And that no person shall trade within their limits but freemen of the corporation, upon forfeiture of their goods. Provided,

“ I. That this company shall not exclude any person from his freedom therein, who shall desire it by way of redemption; if such person, by their custom, be capable thereof; hath been bred a merchant, and shall pay one hundred pounds for the same, if a freeman of London, and trades from that port; or fifty pounds if not free of London, and trades not from that port. They shall have power to imprison members in matters of government, and to administer such oaths to them as shall be approved by Parliament. Provided,

“ II. That all rights confirmed by act of Parliament, or ancient charters, shall be hereby saved. And it was ordered, that a bill be prepared for the passing an act in this present Parliament, for further settling and confirming the privileges of this fellowship; and this ordinance, in the mean time, to remain in force.”

But this was in consideration of no less a sum than thirty thousand pounds, advanced to the Parliament by the said fellowship of Merchant-adventurers.

In the same year 1643, there came out a similar ordinance of Parliament in favour of the Levant or Turkey Company, declaring, “ That, for the encouragement of that fellowship, which, beside the building and maintaining of divers great ships, and the venting of kerfies, sayes, perpetuanas, and other commodities, hath been found very serviceable to this state, by advancing of navigation, and transporting into foreign parts, for several years together, above twenty thousand broad-cloths yearly, besides other commodities, dyed and dressed in their full manufacture. And, for the better government and regulating of trade, the said fellowship shall continue to be a corporation, and shall have the free choice and removal of all officers, &c. who are to be maintained by them either at home or abroad; whether ambassadors, governors, deputies, consuls, &c. And shall have power to levy monies on its members, and on strangers, upon all goods shipped in English bottoms, or on strangers bottoms, going to or coming from the Levant: for the supply of their own necessary expence, as well as for such sums of money as shall be advanced for the use and benefit of the state, by the approbation of Parliament.” (As we have seen by the first before-recited ordinance, that the Merchant-adventurers fellowship paid thirty thousand pounds; so, doubtless, this last-named company advanced some such sum for the use of the Parliament; who, in return, gave them these ordinances, and their subsequent acts, by way of new charters of privileges.) “ And no person shall bring from or send goods or ships into the limits of their charter, but such as are free brothers, or otherwise licensed by the corporation, on pain of forfeiture of the whole, or other lesser penalty to be imposed by this corporation on their goods or ships. None shall be excluded from the freedom of this corporation who shall desire it by way of redemption, if such person be a mere merchant, and otherwise capable thereof; and shall pay fifty pounds for the same, if above twenty-seven years of age, or twenty-five pounds if

“ under

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1643 “ under that age, or so much less as their fellowship shall think fitting. They may also impose fines on persons wittingly contemning or disobeying their orders; but not to exceed twenty pounds for any one offence. And, in default, to distrain the goods of persons so fined: and if no sufficient distress can be found, to imprison their persons till they pay their fines, or otherwise give satisfaction.—They shall have power also to give such oaths as shall be approved by Parliament:—Provided, that all rights or charters, granted under the broad seal of England, or otherwise, shall be hereby saved. It is also ordained, that, with all convenient expedition, a bill shall be prepared, to pass into an act of this present Parliament, for the further settling and full confirmation of this fellowship’s privileges, &c. And this ordinance to remain in full force till then.”

Even so late as this year, we find that the knowledge of the northern parts of the terraqueous globe was still very imperfect: thus, not only Dr. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, and other English geographers, continued to place the supposed great isle of Friesland on their maps, but likewise Morisotus, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, published at Dijon in this year, mentions the great isle of Friesland, west of Norway, and larger than that of Iceland. Possibly and very probably, the vast country usually called Old Greenland, was meant by them for that supposed island.

In the said year, one Brower, or Brewer, a Dutchman, sailed into the great South Sea, through a passage since called by his name, east of the Strait of Le Maire, mentioned under the year 1616, and so round by Cape Horn, as usual.

In this same year, the exclusive privileges of the Dutch East India Company expiring, the same were renewed for twenty-seven years longer, in consideration of their paying the sum of one million six hundred thousand guilders, for the benefit of the public. It is unnecessary to add, in this place, that those privileges have since been renewed; from time to time, to our days; and that, on every such renewal, the Company advanced considerable sums of money for the same.

The French now first planted the Caribbee isle of St. Bartholomew, in the latitude of sixteen degrees, about five miles north of St. Christopher. It has but little ground fit for cultivation; yet it is said to have plenty of *lignum vitæ* and iron-wood. It is unsafe for shipping, by reason of the many rocks which surround it. It has been several times in French and English hands, by turns. In November 1746, the English, from Antigua, surprized it, and carried off four hundred white people, and three hundred negroes. It is about five leagues in circumference.

By an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, the duty on our plantation tobacco was now made four-pence per pound weight. Yet, in the following year, by another ordinance, they reduced it to three-pence per pound, custom and excise together; “they finding,” as that ordinance expresses it, “that the duty of four-pence had somewhat intermitted the trade in that commodity.”—Which shews, that tobacco was by this time become a trade worth the encouragement of Parliament.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament, at Westminster, now laid a tax, for the ensuing year, on beer and ale in all counties within the limits of their power, calling it by a new word, *excise*. In which ordinance they also laid a duty of four shillings per pound on foreign tobacco, and two shillings on English tobacco; six pounds on every ton of wine retailed, and three pounds per ton for private consumption: a duty also on raisins, sugar, currants, cloth of gold and silver tissue, and damask table-linen; which shews that they were in great want of money.

And

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1643 And the King's Parliament, then sitting at Oxford, imposed the like taxes on all within their power, and never met more at all. The city of London's zeal for the Parliament was so great, as, according to Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 2, to agree to a weekly payment of ten thousand pounds, exclusive of Westminster, and the other suburbs, being at the rate of five hundred and twenty thousand pounds per annum; which shews the great wealth as well as zeal of that city. Yet it is scarcely to be supposed, that the city could have constantly paid so great an assessment.

At this time one Kephler, a Dutchman, first brought into England the knowledge of the fine scarlet-dye, called the Bow-dye, as being first practised at the village of Bow, near London.

1644 In Sir James Ware's *Gesta Hibernorum*, by way of annals, p. 181, under the year 1644, he, or rather his continuator, gives the following account of the city of Dublin, viz.

August 8. The citizens of Dublin were numbered, and found to be, of

Protestants	{ 2565 men. 2986 women.	Papists	{ 1202 men. 1406 women.
Total Protestants	5551	Total Papists	2608
Total Papists	2608		
Total of both	8159		

As the city of Dublin is the capital of Ireland, the residence of the King's Lieutenant, and of all the courts of law, as well as the usual place for holding the Parliament, &c. I think it impossible that this census can be of any other than adult persons alone, to approach near to any probability of truth. If therefore there be, as usually computed, at least two children to each adult person, then

	8159
Multiplied by 2, gives	16318
Total men, women, and children	24477

This was but a small number compared to the number in that city at this time; which since then has greatly increased, more especially since the accession of the present royal family; so that they are now computed to amount to considerably above one hundred thousand souls.

We have elsewhere observed, that the toll exacted by the crown of Denmark for all foreign ships passing to and from the Baltic Sea, through the Sound of Elsinore, was owing to the protection those ships received from the castle of Cronenburg, for a safeguard from pirates, who were numerous in that sea in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and also for light-houses erected by Denmark, for the direction of shipping in dark nights. About the time the Dutch shook off the yoke of Spain, Denmark made unreasonable demands on them: but, in this year 1644, the Hollanders aided the Swedes in their invasion of Denmark, whereby the latter lost part of their dominions to Sweden. This brought on a treaty, in the following year, 1645, whereby, after numberless disputes between Denmark and Sweden, for the former's obliging the ships of the latter nation to pay toll in the sound, as other nations did, and still do; the crown of Sweden was now powerful enough to compel Denmark, by a solemn treaty, at Christianople, to give up all right for the future to demand any toll whatever on Swedish ships, having only their own merchandize, passing the Sound; yet they were still bound to pay toll for the merchandize of other nations in their bottoms.

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1644

Moreover, at the said treaty, the States General of the United Provinces renewed former treaties with Denmark; and hereby the Dutch settled the moderate toll they were thenceforward to pay at passing the Sound, being about twenty-five pounds sterling for a ship of two hundred tons: to which France and England also agreed.

By the third article of this treaty it is expressly stipulated that the searching of Dutch ships and goods passing the Sound shall cease, and entire credit shall be given to the mariners producing their tickets. And the tolls now agreed on shall continue the same for forty years to come.

1645

We have seen, under the year 1640, that the royal mint in the Tower of London had, for some years before that period, been made use of as a kind of bank or deposit, for the safety of merchants to lodge their cash therein. But King Charles the First having, in that year, made free with their money therein, the mint lost its credit in that respect. After which, the merchants and traders of London generally trusted their cash with their servants, until the breaking out of the civil war, when it was very customary for their apprentices and clerks to leave their masters, and go into the army. Whereupon, in such unsettled times, merchants, not longer daring to confide in their apprentices; began first, about this year 1645, to lodge their necessary cash in goldsmiths hands, both to receive and pay for them: until which time, the whole and proper business of London goldsmiths was, to buy and sell plate, and foreign coins of gold and silver, to melt and cull them, to coin some at the mint, and with the rest to supply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants; as they found the price to vary. This account of the matter, we have from a scarce and most curious small pamphlet, published in the year 1676, entitled, *The Mystery of the new-fashioned goldsmiths or Bankers discovered*, in only eight quarto pages. Our said author further observes, "That this new banking business soon grew very considerable. It happened," says he "in those times of civil commotion, that the Parliament, out of the plate, and from the old coin brought into the mint, coined seven millions into half-crowns; and there being no mills then in use at the mint, this new money was of a very unequal weight, sometimes two-pence and three-pence difference in an ounce; and most of it was, it seems, heavier than it ought to have been, in proportion to the value in foreign parts. Of this the goldsmiths made naturally the advantages usual in such cases, by picking out or culling the heaviest, and melting them down, and exporting them. It happened also, that our gold coins were too weighty, and of these also they took the like advantage.

"Moreover, such merchants servants as still kept their masters running cash; had fallen into a way of clandestinely lending the same to the goldsmiths, at four-pence per cent. per diem; who, by these, and such-like means, were enabled to lend out great quantities of cash to necessitous merchants and others, weekly or monthly, at high interest; and also began to discount the merchants bills at the like, or an higher rate of interest. That, much about the same time, they (the goldsmiths, or new-fashioned bankers) began to receive the rents of gentlemen's estates, remitted to town, and to allow them, and others, who put cash into their hands, some interest for it; if it remained but for a single month in their hands, or even a lesser time. This was a great allurements for people to put their money into their hands, which would bear interest till the day they wanted it, (somewhat like our English East India Company's bonds.) And they could also draw it out by one hundred pounds, or fifty pounds, &c. at a time, as they wanted it, with infinitely less trouble than if they had lent it out on either real or personal security. The consequence was, that it

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1645 “ quickly brought a great quantity of cash into their hands; so that the chief or greatest of them were now enabled to supply Cromwell with money in advance on the revenues, as his occasions required, upon great advantages to themselves.

“ After the restoration, King Charles being in want of money,” (this was a bold pamphlet at this time; but, although it was printed, it does not appear to have ever been published, there being neither bookfeller’s nor printer’s name prefixed) “ the bankers took ten per cent. of him barefacedly,” as our author expresses it; “ and, by private contracts on many bills, orders, tallies, and debts of that King, they got twenty, sometimes thirty per cent. to the great dishonour of the government. This great gain induced the goldsmiths more and more to become lenders to the King; to anticipate all the revenue; to take every grant of Parliament into pawn, as soon as it was given; also to outvie each other in buying and taking to pawn bills, orders, and tallies: so that, in effect, all the revenue passed through their hands.”—And so they went on, till the fatal shutting of the Exchequer, in the year 1672; which will be noted in its place.

Since the happy revolution, in the year 1688, our legislators have put it out of the power of the crown alone to make anticipations on Parliamentary grants, which can only be done by a clause or clauses in such respective statutes.

In this same year 1645, the celebrated and most learned Hugo Grotius departed this life.—He was a great philosopher and divine, as well as an historian and politician; and wrote in defence of the independence of his country of Holland against Spain; and of the absolute freedom of the navigation on the sea, against all mankind, with the greatest strength of judgment.

By a treaty of commerce now concluded between the Queen Regent of France, in the minority of Louis XIV. and the King and kingdom of Denmark, it was stipulated, among other things, “ That French ships, or ships hired or laded by Frenchmen,” (France had so few trading ships of her own at those times, that this description was very necessary) “ passing the famous Sound of Denmark, whithersoever they may be bound or may come from, or what soever they may have on board, shall not be obliged to pay any more toll than that agreed this same year in a table of this toll with the Dutch.” And the French shall pay the same for sea-beacons and fires as the Dutch pay. And that both kingdoms shall in general enjoy freedom of commerce in each other’s respective kingdoms.

In the Collection of Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations of Parliament, printed for E. Husband, Printer to the House of Commons, in folio, in the year 1646, we have a list, p. 665, of the public navy, and also of the merchant-ships, set forth in the summer 1645, by order of Parliament, viz.

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.
1 Ship (Vice-admiral Blyth) of	875	280	50
1 Ship of — —	600	170	40
1 Ship (Rear-admiral Owen) of	575	170	40
1 Ship of — —	557	170	38
1 Ship of — —	520	170	38
1 Ship of — —	559	160	38
1 Ship (under Vice-admiral Batten) of	650	260	36
1 Ship of — —	512	160	36
1 Ship of — —	500	150	36

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1645 The rest consisted of seventeen smaller ships from four hundred tons, and one hundred and ten men, and twenty-eight guns, down to eighty tons, forty-five men, and eight guns. So that here is only one ship which might possibly be admitted, in our days, into a line of battle.

The Royal Sovereign, built ten years before, and perhaps several other large ships of war, were either still under the King's command, or else were not as yet judged necessary. There were also six pinks and frigates, or each fifty tons burthen; and eighteen merchant-ships, from four hundred and five tons, one hundred and twenty-one men, and twenty-nine guns, down to one hundred and six tons, fifty-nine men, and twelve guns. Probably this was the greatest part of the Parliament's naval force.

At this time, however, there arose a great coldness and jealousy between this Parliament and the Dutch republic; the Hollanders, through the Prince of Orange's influence, having shewn a manifest partiality to the King's side, which the Parliament, at this time, closely argued with the States-General, in a long and sharp declaration or remonstrance, printed in the said book of ordinances. The Parliament, therefore, soon found it needful to increase their marine, as foreseeing a storm from that quarter.

1646 By an ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, in the year 1646, it was enacted, That from the twenty-fourth of February, 1645, old stile, "The court of wards and liverys, and all wardships, liverys, premier-fiefsins, and oustre-les-mains, be taken away. " And that all tenures by homage, and all fines, licences, seizures, and pardons for alienation, be likewise taken away: as also, that all tenures by knights-service, either of his Majesty or of others, or by knights-service, or soccage in capite of his Majesty, be turned into " free and common soccage."—Which ordinance was amply confirmed by an act of the Protector and his Parliament, in the year 1656.

The removal of these ancient badges of Norman servitude, or something too near a-kin to slavery, was thought so reasonable, though now enacted by the Lords and Commons alone, without the King, with whom they were now at war, that, upon the restoration of King Charles the Second, it was confirmed by a legal act of the legislature, as will be seen in its place. Servitude or vassalage is, in its consequences, ever obstructive of commerce and industry, and therefore proper to be removed in all free and wise governments. In a fawning letter from Sir Robert Cecil, Queen's Elizabeth's secretary, to King James of Scotland, in the year 1601, amongst other points, he exhorts him in the following words, "To dissolve the court of wards in England," (on the supposition of his undoubtedly succeeding that Queen) "being the ruin of all the noble and ancient families of this realm, by base matches and evil education of children, by which no revenue of the crown will be defrayed."—Vide the Appendix to Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 117, published in the year 1759.

By another printed ordinance of the said Lords and Commons, in 1646, we see somewhat of the state of the then commerce of and to the English American plantations; reciting, "that whereas the several plantations of Virginia, Bermudas, Barbadoes, and other places of America, have been much beneficial to this kingdom, by the increase of navigation, and of the customs arising from the commodities of the growth of those plantations imported into this kingdom. And as goods and necessaries carried thither from hence have not hitherto paid any custom; for the better carrying on of the said plantations, it is now ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that all merchandize, goods, and necessities, for the supportation, use, and expence of the said plantations, shall pay no custom

" nor

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1646 "nor duty for the same, the duty of excise only excepted, for three years to come, except
 "to the plantations in Newfoundland: security being given here, and certificates from
 "thence, that the said goods be really exported thither, and for the only use of the said
 "plantations.—Provided always, that none in any of the ports of the said plantations do
 "suffer any ship or vessel to lade any goods of the growth of the plantations, and carry them
 "to foreign parts, except in English bottoms; under forfeiture of the before-named exemp-
 "tion from customs." Hereby the foundation was laid for the navigation acts afterward,
 which may be justly termed the Commercial Palladium of Britain. We shall also see this
 wise proviso further legally enacted after the restoration of King Charles the Second, by
 the famous acts of navigation.

It is but too true, that both the English and Hollanders continued too long to depress Spain,
 and too long to encourage the preponderation of the power and strength of France; whereby
 even so early as this time, the balance of power, with respect to those two nations, was much
 endangered. Thus the Orange party in Holland, jealous of the opposite democratical party,
 made Admiral Van Trump, in the years 1644—5—6, block up the ports of Gravelines, Mar-
 dyk, and Dunkirk, until they at length fell finally into the hands of France: and, in recom-
 pence, France made many seizures of Dutch ships in the Mediterranean, &c. whereby, it is
 said, the democratical merchants of Amsterdam alone lost ten millions of guilders.

According to Savary's *Dictionnaire Universelle du Commerce*, "the manufacture of fine
 "woollen cloth was now first set on foot at Sedan, by three Frenchmen, who had a patent
 "for twenty years, to be the sole directors of the manufacture of black as well as coloured
 "cloths: and, for their encouragement, they had each a pension of five hundred livres for
 "life, and their children were thereby nobilitated in France; and their foreign workmen de-
 "clared to be denizens of France, free from being quartered on by soldiers, and from all
 "taxes and excises. The directors were also allowed eight thousand livres yearly for carrying
 "on that manufacture during the said term. And," adds Savary, "the success has even
 "exceeded expectation; the Sedan cloths having been brought to great perfection."

Thus we see, that Cardinal Mazarine trod in the steps of his predecessor, Richlieu; and we
 cannot wonder at the improvements made by France in almost every species of manufacture,
 when we see such great and early encouragements given to the promoters of them.

Wheat per quarter, two pounds eight shillings.—*Chronicon Preciosum*.

1647 At this time Spain's great febleness and declension was become extremely apparent. Her
 want of manufactures, product, and other necessaries, within herself, for the supplying of her
 vast American colonies, occasioning all the gold and silver brought from thence home to be paid
 away, as fast as they received it, to the English, Dutch, French, Germans, and Italians, for
 all kinds of necessaries for her said colonies. Moreover, the scarcity of people in Spain, com-
 pared to the great extent of that country, was now sadly felt; partly occasioned by Spain's
 having, as has been related, formerly driven out so vast a number of Moors and Jews, and
 partly by permitting such numbers of her people to go over from time to time entirely to
 settle in America; so that Spain was become more than half desolate; and even those still re-
 maining in it were become the most idle, lazy, and indolent sort of people of any civilized
 nation. It was certain they could not find people enough of their own for cultivating their
 lands, so that they were obliged to employ poor French peasants, as indeed they have to this
 time done, to come every year over the Pyrenean mountains into Spain, for getting in their
 harvests.

This

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This melancholy situation in the reign of King Philip IV. is by some authors said to have put the Spanish Court upon consultation, in the year 1647, or about the middle of this century, whether it might not be adviseable for the King and his Court, &c. to remove to and settle entirely in America; in consideration of their not having a sufficiency of people for the joint preservation of the Spanish dominions both in Europe and America.

In the next succeeding reign of King Charles II. Spain grew still more feeble: yet, after all, she has since, through wiser counsels, been able to weather most of her misfortunes, and is, in our days, in a more prosperous condition than she had been for one hundred and thirty years.

The Lords and Commons of the English Parliament now wisely and absolutely prohibited the exportation of English wool. They also issued a proclamation for supporting the privileges and charters of the society of the Merchant-adventurers of England; who, in this year, had removed their foreign residence or comptoir from Delft or Dort. And our woollen trade at this time was in a very prosperous condition.

Yet, through many various misfortunes, and especially the many encroachments and cruelties of the Dutch Company, the English East India Company's trade seems to have been, at this time, almost quite sunk, or at least much decayed.

It was about this year that the Caribbee isle of Marigalante was begun to be settled by the French. Such parts of it as are plain and not quite barren they cultivated very well, chiefly for the growth of tobacco: but it is said to be in general very mountainous. Columbus, in the year 1493, named it after his own ship.

England's wealth and commerce at this time was very considerable; since, notwithstanding the interruptions which a six years civil war must have occasioned; the Lords and Commons had raised upwards of forty millions sterling, for the war against the King, between the years 1641 and 1647, or about six millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per annum;—Royal Treasury of England, octavo, in the year 1725, p. 297,—beside what the King had raised in the counties where his interest was predominant.

Wheat per quarter, three pounds thirteen shillings and eight-pence. Chronicon Preciosum.

1648 The pitch and tar manufacture of Sweden was in early times a very considerable part of their commerce. The principal ports from whence those two articles were of old exported were Stockholm and Wyburg, for the supplying of the rest of Europe. But Queen Christina having, in the year 1648, erected a joint stock tar company, exclusive of all others, whereby they were said to have doubled their capital every three years, that monopoly having laid such exorbitant prices on pitch and tar; and they obliged themselves by that charter to take off all that was made in the kingdom, that even such parts of Sweden as before made no tar, were then obliged to engage in the making of it; whereby the quantity thereof became greatly increased in such parts of Sweden as were not within the limits of that Company's patent, which had nearly ruined that monopoly. However, by fresh aids it recovered itself again; and so lately as the beginning of our present century, it had like to have greatly distressed England; though in the issue it produced much good, as will be seen under the year 1703.

The long and bloody wars between the House of Austria on one side, and France and Sweden on the other side, at length brought on the famous treaty of Munster and Paderborn, or, as often styled, the treaty of Westphalia, in this same year. England had indeed no concern

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1648 cern therein, being too deeply engaged at home; yet as this memorable pacification considerably affected all the other great potentates of Christendom on the continent of Europe, it well deserves a due animadversion in this work, as far as more immediately relates to our subject. Vide vol. ii. p. 335, &c. of the General Collection of Treaties, in four volumes, octavo, second edition, London, 1732.

I. With respect to the German empire, great alterations were thereby made therein, in favour of France, Sweden, and Bavaria, by yielding and confirming to France large dominions there: Sweden got a great part of Pomerania, with the Archbishoprick of Bremen, hereby secularized and converted into a dukedom, and also the Bishopric, since called the Principality, of Verden: the Duke of Bavaria gained all the Upper Palatinate, and was made an elector of the empire.

II. Spain growing continually more feeble, by this treaty, found herself obliged to conclude a solid and perpetual peace with the States General of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, by renouncing all former claims and pretensions on the said provinces, and by King Philip the Fourth's acknowledging the said States General to be free and independent sovereigns, as per article the first. And, indeed, if the Spaniards had good reason for agreeing to this peace with the Dutch, as it was commonly believed that their war with the Hollanders had cost Spain so immense a treasure as fifteen hundred millions of ducats; the Dutch, on the other hand, had ground to be equally pleased therewith, not only for the immediate advantage and honour thereby redounding to them, but likewise because they now began too plainly to perceive the scale of France to preponderate; and that, if Spain should be reduced too low, France might become, as has since been often experienced, a very dangerous neighbour to them, by robbing Spain of many of the noblest and strongest towns of her Netherlands.

III. This treaty adjusted the security of the trade and navigation to both the East and West Indies.—The rule of *uti possidetis* being now to take place between Spain and Holland, not only in both the Indies, per article five, but also (with respect to Holland and Portugal) in Brasil, and on the west coasts of Africa, as far as Spain had any claims. Spain was moreover hereby to keep her navigation to the East Indies in the same manner she then held it, without being at liberty to extend it further. Spain's only means of communication with the East Indies, now as well as ever since, was from New Spain. This condition therefore was prudently stipulated by the Dutch.

Neither were the inhabitants of the Spanish Low Countries to frequent the places which the Castilians had in the East Indies.

This last part of the said fifth article was to very good and successful purpose insisted on by both Great Britain and Holland; against the late Emperor Charles the Fourth's having set up a company and commerce from Flanders to East India, in our days, known by the name of the Ostend Company, long since suppressed.

IV. With regard to the West Indies, or America, the subjects of Spain and Holland were by the sixth article of this treaty, mutually to abstain from sailing to, or trading in, any of the harbours, places, &c. possessed by the one or the other party there.

V. The river Scheldt, as also the canals of Sas and Swyn, and other mouths of rivers disemboguing themselves there, were stipulated to be kept shut on the side of the Lords the States General, per article fourteen. This was for preventing the revival of the trade of the once renowned mercantile city of Antwerp; and so it continues to this day.

VI. It

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VI. It was stipulated, by article sixteen, that the Hans-towns should enjoy all the same rights, privileges, &c. in the dominions of Spain, which by this treaty were, or should in future be, granted to the subjects of the States General; and, reciprocally, the subjects of the States General were to enjoy the same privileges, &c. in Spain as the Hanscatics; whether for the establishing of consuls in the capital ports of Spain, or elsewhere, as should be needful, or for the freedom of their merchants, factors, &c. and in like sort as the said Hans-towns have formerly enjoyed, or shall hereafter obtain, for the security of their navigation and commerce. The Dutch were also, by the seventeenth article, to enjoy the same privileges, &c. in Spain as the King of Great Britain's subjects did. And, by the eighteenth article, honourable places were to be appointed for the interment of such of the subjects of the States General as should happen to die in the Spanish dominions.

By the fifty-third article, the King of Spain obliged himself effectually to procure the continuation and observation of the neutrality and amity of the Emperor and Empire with the States General of the United Netherlands.

There were in all seventy-nine articles in this most famous treaty, between Spain and the States General, besides a separate article, relating to the freedom of commerce on both sides, against the carrying of contraband goods to the enemies countries;—and touching the searching of ships, passports, &c. needless here to be particularized. It is sufficient, upon the whole, to observe, that the States General of the United Netherlands, by this honourable treaty, gained the solid and lasting means of greatly enriching their people, by improving and extending their commerce, already grown to an amazing height in the East Indies, as well as in Africa and Europe. And here we cannot omit a circumstance, which, though in itself may appear inconsiderable, demonstrates the superiority of the Dutch in this treaty, viz.

“The Count of Oldenburg earnestly requested the States General, by his envoy, to be included in the said treaty: but, by decrees of the twenty-third of May, and the sixth of August, it was denied him; because he had for many years demanded toll on the Weser, in order to discourage and obstruct commerce; especially that of this State.”

By this memorable Westphalia treaty, France had the noble Landgraviate of Alsace yielded or confirmed to her by the empire, with the prefecture of its ten imperial cities and their villages, as also the town of Brisac and its villages. France also had hereby the possession of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, confirmed to her; and on the side of Lorraine she had Mayenvic yielded to her: also on the side of Piedmont she got Pignerol. By all which the power of the French monarchy was greatly increased, the German empire weakened, and the balance of power in Europe much altered. France also, by being admitted to be a guarantee of this treaty, gained a pretext of since frequently intermeddling in the affairs of the German empire, to her separate benefit and aggrandizement.

Spain, at this time, was become so feeble, in point of naval affairs, as to be obliged to hire Dutch vessels, for the carrying on of her American commerce.

On the other hand, as fortune is seldom favourable every-where, the Dutch West India Company was, in this same year, driven out of Angola, in Africa, by the Portuguese.

In this same year also was laid the foundation of the famous Stadt-huys of Amsterdam, hitherto deemed the most magnificent structure of that kind in all Europe.

In Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. vol. ii. p. 223, it is said, that the English Russia Company remained entire masters of the commerce to Archangel until the death of King Charles the First; when it seems the Hollanders having by that time gained a powerful in-

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1649 fluence at the Russian court, the ministers thereof laid hold of that opportunity, under pretence of revenge against a nation who had murdered their King, to introduce the Dutch into the Archangel trade, upon condition of their paying fifteen per cent. upon both imports and exports. Whereby the Hollanders reaped such advantage that the Polish Envoy, in the year 1689, affirmed, they had in that year two hundred factors at Archangel.

This seems to be a more probable state of the Russian trade, than that of the author of the Relation of the Earl of Carlisle's Embassy to Russia, in the year 1663, who, in his Introduction, insinuates, that the Czar Alexis Michaelowitz had abolished the Company's privileges, purely out of resentment for the disloyalty of some of the Members of our Company to their late Sovereign. For, in fact, their privileges were abolished in the year preceding King Charles's death. It is true, indeed, that this Czar had expressed great indignation against those concerned in King Charles's death, and that he had lent his son King Charles the Second, while in exile, forty thousand crowns, (King Charles the First having lent this Czar's father forty thousand dollars, besides forces) which was punctually repaid.

But this resentment of the Czar was no other, as above, than a political pretext, as appears by the Earl of Carlisle's embassy: for although his Lordship remonstrated, "That as the foundation of the good correspondence between the two nations was laid in the said exclusive privileges granted to the English Company, who first established the traffic to Archangel; so the King his master earnestly desired their re-establishment:" yet the Czar persisted in his refusal, even alleging, "That one Luke Nightingale had been secretly sent to him by King Charles the First, to desire the abolition of those privileges." A most improbable thing. To which other frivolous reasons were superadded. But it seems the true reason was the Dutch contract, as above: although it was alleged, "That the Company had carried foreign merchandize through Russia without paying any custom, which had occasioned a general complaint of the Russia merchants, factors, and tradesmen: that the English engrossed all their trade, and grew vastly rich, whilst the Czar's own subjects were thereby impoverished."—It was further shamefully alleged, "That all the English merchants to whom the privileges were first granted were dead, and that their privileges expired with them." To all which the Earl of Carlisle replied, "That it was well known that many of the English in Russia were loyal, and testified an abhorrence of their King's murder:—and that Nightingale, before-named, was an impostor, and was never employed by the late King.—That our Company had never neglected to furnish the Czar's treasury with cloth, tin, lead, pewter, and all other English commodities at a cheaper rate than either the Dutch or Hamburghers could do, although they hardly ever could be paid without bribing the Czar's officers. He also utterly denied the Company's being guilty of importing tobacco,—of trading in prohibited goods,—of carrying foreign goods through the country custom free. And with respect to the allegation, that as the first merchants were dead, their privileges died with them—those privileges were ever understood to have been granted to the English nation, and not to any particular set of individuals, and were therefore perpetual."

The Czar's commissioners trifled most egregiously in their conferences with my Lord Carlisle: so that, being tired with delays, his Lordship got a private audience of the Czar, "in which he represented, in the strongest terms, the reasonable grounds of King Charles's desiring the restoration of the Company's privileges, confirmed by this very Czar at his accession, in the year 1645.—That the English first opened a profitable trade for Russia as well for England, at the expence of many lives, and the loss of ships and money.—That the

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1649 “ English had fought the enemies of Russia in the East, or Baltic Sea, when the neighbouring princes had leagued together to shut up Narva.—That they had lent sums of money for the wars,—furnished soldiers and commanders to fight the enemies of Russia, and had made peace for them with the neighbouring princes.”—Yet, after a great deal of pains taken by that Lord, the Czar and his ministers persisted in their refusal of restoring our Company’s exclusive privileges.—So his Lordship returned unsuccessfully home in the year 1669. And all that could be obtained was only, that the Company might trade to Russia on the same footing as the Dutch. And thus from thenceforth they have remained a regulated Company, much resembling the other regulated ones of the Hamburgh and Turkey Companies; each member trading on his own private bottom, paying a small sum on admission, and certain annual dues, for defraying the general expence of the Company.

The Caribbee Isle of St. Cruz, or St. Croix, had, it seems, in early times, been subject to many masters in a short space. The French Historian of the Caribbees, so often already quoted, observes, that the English and Dutch had long contested about the property of it; and that, at length, they divided it between them. Yet, in the year 1649, the English obliged the Dutch inhabitants to quit the island.—Soon after, the Spaniards from Porto Rico invaded it, burned their houses, killed all the English who resisted, and obliged the rest to transport themselves to Barbuda. But whilst those Spaniards were about to return back to Porto Rico, two armed French ships arrived there, in the year 1650, and overpowered the Spaniards, obliging them to return forthwith to Porto Rico. Here the French settled themselves, and afterwards sold it to the Danish West India Company at Copenhagen.

The Danes have held the Caribbee island of St. Thomas for many years past, though the exact year of its first settlement is uncertain. It is one of the cluster of numerous small isles situated to the east of Porto Rico, called the Virgin Isles, most of which are uninhabited and barren: is about seven leagues in compass, being a free port, and by its situation very capable of commerce, especially of a contraband sort, with the neighbouring isles and territories of other European nations, in which it has often been very successful.

We have before related, that in the year 1636, King Charles I. granted a monopoly patent for the sole coining of copper or brass farthings, although they were not then to be forced upon poor people. Yet it appears, from Mr. Drake’s History and Antiquities of York City, that, in this year 1649, there were still private tradesmen’s copper halfpence in that city, of many of which, and particularly one of this year, from the collection of James West, Esq; he has exhibited the prints. He alleges, that these began first to be in use in the time of the Usurpation: and indeed the practice of such private copper coins was not effectually restrained, until the twenty-fourth of King Charles II. in the year 1672; when the King’s public ones took place in their stead by his proclamation: whereby farthings and halfpence made and used till then by private persons in trade and commerce were expressly prohibited to be either paid or received in trade any more. Which was a very needful and much-wanted regulation, more especially in retail trades.

From Bishop Fleetwood’s Chronicon Preciosum we learn, that the market price of wheat was, in this same year, four pounds per quarter, and was in the preceding year four pounds five shillings, and in 1650 at three pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence. Yet in 1652, it was so low as two pounds nine shillings and six pence; and in 1654, at one pound six shillings per quarter. So that from these variations in so few years distance, no adequate rule can be drawn for judging of the rate of living. Probably the seasons might be very unfavourable in

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1649 in the three first mentioned years ; and possibly much corn might be exported in those years to foreign parts, where there was a great demand for it.

An ordinance of the English Lords and Commons, made in this year, directs the new gold coins of their commonwealth to be of twenty shillings, ten shillings, and five shillings value ; and their silver ones of five shillings, two shillings and six pence, one shilling, six pence, two pence, one penny, and an halfpenny. Such small pieces as silver halfpence must have been very troublesome : and had they then had regular and legal copper money, they could have had no occasion for such.

We have seen, in our own days, that the quarter guineas of gold coin, and all the silver coin under sixpenny pieces, are hoarded up, as mere baubles, quite out of circulation. How much more so must silver halfpence then have been, more especially as our coins had long before been reduced to the same quantity of bullion as at present ?

In Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, vol. i. p. 127 and 226, published in the year 1742, under this year, we learn, that Mr. Strickland, the English Commonwealth's Resident in Holland, acquainted the English Council of State, that the States General of the United Netherlands had just concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark, by which they farmed of him the toll of the Sound, for about thirty-five thousand pounds sterling yearly. So that all nations as well as the Dutch themselves, were now to pay this toll at Amsterdam, which was always before collected at Elsinore. And even the Swedes, who before claimed an exemption from this toll, were now compelled to pay it at Amsterdam likewise.

In the above-quoted work and volume, p. 227, this same year, we see a paper, entitled, *Some Considerations offered, relating to the Embassy for Sweden*, by which we learn, that wise men, even so long ago, foresaw of how much consequence our continent plantations in America might prove to us in respect of naval stores. The words are these, viz. " The Swedes cannot be ignorant how that, in time, our plantations may furnish us with those commodities we have from them, and the utility of their sending their commodities to us, and the danger of the loss of such a branch of trade may oblige them to an union with us : whereas they cannot run that hazard in a breach with Holland."

How much to our nation's shame is this judicious remark ; since, after so long a space, we have done so little for the bringing of that to perfection which, probably, might well have been done in half the time, to our inestimable benefit, had we set about it more effectually. Yet so far have we there advanced already in the raising of several kinds of naval stores, that, in half a century more, we have reason to hope to be quite independent of a nation which has sometimes taken no small advantage of our necessity.

In the before-quoted vol. i. p. 129, of Thurloe's authentic Collection of State Papers, in seven folio volumes, we see an invitation of the Magistrates of the city of Bruges to the English Company of Merchant-Adventurers to return to that city, which was their ancient residence. To which that Company replied in substance,

" First, That their city must take off the lycent, and other town-rights.

" Secondly, That our Company must be sure of the free exercise of their religion there.—And,

" Thirdly, They must also be freed from all tolls whatsoever in the sailing up from the port of Sluys to Bruges."

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1649 ¶ The last point, I apprehend, was not then in the power of Bruges to grant, since the town, port, and territory of Sluys were possessed by the States of the United Netherlands; which, probably, was the main reason for our Company's not complying with that invitation: for, as the residence, or comptoir, of this Company was at this time at Dort in Holland, it is not likely that the Dutch, with whom too the English Commonwealth was not at this time in very good terms, would ever agree to lose so great a benefit, by its removal to Bruges in the dominions of another potentate.

Of how great benefit it would prove to the British commerce and dominions on the continent of North America, to civilize and christianize the native Indians (even abstracting from a reasonable hope of a blessing from Heaven on such endeavours) need not be told to wise and experienced persons, who know how much the French in Canada were benefited by such a measure, to our great detriment; they having had great numbers of priests among their Indians for that end: they also brought the poorer French, of both sexes, to intermarry with the Indians: whereby they, in some measure, become one common nation together.

This is far from having been the practice in our English continent plantations: yet we ought to do justice to the New England clergy and people, by acknowledging, that they have done much more than all our other colonies, towards the Christianizing of their Pagan Indians. To second such endeavours, the Rump Parliament, in this year 1649, erected a corporation for propagating the gospel amongst those Indians, consisting of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants: and, by an act of that same session of Parliament, collections were made all over England for that end, by which means that corporation was enabled to purchase an estate of about six hundred pounds per annum.

This corporation was legally established and incorporated at the restoration of King Charles the Second; the famous philosopher Mr. Boyle being then appointed their first president.— And it remains a corporation to this day, continuing to send over missionaries to the frontiers of New England, &c. with treatises of instruction and devotion for the use of the Indians. They have also erected several schools for instructing the children of Indians. There is also continued to this day, an annual collection all over New England for the same purpose.

The salt ponds of the isle of St. Martin's, in the West Indies, lying in latitude eighteen degrees sixteen minutes, occasioned the Spaniards building a fort on it: yet, about this year 1649, they dismantled that fort, and quitted the isle:—whereupon, the Dutch from St. Eustatia took possession of it. The French, however, pretending to have been possessed of it before the Spaniards, sent also a colony thither. And their countryman, whom we have already had frequent occasion to quote, in the year 1658, says, that the French and Dutch then lived there friendly together. In the year 1744, the English from Anguilla drove the French out of their part of that isle; which, however, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was restored.

1650 The English colonies of Virginia, Barbadoes, Antigua, and Bermudas, being in disorder on account of their zealous attachment to the royal family, the Rump Parliament, in the year 1650, by an ordinance, prohibited all correspondence with them, unless by special leave from the Council of State. That ordinance also granted permission to all merchant ships, as well as national ships of war, to seize on the ships and merchandize of those then styled rebellious inhabitants. And whereas many disaffected royalists resorted thither in foreign ships, a clause was inserted, for prohibiting, under forfeiture of ships and goods, any foreigners from resorting to, or trading thither, without a licence, on any pretext whatever. This present prohibition

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1650 was, probably, purely on a temporary and political consideration; yet we shall soon see this same English republic endeavour absolutely to confine the commerce with our colonies to the people of England alone.

By this time the commerce of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands was arrived at its meridian altitude: for testimony whereof we have the authoritative opinion of Sir William Temple, in the fourth chapter of his *Observations on the United Provinces*, written in the year 1673.

"I am of opinion," says that great author, "that trade has some years ago passed its meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them: whereof there seem to be several causes. As first, the general application that so many other nations have made to it within these two or three and twenty years. For, since the peace of Munster, which restored the quiet of Christendom, in 1648, not only Sweden and Denmark, but France and England have, more particularly than ever before, busied the thoughts and counsels of their several governments, as well as the humours of their people, about matters of trade: nor has this happened without good degrees of success, though kingdoms of such extent, that have other and nobler foundations of greatness, cannot raise trade to such a pitch as this little state, which had no other to build on; no more than a man, who has a fair and plentiful estate, can fall to labour and industry, like one that has nothing else to trust to for the support of his life. But, however, all these nations have come of late to share largely with them; and there seem to be grown too many traders for trade in the world, so as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous village, the first grocer, or mercer, that sets up among them, grows presently rich, having all the custom; till another, encouraged by his success, comes to set up by him, and share in his gains: at length, so many fall to the trade, that nothing is got by it, and some must give over, or all must break."

We shall not presume dogmatically to combat so great a man's opinion concerning this pretty comparison: yet we may here observe, that possibly every one may not admit the parallel exactly to hold, with regard to the commerce of the world in general; which, without doubt, has various new resources, new countries still to be discovered and traded to, and the trade to other countries before known may be still greatly increased: moreover, the vast improvement of the American plantations, since Sir William Temple's time, as well as of the East India trade, seems to evince, that although the Dutch trade be certainly long since past its meridian, yet the general commerce of Europe is visibly increased since the year 1673, when he wrote as above.

Nothing can more effectually demonstrate the immense benefit of commerce in general, and the prodigious increase of it in Holland at this time, than the great Pensionary De Witt's account, in his *Interest of Holland*, of the single province of Holland's being able, in this same year 1650, to sustain the weight of and pay the annual interest on so great a debt as one hundred and forty millions of guilders, contracted by their former war with Spain, beside other debts not at interest, amounting to thirteen millions more. "A capital debt," says our said author, "upon interest, which will not be believed by other nations, nor possibly by our successors in Holland, to have been able to be borne by so small a province, and, at the same time, many other heavy taxes, for the defence of themselves and their allies."

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The worsted manufacture of Norwich, and its-neighbourhood in Norfolk, known by the name of Norwich stuffs, being now arrived at an high pitch of reputation, by its great vent in foreign parts as well as at home, the Rump Parliament, in the year 1650, by their act, cap. xxxvi. “established a corporation of and for the worsted weavers of the city of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk; for the better rectifying of abuses therein, and for the “keeping up the goodness of that valuable manufacture.” Which corporation was again further confirmed in the years 1653 and 1656. Since which, the reputation of those stuffs, both for beauty and goodness, has greatly increased; and very great profit has accrued to the nation by their large exportation to foreign parts.

The city of Amsterdam was, by this time, become so vastly increased, that when the Prince of Orange had, in this year 1650, formed his unsuccessful scheme for surprizing it, Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part iii. chap. 2, relates, “that it was then “increased to six hundred morgens or acres of ground, and contained three hundred thousand “souls.” Which city it seems, in the year 1571, contained only two hundred morgens of land; so that, in seventy-nine years space, it had increased to three times its former magnitude.

That great author, who, being the first Minister of State of Holland, was undoubtedly perfectly well acquainted with this subject, further observes, that the whole province of Holland can scarcely make four hundred thousand and sixty profitable morgens of land, downs and heath being excluded. And that therefore the eighth part of its inhabitants cannot be sustained by what is raised or growing in it; and are therefore indebted for their bread to the prodigious granaries of Amsterdam.

On the same subject, the anonymous author of *The Happy Future State of England*, p. 105, published in folio, in the year 1689, observes, “How meanly the achievements of “Venice, and the efforts to aggrandize their republic, appear in history, notwithstanding the “longevity of that state, when compared with those of Holland; seeing, from the same author, (De Witt) it appears, that, in the year 1664, the province of Holland alone paid “near one million and a half sterling to the public charge of the whole Seven United Provinces, over and above the customs and other domains.” And “that the very religion of “Popery occasions the Venetians to be more circumscribed with regard even to their regulations of traffic than the Hollanders are.” Yet this author, in making such a parallel, might have more minutely considered the very different circumstances and situation, &c. of those two famous republics. Venice shut up in a deep gulph—remote from the main ocean—bordering for above three centuries past on the Turkish empire, during which it has thereby been kept in perpetual alarm, as well as by the Barbary corsairs in the Mediterranean. Holland, on the other hand, placed as it were in the very midst of Europe, and therefore much better situated for corresponding, both by sea and land, with most countries of the world; as well as happily situated also for its immense fisheries, of which and similar benefits Venice can by no means make an equal advantage.

In this same year 1650, the Caribbee isle of Anguilla, in the West Indies, was first settled on by some English people, whose posterity still hold it. It is reckoned of much the same nature with Barbuda, viz. chiefly for the breeding of cattle, and raising of corn. The people are reckoned few in number, poor and lazy, without government, laws, or clergy. Yet, in the year 1745, they, with only about one hundred men, repulsed six hundred French invaders with great bravery, and killed one hundred and fifty of them.

About

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About this time, the French made a settlement on the great Island of Madagascar, situated to the north east of the Cape of Good Hope, to which isle they gave the name of L'Isle Dauphine. They erected a fort near the south-west point of the island. Yet, after keeping possession for many years, they at length abandoned it, its commerce not answering the charge of keeping up the fort, garrisons, &c.

In this year wheat in England, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, was as dear as three pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence per quarter, or nine shillings and seven pence per bushel.

The favourers of the new English commonwealth, taking notice of the great convenience of the banks and lumber offices of the free states of Italy, and of those of Amsterdam, first began, about this time, to publish several projects for those purposes in London; and one Samuel Lamb, a merchant, did, in the year 1657, address a large folio pamphlet to Cromwell, the Protector, on this subject; though nothing was done in consequence thereof.

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In this year, the Rump Parliament, (vide *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 472) taking into their consideration, that the interest of money in several parts beyond sea was lower than the legal interest of it in England, whereby those English merchants who carried on their commerce on credit, with other men's money, undoubtedly trade to disadvantage in respect to the merchants of other countries: in regard also, the high interest for money keeps down the price of land: they prudently reduced the legal interest of money from eight to six per cent. And so it remained till the restoration of King Charles the Second, when the legal Parliament, finding the good effects which this reduction had produced, with respect to commerce, manufactures, tillage, and the landed interest in general, they confirmed the same, as will be seen, by a legal act of Parliament.

Sir Thomas Culpepper, senior, in his Preface to his second tract, against the high rate of usury, published in the year 1641, remarks, that, "within half an age, we have seen many improvements of land, and a vast increase of the bulk of trade, by the abatement of interest." He further remarks, "That it will seem incredible to such as have not considered it, but to any that will cast it up, it is plainly manifest, that one hundred pounds at ten in the hundred, in seventy years, multiplies itself to one hundred thousand pounds. So that if there should be one hundred thousand pounds of foreigners money now managed here at ten per cent. interest, (and that really seems no great matter) that one hundred thousand pounds in seventy years space, would carry out ten millions of money."

As, in our present times, Britain is necessarily obliged to pay to foreign nations the annual interest on many millions of our national debt, the above remark is an useful argument in favour of the present low interest thereon.

The said Rump Parliament of England now made another most excellent and memorable law, for the advancement of our shipping, navigation, and plantations.

It had been observed with concern, that the merchants of England for several years past had usually freighted the Hollanders shipping for bringing home their own merchandize, because their freight was at a lower rate than that of English ships. The Dutch shipping were thereby made use of even for importing our own American products; whilst our own shipping lay rotting in our harbours: our mariners also, for want of employment at home, went into the service of the Hollanders. To these considerations were superadded, the haughty carriage of the States of Holland in regard to the Parliament's demand of satisfaction for the murder of their envoy, Dr. Dorilaus, at the Hague, and of the insult of the Dutch mob on the Ambassador

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1651 fador they sent afterwards, whose proposals the States had also received very coldly. All which, jointly considered, determined the Rump Parliament to enact,

“ That no merchandize, either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also our own plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English built ships, and belonging either to English or English plantation subjects, navigated also by an English commander, and three-fourths of the sailors to be Englishmen: excepting, however, such merchandize as should be imported directly from the original place of their growth or manufacture in Europe solely.—Moreover, no fish should thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of our own home-ports to another, but what shall be caught by our own fishers only.” This was the first famous general act, commonly called, *The Act of Navigation*: and as it was, nine years after, confirmed or legally enacted, in the year 1660, (like the preceding one for the reduction of interest of money) we shall be then more particular in relation to the benefits arising therefrom.

It is, however, highly proper here to observe, that this last-recited law grievously affected the Dutch, who till now had been almost the sole carriers of merchandize from one country of Europe to another; the greatest part of whose imports into England being hereby cut off. For till this law was enacted, all nations in amity with England were at liberty to import what commodities they pleased, and in what shipping they pleased. By authority therefore of this law, the English frequently searched the Dutch ships, and often made prizes of them: whereupon, the States sent over four Ambassadors to expostulate with the Rump and Cromwell; who, in their turn, made five several demands on the States, viz.

“ I. The arrears of the tribute due for their fishing on the British coasts.

“ II. For restoring the Spice isles to England.

“ III. For bringing to justice such as were still alive who committed the cruelties at Amboyna and Banda.

“ IV. Satisfaction for the murder of their Envoy Dorislaus. And,

“ V. Reparation for the English damages sustained from the Dutch in Russia, Greenland, &c. amounting to so great a sum as one million seven hundred thousand pounds.”

Thus it is plain, that the Navigation Act proved the occasion of the cruel naval war which broke out in the year following: for these five demands were made with so much peremptoriness as convinced the States it was time to prepare for a war with England; of which more will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place.

In the mean time the novelty of this navigation act, and the ignorance of some traders, occasioned at first loud complaints, “ that although our own people had not shipping enough to import from all parts whatever they wanted, they were nevertheless by this law debarred receiving due supplies of merchandize from other nations, who only could, and till then did import them.” Which complaints were, however, over-ruled by the government, who foresaw that this act would in the end prove the great means of preserving our plantation trade entire,—would increase our own shipping and sailors, and draw the profit of freightage to ourselves.

In this same year, we find, by Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. ii. p. 201, a project was laid before the English commonwealth, for obtaining of the court of Spain the pre-emption of all Spanish wool. The projector observed, “ That this proposed pre-emption would totally dis-

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1651 “ solve the woollen manufacture of Holland; which, by means of that wool, hath of late
 “ mightily increased, to the destruction of the vent of all fine cloths of English manufacture
 “ in Holland, France, and the East Country, and hath drawn from us considerable numbers
 “ of weavers, dyers, and cloth-workers, now settled at Leyden, and other towns in Holland;
 “ by whose help they have very much improved their skill in cloth, and have made in that one
 “ province, one year with another, from twenty-four thousand to twenty-six thousand cloths
 “ yearly.—That the Hollanders have, of late years, bought and exported from Biscay, four-
 “ fifth parts, at least, of all their wools, and have also sold there proportionably of their own
 “ own country stuffs and sayes.—That the French have also considerable quantities of wool
 “ from Biscay, which they work up into cloth at Rouen, and other parts.”—Thus the pro-
 jector proposed a joint stock to be raised, for entirely engrossing all the Spanish wool; by
 which measure, the French also, who had already prohibited our cloths, would be obliged to
 take of us all the cloths they had need of; and also the like as to the Dutch, and all other
 nations. But this project did not take place; and was indeed a piece of fine-spun theory,
 scarcely reducible to practice.

Although the Portuguese first, and after them the English, had, in their voyages to the East
 Indies, visited the harbours and country about the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to
 make a settlement there, yet neither of those two nations had hitherto courage enough effec-
 tually to settle amongst so barbarous a people as the Hottentots were, who had formerly killed
 a number of Portuguese on some such attempt. Neither, indeed, were there found any good
 harbours for the security of shipping in those tempestuous seas. But the Dutch having more
 resolution, and observing the country to be fruitful, and that its situation would prove very
 commodious for the supply of water and provisions for their Indian voyages, they are said, in
 this year 1651, to have first settled at the Cape, where they built a good and spacious fort, and
 contracted friendship with the native Hottentots, or rather rendered themselves formidable,
 and also necessary to those natives; by which means, the Dutch have since gradually estab-
 lished a noble colony there, for many miles, north and north-east of the said Cape; where
 also they have transplanted the Madeira grape, producing here a much nobler and richer one
 than the original grape.

Nevertheless, some will have it, that their vines came from Persia, and others say from the
 Rhine. Hither also have the Dutch transplanted cinnamon trees from the isle of Ceylon.—
 They are also said to raise here considerable quantities of hemp, &c. So that the duties and
 revenues which their East India Company raises here, for they all belong to them, are said to
 be more than equal to their expence for this colony.—Here the company have warehouses and
 houses for their officers within the fort, and employ a great number of officers, servants, and
 negro slaves. Here also is an hospital for their sick sailors, &c. with an excellent garden,
 wherein all the curious and useful herbs, plants, &c. of Europe, Asia, and Africa, are suc-
 cessfully cultivated. It is, in short, a very hopeful prospect for the Dutch republic and their
 East India Company, who have greatly augmented the number of its plantations, by means of
 the French Protestants, who retired hither upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes.—So
 that it will be no wonder, if in another age, this Dutch colony does not vie with the finest
 countries, and prove the envy of the rest of the nations of Europe. The Dutch Company
 having hereupon abandoned St. Helena, our English Company took possession of that isle.

The English commonwealth testifying a great inclination for the advancement of commerce,
 we find, in this and some following years, abundance of printed projects for the promoting of

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1651 particular branches thereof; some of which have been adopted, and successfully put in practice, in our own times: others, indeed, though well enough suited to certain free cities in the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Poland, &c. wherein such projectors had resided, did not, however, so well suit with a great nation.

Such, of the former kind, were the proposed projects of charity-banks, and Lombards, or "Lumber-houses;" of the latter, "the making transferable all promissory notes between man and man, so as to circulate as our modern banks do: such was also the plausible project of one William Potter, in his Key of Wealth; and of Henry Robinson, &c. long since forgot, who urged the erecting of a land-bank, wherein all payments above ten pounds, or twenty pounds, should by law be directed to be made in bank credit; and that, beside the principal bank in London, there should be perhaps one hundred subordinate banks in different parts of England, all centering in the said capital bank of London: wherein, for the support of the credit thereof, a general mortgage of lands was proposed, for which the mortgagee should have credit in bank to the value of his land.—The condition of such mortgage shall be, either to pay so much money, with interest at six per cent. within a year from the day that bank credit should any way fail to be current, or, in default of such payment, the said mortgaged lands to be forfeited, without redemption, and to be divided amongst the proprietors of the credit in bank. Other projectors proposed banks on the plan of that at Amsterdam. Others proposed a general register of houses and ships, as well as of lands. A court-merchant, for the summary recovery of all debts, &c. Also some very ill-judged projects for the uniting into corporations all merchants trading into any one country, for the sake of what they called uniformity in trade." Most of which projects, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, and some after the accession of King William the Third, were again proposed to the public, with some variation in their form, purely for concealing their being only old projects palmed upon men for new ones. Such, for example, was Dr. Chamberlain's land-bank project, which was carried so near its execution, as to have had an act of Parliament in its favour, in the year 1696.

In this year 1651, died the renowned English architect Inigo Jones, Esquire: several of whose buildings in London, remaining to this day, as well as many more belonging to the nobility and gentry in the country, do his memory unrivalled honour. Among which, it is almost needless to mention the banqueting-house at Whitehall; an example of architectural taste and genius, which has not been excelled in any age or country.

In Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 198-9, the magistrates of Bruges, in 1651, again write a Latin letter to the English Merchant-adventurerers Company, to remind them,

"That in the days of Philip the Good, and Charles the Bold, Dukes of Burgundy, and also of the Archduke Maximilian, their city greatly flourished in commerce, and in the greatest plenty of all kinds of merchandize, so as justly to have obtained the reputation of the greatest emporium in all Europe. But as nothing sublunary is permanent, all these advantages are withdrawn, and adverse fortune is come in their place: so that this city, once the seat of wealth, riches, and honour, has since been the seat of war, which obliged the foreign merchants to abandon it, as did also the said society, with their commerce in woollen cloths, &c. But now a settled peace being established between the Belgic provinces and foreign states, some foreign merchants are preparing to settle at Bruges. And as they are informed of the willingness also of this society to re-settle there, they are hereby invited to come to the port of Ostend, and thence by water-carriage to Bruges, with their cloths, &c.

"to

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1651 “to be afterwards dispersed throughout Flanders, Brabant, Liege, Lorraine, &c. by most commodious navigations, by rivers and canals.” To this the company courteously answered, in the same language, “That as their said letters were entirely silent in the two most material articles, viz. the free exercise of their religion, and the duties to be paid, they desire a peremptory answer thereto; since the English Parliament, both out of their zeal for the worship of God, and for the honour of their nation, could never admit of a treaty for residence till those two articles be first agreed on.” So we hear no more about this residence: and, we apprehend, that it was now, or soon after this time, that this society began to make Hamburg her principal, and soon after, her sole residence and staple for the woollen manufacture.

1652 We are now come to the commencement of the first very bloody naval war between the two most potent republics which the world had ever seen since those of Rome and Carthage.

We have observed, under the preceding year 1651, that the new English act of navigation had curtailed the bulk of the commerce between England and Holland, consisting principally of foreign merchandize imported into, and English merchandize exported from England in Dutch vessels. In vain, as we have also seen, did the Hollanders remonstrate against that famous act, the English commonwealth being bent on a war with the Dutch: for, beside the five former demands of the English commonwealth, satisfaction was now insisted on for the Dutch ambassador's having held a private correspondence with King Charles the Second, and also for not giving the honour of the flag to all English ships of war. The States-General therefore prepared for war, by fitting out a numerous fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty warlike ships, great and small, though certainly not equal to ships of war in our days. Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part iii. chap. 6. speaks of it as a thing incredible, “That the States of Holland, during the chargeable war against England, from 1652 to 1654, should be able, in the space of two years, to build sixty new capital ships of war, of such dimensions and force as were never before used in the service of the state.” All our histories are full of the particulars of this war, which is therefore superfluous for us to enlarge on.

On the the side of the Dutch were the great Admirals Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt. The first of whom, upon his gaining some advantage, by the accidental great superiority in the Channel over Blake, in contempt of England's pretensions to being masters on the sea, sailed down the Channel with a broom at his main-top-gallant mast, to shew he would sweep the seas; for which he paid dearly next year.—On the English side, was the great Blake, with Monk and Deane.

It is sufficient to observe, that in this and the following year, almost incredible destruction and captures were made of merchant-ships, as well as of ships of war and sailors, on both sides; there having been in only nine months of the year 1652 four general naval engagements, beside lesser ones. Whilst all the great Popish potentates, and particularly France, were agreeably diverted to see the two most powerful Protestant powers destroying each other: in which sad conflicts we will leave them for this year.

In this same year, one Mr. Edwards, an English Turkey merchant, brought home with him a Greek servant, who understood the roasting and making of coffee, till then unknown in England. This servant was the first who sold coffee, and kept a house for that purpose in

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1652 London. Prosper Alpinus, a learned physician of Venice, who flourished about the year 1591, was the first who wrote of the nature of the coffee plant and berry; our great Lord Bacon, in his Natural History, was the next, and afterwards the ingenious Mr. John Ray.

Some relate, that coffee has not been generally used in Arabia, where it grows, and in Turkey, much above two hundred or at most two hundred and fifty years. It was first brought to Holland from Mocha in the year 1616, though it did not come into general use there for many years after. About the year 1690, the Dutch began to plant it at Batavia, in the island of Java: and in 1719 it was first imported thence into Holland. Since then the Dutch have planted a great deal of coffee in Ceylon as well as in Java; so that, in the year 1743, they imported into Holland three millions five hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven pounds weight of it from Java, and at the same time but twelve thousand three hundred and sixty-eight pounds from Mocha: so greatly had they improved their Java coffee. The English and French have also, of late years, successfully planted coffee in their West India isles, as the Dutch have also at Surinam, &c. although still inferior to that of Mocha, in Arabia, from whence all coffee originally came. If the European nations should continue, as of late years, to naturalize in their own western plantations the fine productions of China, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, it will in time bring the direct commerce to the Levant to a very narrow compass.

The coffee plant is said nearly to resemble the jessamine tree; bearing a fruit resembling a cherry, within which is inclosed a sort of kernel, which, when ripe, opens and divides into what is usually called coffee berries. All the coffee brought home by our Turkey ships comes only from Arabia, there being no coffee growing in Turkey properly so called, and is the very same which is brought home by our East India ships who trade up into the Red Sea. But as the former is brought over land from Arabia into Syria or to Egypt, and thence down the Nile to Alexandria, it is therefore said not to be esteemed quite so good as what is brought directly by sea from Mocha in our East India ships.

Coffee was unknown to the Ancients, although it undoubtedly grew always wild in Arabia. Mr. Wotton, in his Reflexions on ancient and modern Learning, conjectures, that the prohibition of wine, by the law of Mahomet, made the Arabs find out its virtues, for supplying the place of wine.

Tobacco being about the middle of this century grown into much greater esteem than formerly in England, considerable quantities thereof were planted in several counties, which thrived exceeding well, and proved very good in its kind: but as this not only lessened the duty on the importation of tobacco, but likewise greatly obstructed the sale of that commodity from our own colonies of Virginia, &c. which had cost so much expence in planting them; the loud complaints of the planters occasioned an act of the Rump Parliament, in this year 1652, absolutely prohibiting the planting of any in England. Cromwell and his council, in the year 1654, appointed commissioners for strictly putting this act in execution: and, that we may not have recourse again to this subject, in the twelfth year of King Charles the Second, cap. 34, in the year 1660, it was again legally enacted, "that from the first of January 1660-1, no person whatever should sow or plant any tobacco in England, under certain penalties. So that an end was thereby effectually put to that practice.

We may clearly observe the late great increase of England's wealth by commerce, when in this year 1652, as well as in the succeeding year, the nation was able to bear an assessment of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per month, beside other great fixed taxes.

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In this year the isle of Grenada, in latitude twelve degrees sixteen minutes, was first settled by the French from Martinico, after some struggle with the natives. It is said, by the French historian of the Caribbee isles, to have produced sugar canes, ginger, indigo, and excellent tobacco.

The great dearth in England still continuing, says the *Chronicon Preciosum*, wheat was sold this year at three pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per quarter, or nine shillings and two-pence per bushel.

Hackney coaches were in this year 1652 limited to two hundred in number, daily plying in London streets.

Under this same year, we find, by Secretary Thurloe's state papers, vol. i. p. 219, that the Swedes had then a settlement on the gold coast of Africa, managed by an African Company: for Queen Christina of Sweden made a complaint to the Parliament of the English commonwealth, that, in the said year, their ships of war had taken two of that Company's ships homeward bound, and had seized on all gold, &c. in them.

A virulent pamphlet was now written against the English East India Company, entitled, *Strange News from India*, calculated to favour the solicitations of Sir William Courten's heirs, acting under a separate patent of King Charles the First, for trading to India.

It is therein alleged, "that whereas our people, in the beginning of the East India trade, had made particular running voyages thither, only to enrich a few; they were afterwards united in a joint stock company; and since then, they being a destructive monopoly, have misemployed or mispent in one joint stock one million six hundred thousand pounds, and in several joint stocks three millions six hundred thousand pounds, impoverishing our nation by the exporting of much bullion.—Yet, which is wonderful, not yet provided with one port or place of their own in India, for a rendezvous." How can this be true, since we have seen, that the Company had possessed Madras ever since the year 1620: which this author himself acknowledges in another part of this piece; though indeed not a good port, being but an open road: "whilst the Dutch Company had thirty impregnable cities in India, and employed two hundred and fifty sail of ships.—That by the old English Company's neglecting of Ormus and the Portuguese prizes," he should have, in justice, added, by their differences with the Dutch East India Company, "their trade continued decaying from 1617 to 1634: inasmuch, that their actions or shares were frequently sold, from party to party, at thirty, thirty-five, to forty per cent. loss, and some much more. That the loss of the Spice Islands, seized by the Dutch, is valued at one hundred thousand pounds per annum consequence to the nation. That about the year 1632, and since, a treaty was on foot between King Charles the First and our Company, on the one part, and the Dutch Company on the other part, touching our claim to those Spice Islands: but that although eighty thousand pounds was agreed to be paid by the Dutch Company, yet King Charles and our Company could not agree or settle their respective shares thereof; and so the matter was dropped, and the Dutch have kept possession of those isles.—That this languishing condition of our said Company inclined the King and Council, in the year 1635, to grant a patent to Sir William Courten to trade to and plant in such places only where the old Company did not trade. That the said enterprize of Courten's greatly alarmed the Dutch Company, who seized on one of his ships bound from Goa for China, &c."

In this and other writings, in behalf of Courten's representatives, our said Company is accused of having combined with the Dutch Company to ruin Courten's projects. Mr. Courten,

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1652 ten, son and executor of Sir William, continued the trade till 1646, when, as he alleges, by the cruel usage of the English and Dutch Companies, he was forced to abandon it, to the damage of several hundred thousand pounds. His obsolete complaint was revived after the restoration of King Charles the Second; yet we do not find, that any redress was ever obtained, and indeed it was not much to be wondered at, when it is considered, that Courten's original grant was made in prejudice of our East India Company's exclusive charter.

1653 In this year, the treaty made between Denmark and the Dutch, for farming the toll in the Sound, in the year 1649, was rescinded, and a new one was concluded at Copenhagen, as in vol. i. p. 482, of Thurloe's State Papers, by which the Dutch advanced on the said new farm of the toll the sum of five hundred and twenty-five thousand guilders to the crown of Denmark, by way of anticipation: the Danish Court agreeing to repay that sum in annual payments, with five per cent. interest.

The postage of a great trading nation's letters is undoubtedly, in some degree, a kind of political pulse whereby to judge of the increase or decrease of the public wealth and commerce: yet it would be more especially so where franking of letters by members of Parliament did not take place; which, it is apprehended, was not the case as yet in England, whose council of state did, in this year 1653, farm the postage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to John Manley, Esq; for ten thousand pounds yearly; which was confirmed by the Protector, in the year 1654. By this settlement single letters carried as far as eighty miles paid two-pence, and double ones four-pence. Beyond eighty miles three-pence, and double ones six-pence. We shall hereafter see this revenue greatly increased, in consequence of the increase of our general commerce, and also by an additional postage enacted in 1711.

The naval war between the two first republics of the universe still continued very fierce. In June, this year 1653, the fifth general engagement happened off Dover: Monk and Deane commanded the English fleet of one hundred sail; and Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and the two Evertsens, commanded the Dutch one, of above one hundred ships of war. After continually fighting for two days, the Dutch were discomfited, having eleven of their ships taken, six sunk, and two blown up; with but little loss on the side of the English. From this disaster Van Tromp, in a memorial to his masters the States General, set forth, that the ships and guns of the Dutch fleet were too slender, in comparison with those of the English. And, in the first volume, p. 290, of Thurloe's State Papers, we find, Admiral De Ruyter expressly declaring, that he would not return to sea, if his fleet were not reinforced with greater and better ships. For, as appears by an intercepted letter for Holland, *ibid.* the English Commonwealth had then actually two hundred and four ships of war, great and small, and thirty-five thousand seamen. And, *ibid.* p. 514, by another intercepted letter from Holland, in October this year, the principal terror of the Dutch was from our great ships.—And our English fleets lying on the Dutch coasts, during most part of this year, was very grievous to their merchants, whereby their homeward bound fleets and convoys were in danger of falling into our hands. Their fishing ships also were kept from going out; which brought immediate calamity on their people.

The Dutch fleets, however, when joined, made one hundred and thirty ships, some of which indeed were East India ships, fitted up for this war. Yet such was the then naval strength of Holland, that, in little more than a month, they fitted out one hundred and twenty-five ships of war, under Van Tromp; who, in July this same year, had another great engagement with Monk, on their own coast, when there were twenty-seven Dutch ships either

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1653 sunk or burnt, but none taken; occasioned by Monk's orders, neither to give nor take quarter. Here also they lost their great Admiral Van Tromp. Ker of Ker's second volume of *Memoirs* says, that great Admiral's ship, the largest in the Dutch navy, carried no more than sixty-six cannon; but the States quickly discovered their want of great ships, and therefore, in this same year, built twenty ships of from fifty to eighty guns. Yet we shall see, by a much better authority, that, three years after, their largest ship carried but seventy-six guns. On the English side, there were many men slain, though only one ship lost.

So great was the naval power of England at this time, that it appears by Thurloe, *ibid.* that the Venetian ambassador in England came to solicit the continuance of some English ships of war in that republic's service some time longer. A sure mark, however, of the feeble state of the naval power of Venice.

In this same year 1653, an attempt for a north east passage to China was made, by order of King Frederic III. of Denmark; who sent out three vessels, which, it seems, actually passed through Waygats Streights; an enterprize that neither English nor Dutch had been able in former attempts fully to accomplish. Yet in the bay beyond those Streights they found insurmountable obstacles from the ice and intenseness of the cold; so that they were obliged to return without success: and so, probably, will every one who may hereafter attempt what from repeated trials has been found so impracticable. Yet, even subsequent to this date, the Hollanders, in their northern voyages, are said to have again tried for this passage, but without being able to proceed so far eastward as was done in this Danish attempt.

Notwithstanding what we have related concerning the Dutch first settling on the Cape of Good Hope, under the year 1651, others relate, that it was not till this year that the Dutch East India Company, who had before been more accustomed than other European nations to stop at the Cape of Good Hope in their India voyages, for refreshments, which they purchased of the Hottentots for mere trifles, determined to make a settlement there.

Voltaire, in his *General History of Europe*, insists that they, in this year, seized on a Portuguese fort there; although it does not clearly appear from other accounts, that the Portuguese ever had either fort or settlement on that Cape. Yet, as it is frequently convenient, and not seldom absolutely needful, to stop at or near that place, it was a very wise measure in the Dutch Company to secure a good refreshing place there. Others make their first settlement here even to be still five years later, viz. 1658. Be this as it may, it is in our days become not only a considerable fortress, but, partly by cultivating a friendship with the savage natives, and partly by sending thither many Europeans, as we have related under the said year 1651, it is grown to be a fine and fruitful colony, extending a considerable way into the country; which produces not only necessary refreshments for their ships, but many excellent fruits, and also some of the richest wines in the known world.

1654 In Thurloe's second volume of *State Papers*, p. 558, we learn, that, in the year 1654, a fleet of English merchant ships sailed to Archangel, and with them William Prideaux, Esq; who, in his letter to the governor of Archangel, styles himself only, Messenger of his Highness the Lord Protector to his Imperial Majesty, the Czar: wherein he wrote, "that where-
" as there hath been a distance from commerce for some time by the English merchants to the
" said port of Archangel; they are now come thither, with their ships laden with goods. So
" it is required of the governor, in the name of the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of
" England, Scotland, and Ireland, to know if trade shall be permitted with freedom; and, if
" granted, on what terms." To which the governor answers, "that the English company
" is.

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1654 " is licenced, by his Imperial Majesty of all Russia, to trade in Archangel in all unprohibited goods ; they paying the same custom as other strangers do. And that, as soon as the English have done trading at that port, they must go beyond sea, *i. e.* home, and not be permitted, as anciently, to go up to Moscow, nor to any other part of Russia : but what goods shall be left unsold may either remain at Archangel or be carried back to England. Mr. Brideaux however is permitted to go to Moscow, to acquaint his Imperial Majesty with his said commission from the Protector." We need here only to remark, that the Protector, without doubt, knew before-hand on what terms his message and ships would be received ; and, in order to soften that Czar, he now gives him the title of Emperor ; which title however has not been legally recognized till our own times.

In the third volume, p. 50, of the said State Papers, a letter of intelligence, in this same year, from the Hague, relates, that the Czar had banished the English from Archangel, at the request of the Lord Culpepper, agent for King Charles : and that the King of Poland, in this same year, had sent a minister to the Protector, to instigate him against Muscovy ; insinuating, that it would be no hard matter to take Archangel by our fleet.

Mr. Prideaux, in his letter, this same year, to the Council, complains of the badness of trade at Archangel ; partly occasioned by the Russians not permitting any foreigners to trade up into the country from Archangel, and partly because of the Dutch ships coming thither, which kept up the prices of Russia goods ; and partly also by the Czar's war with Poland.

In the said Thurlow's collection of State Papers, we find, in vol. ii. p. 266 and 280, the famous Whitelocke, the English ambassador in Sweden, complaining to that court, that the Swedes had seized an English Guinea Company's fort, on that coast. The Swedes, in excuse, alleged, that it was only a little lodge, with two chambers : and they insisted on a prior grant thereof from the Prince of that part of the country. Whatever might be the issue of this trifling matter, it is plain, that Sweden, at this time, had some trade to the coast of Guinea, although they at present have no settlement any where without the Baltic Sea.

The war between the two republics of England and Holland was carried on in such a manner as rendered it absolutely impossible for either nation to hold it out much longer, without reducing one of the two parties to an absolute subjection to the other. It was so extremely visible that England had the superiority, that De Witt himself, though a foe to the English name, in his Interest of Holland, p. 314, declares the great superiority of the English in strength of shipping, (for it was merely a naval war,) and that they were now become masters of the sea. Not only men and money must soon have been wanting, but one would think that ship timber itself should soon have failed for supplying the loss of so many large ships : since, beside the many ships of war destroyed, the Hollanders had lost seven hundred merchant ships in the two years war of 1652 and 1653. Necessity therefore compelled them to send ambassadors to the Protector, Cromwell, to sue for peace, and to accept of such terms as he thought fit to grant.

This peace was concluded on the fifth of April, 1654 : by which mutual friendship and commerce were re-established between them. The most remarkable commercial articles whereof were in substance as follows, viz.

" That the ships of the Dutch, as well ships of war as others, meeting any of the ships of war of the English commonwealth in the British seas, shall strike their flag, and lower their topsail ; in such manner as hath ever been at any time heretofore practised under any former government."

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✂ This was the first instance of England's establishing the right of the flag, by a formal treaty: but, suspecting that the Dutch might scruple to pay the same honour to a commonwealth as had before been paid to their Kings, the English republic now determined to make an express article for it.

“ The States General shall see justice done on the authors and abettors of the barbarous murders committed on the English at Amboyna, in the year 1622-3, if any of them be yet alive.”

In Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 592, there is a letter of intelligence from the Hague, dated September, 1654, signifying, that, by a subsequent treaty, the Dutch envoys had adjusted with the Protector all the differences between the two nations about East India concerns; the Dutch agreeing to pay eighty-five thousand pounds, and to restore the island of Poleron to the English Company; also three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds for the representatives of the sufferers in the business of Amboyna; which was very acceptable to the Dutch, as their ambassadors wrote, more especially as to that of Amboyna, which had carried so ill a face. These two sums were to be paid in January and March following.

And in vol. iii. *ibid.* we find the said eighty-five thousand pounds was actually lodged in the hands of Sir Thomas Viner and Alderman Riccard, until the other mutual claims of both Companies should be adjusted, for which end the Protector had now appointed commissioners; as we shall presently see.

“ Certain English ships and goods having, by the influence of the Dutch, been seized and detained within the dominions of Denmark, since May 1652; the States General oblige themselves to make restitution to the proprietors, with damages, &c. for detention. And two arbitrators from each commonwealth were to meet in Goldsmith's-hall at London, and to take an oath, to proceed, without respect or relation had to either state, or to any particular interest whatever, for the adjustment of this matter: and, unless they agree upon sentence before the first of August 1654, the aforesaid arbitrators shall from that day be shut up in a chamber by themselves, without fire, candle, meat, drink, or any other refreshment, till such time as they shall come to an agreement concerning the matters referred to them.”

This is, perhaps, the most singular stipulation that was ever made between two independent nations. The award was, that the States General should pay in London, for the use of the aggrieved persons, ninety-seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds and tenpence sterling. Vide vol. iii. p. 112, &c. of the General Collection of Treaties, in four volumes, octavo, second edition, published in the year 1732.

“ In case the commissioners to be appointed, by both republics, to meet at London, for adjusting all damages and injuries which either nation may allege to have sustained from the other, since the year 1611 to the eighteenth of May 1652, as well in the East Indies as in Greenland, Muscovy, Brasil, &c. do not, within three months after their first meeting together, come to an agreement, then their differences are hereby submitted to the arbitration of the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, who shall appoint like commissioners, to give final judgment within six months following: which judgment shall bind both parties.”

Beside these there was a secret article, whereby the States promised Cromwell, the Protector, not to chuse the Prince of Orange for their Stadtholder, nor Captain General.

At the same time, the English East India Company exhibited at large all their claims for damages sustained in India by the Dutch Company, from the year 1611 to 1652, amounting

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1654 to so vast a sum as two millions six hundred and ninety-five thousand nine hundred and ninety pounds fifteen shillings—Principal, sterling money : and the interest, say they, if computed to this time, will amount to a far greater sum : even exclusive of the islands of Poleron and Lantore.

This vast sum is made up of seventeen articles of damages and losses, which the English Company alleged to have sustained from the frauds and violences of the Dutch Company, in the Molucca isles, at Jacatra, Bantam, Poleron, Lantore, Persia, Surat, Sumatra, and the Cape of Good Hope. Where observe, “ that our Company, say they, in the reign of King “ James I.” but they name not the year, “ took possession of those lands at that Cape, and “ caused a rampart to be cast up, called James’s Mount, on which they planted the English “ colours. And they therefore now demanded, that the inheritance of those territories might “ always remain in the power of the English ; and that they may be free to colonize and for- “ tify there, and to trade thence at pleasure.”

These seventeen articles of claim may be seen at large in the Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, in four volumes, octavo, printed in the year 1732 ; on which therefore we shall not be more particular in this place.

On the other side, the Dutch East India Company exhibited; by way of counter demand, eleven articles ; “ for expences by them contributed beyond their quota, by reason of a defi- “ ciency on our Company’s part, during seventeen years.—The English Company’s half of “ the expence of defending Fort Gueldres in Pellicate, and at the siege of Bantam.—Their “ one-third of the sums laid out in the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, after February 1622, “ when the English left off paying their quota in those parts.” This was a most impu- dent demand ; when it was known, that, in the said year 1622, the Dutch Company had com- plicated the expulsion of the English Company from all those islands : and yet this same modest demand was for no less than five hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling. “ For the Dutch “ Company’s loss by the seizing and detaining three of their ships at Portsmouth, bound to “ Surat. For their half share of the loss of the pepper trade at Bantam for six years, computed “ to be as great as that of the English, demanded in their before-named articles,” viz. six hundred thousand pounds sterling. “ For the extra charges of the Dutch Company for con- “ voys for the merchant ships returning from India by the north seas, for twenty years ; and “ for wages extraordinary for the sailors. For provisions lent to the English Company. For “ wages of the Company’s several ships and pinnaces, and the cost of others employed in the “ service of the joint trade, &c.”

And, in fine, the Dutch Company determining to out-do the demands of the English Com- pany, first exhibited, they made the whole amount to no less than two millions nine hundred and eighteen thousand six hundred and eleven pounds three shillings and six-pence sterling.

Thus the two Companies made demands on each other, more like mighty potentates than private societies of merchants : yet we are not to be surprized thereat, when we consider their immense trade to and from India and Persia ; and that the several spices of those days were in much greater request than they are in our time. It is, however, more than probable, that both Companies pretensions were exaggerated, although, by the issue, it appears that those of the Dutch were much more so than the English. So their vouchers and documents were referred to four commissioners, appointed by each Company ; who, without doubt, found it difficult enough to adjust such intricate accounts and demands to the mutual satisfaction of their con- stituents.

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The consequent award is dated the thirtieth of August, 1654, as in the third volume of the before-quoted Collection of Treaties, not only by virtue of powers from their respective Companies, but likewise by the authority of the Protector and of the States General; being in substance,

“ That, being desirous to reconcile and re-establish a perpetual agreement between the two Companies, they have decided and determined as follows, viz.

“ I. We hereby make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether wipe out, and commit to oblivion, so as never to be revived at any time, and upon any pretence, by any person whatever, all the complaints, pretensions, and controversies above-mentioned; and all others whatsoever which either Company may have made on each other, of what kind soever they may be.

“ II. We decree, that the Dutch East India Company shall restore to the English East India Company the isle of Poleron, in the state it is now in.

“ III. We decree and ordain, that the Dutch Company shall pay to the said English Company, here in London, eighty-five thousand pounds sterling.

“ IV. As to the complaints and demands made in the name of some private Englishmen, who complain of having received injury and damage at Amboyna, in the year 1622-3,” the English Company’s damage by violences committed then and there, being given up or compensated by the preceding articles, “ after having heard and considered the matters which have been alleged and exhibited by the above-mentioned deputies of the Dutch Company, in their own defence; and we being desirous, that no reliefs of complaint should remain, do, by virtue of the full powers and authority aforesaid, appoint and ordain, that all complaint, action, and damage of the English whomsoever, whether public or private, on the score of any injury or damage which they pretend to have suffered at Amboyna, in the year 1622, of the English stile, and 1623, new stile, may be made void, terminated, and committed to oblivion. And that no person shall enter any action on that account, nor molest, disturb, or vex the said Dutch Company, nor any Dutchmen on that pretext. And, on the other hand, we also declare and ordain, that the said Dutch Company shall pay here at London, before the first of January next, the sum of three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling, viz. to the nephew and administrator of the effects of Gabriel Towerfon, late of Amboyna, deceased, seven hundred pounds: and in like manner to the representatives of the other sufferers in the then cruel massacre and tortures at Amboyna, various different sums, to make up the said sum total of three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds. And on this consideration we insist that their actions or suits be altogether set aside, and cancelled, so as never to be revived hereafter by any person whomsoever.

“ In witness whereof we have subscribed these presents, and sealed them with our seals, the thirtieth of August, English stile, 1654.

“ JOHN EXTON, &c. (L. S.)

“ ANDRIAN VAN AELMONDE, &c. (L. S.)”

Upon this famous award, very little by way of remark is necessary. Certainly Cromwell had the Dutch at this time very much in his power: yet, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that the Dutch East India Company had committed many outrages on the English Company, to their very great damage, by which they had brought our said Company into very low circumstances.

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It is moreover but too evident, that, even supposing the facts alleged against the English at Amboyna had been all clearly made out, yet the barbarities and cruelties committed there against them by the Dutch were absolutely unjustifiable in the highest degree. But as the business of Amboyna has been so frequently and unreasonably brought on the stage against the whole Dutch nation, it is but reasonable it should be hereafter buried in oblivion.

In this same year 1654, an act of the Protector's Parliament limited the number of hackney coaches within the cities of London and Westminster, and six miles round the late lines of communication, to three hundred, and to six hundred hackney coach horses: the government and regulation of them, with respect to their stands, rates, &c. to be in the Court of Aldermen of London. Every such coach to pay twenty shillings yearly, for defraying the expence of regulating of them.

The same year Cromwell and his Parliament, considering how incongruous it was, that vassalage and servile superiorities should remain in one part of the same republic, whilst freedom, wealth, and commerce were so much boasted of in the other part of it, enacted, the total abolition thereof in Scotland.

Had this regulation been confirmed by a legal Parliament after the restoration, and a law had been made for obliging landlords to grant, and for enabling tenants to take, by certain encouragements, long leases of their farms, that country would long before now have worn a more favourable aspect. But, at the restoration of King Charles the Second, some evil-minded persons about the King possessed him with a notion, that the said superiorities, &c. were far from being a grievance to the crown, who might, by means of a few pensions, successfully make use of the vassal clans for keeping the rest of Scotland in subjection: in which they were far from being greatly mistaken.

Cromwell now concluded a treaty of peace and alliance, vol. iii. p. 97, &c. of the General Collection of Treaties, with King John IV. of Portugal; wherein were several articles advantageous to the trade of England, both with respect to England's freely trading to Brasil, &c. in a greater degree than since that period. The manner and times of unlading their cargoes, and of disposing thereof, as well as of their purchasing and lading of their homeward bound cargoes, as also for their freedom from troubles and losses upon account of the inquisition there. The freedom also for the English to trade to the Portuguese colonies in India; and the security of the goods of the English dying in Portugal. Which, being in part confirmed by subsequent and more legal treaties, it is not necessary for us, at this time, to enlarge thereon.

In this same year 1654, Cromwell concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with Denmark: by which England was to be favoured as much in the customs, tolls, &c. as were the Hollanders, or any other nation, Sweden only excepted; who at this time paid no toll in passing the Sound. Neither were the English ships, sailing up the Elbe to Hamburg, to pay any toll or custom, nor to be searched or stopped at Gluckstadt, nor at any other fort or place on the Elbe belonging to Denmark. Vide vol. iii. p. 136, &c. of the General Collection of Treaties, in octavo, second edition, 1732.

Although England, long before this time, had been in possession of the greatest woollen manufacture of any nation whatever, and actually made the very finest cloth as well as stuffs, &c. yet such was the industry and application of the Hollanders, that they had still the credit of dying and dressing our fine cloths better than our people could as yet do. Our fine white
cloths

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1654 cloths were therefore, for the most part, still sent over to Holland, for that purpose, and returned back to England dyed and dressed.

This circumstance accounts for an assertion in an ingenious and judicious pamphlet, published in the year 1694, p. 5 and 6, entitled, *The Interest of England considered*, viz. "that, not above forty years before, our nobility and gentry were furnished from Holland with the finest cloth." Yet, soon after, our dyers and cloth dressers got the better of this defect; although the Dutch scarlets and blacks are said by some to retain a superior credit even to this day.

In this same year some of Cromwell's ships reduced the forts in Nova Scotia, in the bay of Fundy, &c. which in his treaty with France, in the following year, he could not be brought to restore. Yet, upon a remonstrance to him from Monsieur de la Tour, of the House of Bouillon, setting forth, that he had before made a purchase of Nova Scotia from the Earl of Sterling, Cromwell consented to its being given up to him.

In our times, such bargains of a subject to alienate to one of another nation any such considerable part of the crown's territory would not be deemed legal: but that country's great importance was not well understood till long after this time. Monsieur de la Tour, however, soon after sold Nova Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor of it till the restoration of King Charles II.

In the same year Cromwell, the English Protector, concluded, at Upsal, a treaty of peace with Christina, the famous Queen of Sweden: which, relating solely to the general freedom of commerce and navigation on both sides, requires no particular recital. Vide vol. iii. p. 89 to 97, of the *General Collection of Treaties*, in four volumes, octavo, second edition, published in the year 1732.

Probably by or about this time Sunderland began to be a town of some consideration; although in Camden's time, in the year 1607, it was not of consequence enough to be taken notice of by him in his *Britannia*. Bishop Gibson, in his English edition of Camden, published in 1695, says, "that Sunderland was then a handsome, populous town, on the southern bank of the river Were, in the bishopric of Durham, built since Camden's time, and very much enriched by the coal trade. Were the harbour," says the Bishop, "deep enough to receive ships of the same burden as the river Tyne can do, it would be no small detriment to Newcastle."

In this same year the English Protector, Cromwell, for the support of his own peculiar interest, though much against the true interest of England, now joined with France in a war against Spain, which by this time had been already too much depressed. Which ill-advised war occasioned large seizures of our effects in Spain, with great losses at sea, and interrupted our profitable commerce with that country,—thereby also enabling the wiser Hollanders to get surer footing in the Spanish trade;—and being the cause also of introducing into England a relish for French frippery, and, which was worst of all, destroying still more, in favour of France, the just equilibrium of power in Europe.

About the middle of this seventeenth century there were various bloody engagements on the seas between the Venetians and the Turks. Yet although the former were generally victors on that element, the latter, nevertheless, continued to get ground on the former at land, as in Candia, &c. The Turks also gained ground of the House of Austria on the side of Hungary, as they did also on the side of Poland.

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In this same remarkable year, after the Dutch West India Company had gradually lost all their other strong holds in Brasil, their capital fort and port of the Receif was taken from them by the Portuguese; by which capture, after thirty years possession of a great part of that country, they were now quite expelled from it; and the said Dutch West India Company received an irrecoverable blow. Yet this same loss bringing on a war between those two nations, till the year 1661, the Dutch East India Company's successes against the Portuguese in India more than countervailed the other Company's losses: they having despoiled the Portuguese of almost all their valuable possessions in India. By those truly royal conquests in Brasil, Angola, St. Thomas, &c. which the States and the Prince of Orange persuaded the said West India Company to undertake, the greatest part of their capital was exhausted; they having spent thereon in all one hundred and sixty-eight millions of guilders, or about sixteen millions sterling. Yet their remaining conquests on the Guinea coast have proved of infinite benefit to the Dutch commerce, and would be still more so were their colonies in America more considerable.

By the erecting of this exclusive West India Company, says De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, we have quite lost our open trade to Guinea, and that of salt in the West Indies. In another place he observes, "that whilst the Hollanders were at war with Spain, the erection of their East India and West India Companies was a necessary evil; because our people," says he, part. i. chap. 19, "would be trading to such countries where our enemies were too strong for particular adventurers, in order to lay the foundation of those trades by powerful armed societies. But those trades being now well settled, it may be justly doubted, whether the said Companies ought any longer to be continued." In Niewhoff's second volume of Voyages, it is asserted, that when the Dutch, in the year 1660, by treaty, yielded up all Brasil to Portugal, the Dutch were to be paid eight million of guilders, and also to be allowed a free trade to Portugal, Guinea, and Brasil, paying only the same custom as the native Portuguese: but this treaty is not now in force, and perhaps never existed with all those advantages.

In this year died the very learned John Selden, Esq; a great antiquarian and civilian, author of the book entitled, *Marc Clausum*, which we have already sufficiently noticed.

In the same year a number of persons of distinction in London seemed earnestly to set about the herring fishery: and, for their encouragement, the English commonwealth granted them an exemption from the duties on salt and on naval stores, to be used in their said fishery. Collections were likewise made at London, and other parts, towards the erecting of wharfs, docks, and storehouses; and for the purchasing of ground for the making and tanning of their nets. Yet this attempt proved unsuccessful.

In Thurloe's second volume, p. 64, of State Papers, we have an estimate from the commissioners of the English Admiralty Board of the whole charge of the navy, for that winter and the summer ensuing, viz. 1.

1.	For that winter and the summer ensuing, viz.	850,610	0	0
2.	For the additional expence of the sea ordnance.	63,208	13	8
3.	And if Admiral Blake's and Admiral Penn's ships, &c. are to be kept up till the first of October, it will cost further	108,919	0	0
4.	For the provisions of one thousand additional men	26,000	0	0

Total, 1,048,737 13 8

In

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1655 In the said third volume, p. 80, of Thurloe's State Papers, we have a letter of intelligence from the Hague, dated the fifteenth of January, 1654-5, purporting,

"That the merchants of Amsterdam had advice, that the Lord Protector will dissolve the East India Company at London, and will declare the navigation and commerce to the Indies to be free and open; which doth cause great jealousy at Amsterdam, as a thing that will very much prejudice the East India Company in Holland."

This it seems was actually done about this time, but, the damage occasioned by this measure to that trade obliged the Protector to re-inflate that Company, as we shall see, three years after this time.

In the ninth edition of Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, we find the Hollanders, who had so great a share of commerce in the countries bordering on the Baltic Shores, frequently interposing in the quarrels between the northern crowns; the constant aim of the Dutch republic being wisely to preserve an equilibrium between those northern potentates, as the best means to support the freedom of their great commerce to those countries. Particularly, says that author, "in the year 1655, the Dutch growing jealous of the great success of the Swedes against Poland, lest they should, in the end, become matters of Prussia, they stirred up the King of Denmark, Frederick III. against them." But the Danes being worsted in this war, the Hollanders sent a fleet first to the assistance of the city of Dantzic, insulted by the Swedish fleet, and next to relieve Copenhagen, besieged by the Swedish fleet, with which the Dutch had a sea fight, wherein they lost two Admirals, but gained their main point of raising the siege of Copenhagen. The Dutch also were assisting to the Danes, in the following year, in a sea fight against Sweden near the Sound; which, in the end, brought about a peace between those two kingdoms."

It is undoubtedly the interest of all Europe, but more especially of the free commercial states of it, that a just balance be preserved between the said northern potentates; so as no one of them be permitted to swallow up, or even to be greatly superior to the rest.

We find by the author of a book, entitled, *England's Grievance discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade*, published in the year 1655, already quoted under the years 1637 and 1638, that, so early as this year 1655, coals from Newcastle were usually sold at above twenty shillings the chaldron. The scope of this author was, "that the coal owners of Northumberland and of the Bishopric of Durham might have liberty to sell their coals directly to the masters of ships; and for a free market at Shields, with leave to lay ballast there, whereby," says he, "coals would be brought down to twenty shillings the chaldron all the year round: whereas now the owners of the collieries must first sell their coals to the magistrates of Newcastle,—the magistrates to the masters of ships,—the masters of ships to the London wharfingers,—and these last to the venders: every change of the property enhancing the price of the coals.

"By having a free market at Shields," our author alleges, "that provisions would be had cheaper for the multitude of shipping, being above nine hundred sail; and also for the inhabitants there: and that coals being bought directly from the first hand, there might be as many more voyages," to London, "in a year as now they make. That there are accounted at Newcastle three hundred and twenty keels, or lighters, each of which carries yearly eight hundred chaldrons of coals, Newcastle measure, on board the ships; and that one hundred and thirty-six chaldrons of Newcastle measure is equal to two hundred and seventeen chaldrons of London measure."

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1655 To what this author so plausibly alleges we need only to add, that the enhanced price of coals since his time is really become a great burthen to our commercial and manufacturing people, and to all the industrious poor in and near London; and that it would be doing very great service to trade, if a method could be found out for reducing it; and even for fixing coals to a standard price, if possible, which, with certain necessary regulations therein, some have been of opinion might be effected, at least in peaceable times. It seems indeed worthy the consideration of our legislature, that two millions, at least, of people should no longer have so grievous a monopoly lying upon them, and on commerce, merely for the aggrandizing of a few families.

While Cromwell was deliberating on the different proposals of France and Spain, to gain him to their side, says the author of his life, published in the year 1741, one Gage, who had been a Romish priest, but now was become a Protestant, returned from the Spanish West Indies, where he had resided many years; and gave the Protector so particular an account of the wealth as well as feeble state of the Spaniards in these parts, as induced him to determine on an attempt to conquer both the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba; as his success therein, according to Gage, would make the rest of Spanish America an easy conquest; and as moreover, one Simon de Cafferres, a Spaniard, had also been consulted in it.

In consequence of this determination Vice Admiral Penn was, in this year 1655, sent out with thirty ships of war and about four thousand land forces: but neither France nor Spain could penetrate into its destination.—The troops landed on Hispaniola, near St. Domingo, but in a bad part of the island, and, marching without proper guides through thick woods, &c. six hundred of our men were slain by the Spaniards, with Major General Holmes: whereupon they embarked with the remainder, and sailed for Jamaica; “a place,” as Colonel Modyford writes, from Barbadoes, in *Thurloe*, vol. iii. p. 565, “far more proper for our purposes, by situation, than either Hispaniola or Porto Rico,—far more convenient for attacking on the Spanish fleets, and more especially for the Carthagenan fleet.”

Cromwell's intention does not appear to have been absolutely fixed to any particular place in the West Indies; his instruction to General Venables being merely discretionary. It was even left to his judgment whether to attempt Carthagenan, the Havannah, or Porto Rico, or settle on some part of the terra firma, to the windward of Carthagenan. They arrived, however, at Jamaica, on the third of May 1656, and marched directly to its capital, St. Jago, from whence the Spaniards fled to the mountains and other inaccessible places, with their best effects.—And, after some time, retired to the island of Cuba, leaving behind them their negroes and mulattoes in the woods, for harassing the English, until they should return and relieve them; but the English at Jamaica being recruited with ships and troops from England, the Spaniards, after several conflicts, were obliged to abandon Jamaica to the English. When this conquest was first undertaken, the Spaniards at Jamaica did not exceed one thousand five hundred persons in number, with about as many negroes. Columbus, in the year 1494, found it a pleasant and populous island; but the Spaniards are said, even by their own authors, to have put to death no less a number than sixty thousand of the natives of that island, and had continued to root out the remainder of the natives before the English had conquered it.

In *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 62—3, we find, that Simon de Cafferres, a Spaniard, already-mentioned, laid before the Protector the following scheme, in the year 1655, viz:

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“ That with four men of war only, and four ships with provisions, ammunition, and one thousand soldiers, to sail into the South Seas, round Cape Horn, and so passing by Baldivia, in Chili, from which port the Spaniards had long before been driven, the said kingdom of Chili might be conquered from Spain: our people to rendezvous at the isle of La Mocha, where they might victual and water, as there were none but Indians there; and as Chili abounds more with gold than any other part of America, as well as with provisions and a wholesome climate: as, moreover, the Chilians are the most warlike of any American people, and, being mortal foes to the Spaniards, by reason of their former cruelties, they probably would gladly side with any people inclinable to drive the Spaniards quite out of their country.—That, if this project should succeed, it would distress Spain in the most sensible and least guarded part.—That the ships of war above-mentioned would serve to seize on the Spanish treasure, going annually from Chili to Africa, and thence by Lima and Guayaquil to Panama, and so over land to Porto Bello, in the West Indies; as well as to seize on the two yearly rich Acapulco ships.—Cafferres, for these purposes, undertook to engage in Holland some of those who went into Brouwer’s expedition against Baldivia.” Nevertheless, this, like all our former proposed expeditions into the South Seas, was not found likely to answer,—partly on account of the great dangers in a most tempestuous ocean, the inconstancy of the climate when there, and the almost insuperable difficulties which would be occasioned by our being quite out of the reach of friendly ports.

In the said fourth volume of State Papers, p. 177, Cromwell appoints his son Richard, with many lords of his council, judges, and gentlemen, and about twenty merchants of London, York, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Dover, &c. “ to meet and consider by what means the traffic and navigation of the republic might be best promoted and regulated, and to report, &c.”

On this occasion, we cannot forbear mentioning a severe remark of the Dutch, which has too often been verified by experience; it is from the first volume of Thurloe, p. 498, in a letter of intelligence from the Hague, in the year 1653, viz. “ A committee for trade was sometime since erected in England, which we then feared would have proved very prejudicial to our state; but we are glad to see that it was only nominal. So that we hope in time, those of London will forget that ever they were merchants.”

In the said fourth volume, p. 599, of Thurloe’s State Papers, we learn, that the Swedish Resident in Holland, did, in this year 1655, represent, “ That the Commissioners of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland,” now New York, “ did, in this summer, assault the Swedish colony there by force of arms, took their forts, drove away the inhabitants, and wholly dispossessed the Swedish Company of their district; although it be true, and without dispute, that they” (the Swedes) “ did acquire that fort by the justest title,” (*optimo titulo juris*) “ and did buy it of the natives; and, in consequence, have had possession of it several years, without that the Dutch West India Company ever before pretended any right thereto. Wherefore, the said Resident, in his Master’s name, demands, that the Swedish Company may have it restored to them, &c.” We may, on this occasion, observe, that although the Dutch never effectually restored to the Swedes the country they had now seized on; yet, even in our days, we find many families in the province of New York, who are descended from the Swedes formerly settled there.

In Thurloe’s said State Paper, (vol. iii. p. 497, for they are not always placed in exact chronological order) amongst Cromwell’s instructions in this year 1655, for the council of Scot-

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1655 land, we find the following very good one, viz. “That in regard there be a great many hospitals and other mortifications (mortmains) in Scotland, you are therefore to take special notice and consideration of the same, and see them particularly employed for the benefit of the poor, and other pious uses, for which they were first appointed :—and to obey every other thing for the relief of the poor in the several parishes, that so none go a begging, to the scandal of the Christian profession : but each parish to maintain its own poor.”

In the said third volume of Thurloe, under the year 1655, we have a letter of intelligence from the Hague, importing, that the States of Holland had this year reduced the interest of money due by them, from five to four per cent. whereby they saved one million four hundred thousand guilders per annum. And Pensionary De Witt, on this very point observes, (chap. vi part 3, p. 466) “that by the zeal of our good rulers an expedient was found, to discharge the province of Holland of one hundred and forty millions of guilders, or nearly about fourteen millions sterling, by reducing the yearly interest thereof from five to four per cent. and employing the yearly advance of it towards discharging the principal, which hereby will be all paid off in twenty-one years.”

* This was probably the first national sinking fund ever set on foot in all Europe.

De Witt adds on this subject, “that what is to be most gloried in, is, that although the greatest part of the regents of Holland had lent a considerable part of their estates to that province ; nevertheless, the consideration of their own profit did not hinder them from cutting off a fifth part of their revenue for the necessary service of the public.” Here that able author was perhaps somewhat mistaken in his proud boasting ; since, possibly, those self-denying regents could not well tell where to get an higher interest for their money elsewhere, had they been instantly paid off, as was afterwards the parallel case of the Pope’s sinking fund, in the year 1686, of which in its place, and of the several branches of our own national sinking fund, from 1717, and afterwards.

In the said third volume, p. 713, of Thurloe’s State Papers, Mr. Prideaux, the English Russia Company’s Agent at Archangel, sends to Cromwell an account of the value of the exports from Archangel, in that same year 1655, so far as to the date of his said letter, August 15, amounting to six hundred and sixty thousand rubles, valuing two rubles then equal to one pound sterling, though at this day of a smaller value. The principal articles then were, potashes, caviare, tallow, hides, fables, and cable-yarn. The rest were, coarse linen, bed feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, Persian silk, cork, bacon, cordage, skins of squirrels and cats, bees-wax, hogs bristles, mice and goat-skins, swan and geese down, goose and duck feathers, candles, &c. However, since the rise of the new city of Petersburg, and that the ports of Livonia are now subject to Russia, Archangel’s exports may now possibly be much lessened.

In this same year 1655, Cromwell concluded a treaty of peace and commerce, with the ministers of King Lewis XIV. of France, a minor. What relates to our principal subject, follows, viz.—(vol. iii. p. 149, of General Collection of Treaties, second edition, 1732.)

Article V. “The people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may import into France all their manufactures of wool and silk, and may sell them there without forfeiture or penalty. —Provided, cloths ill-made or unfashionable be carried back to England, without paying any duty for the same.—Provided also, that the subjects of France may as freely import into England, and sell their wines and manufactures of wool and silk : and that the subjects of both contracting parties shall be kindly treated, and enjoy like privileges with other foreigners.

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1655 XXIV. "Relates to prizes taken at sea, on both sides, since the year 1640, the determination whereof, if not finished by commissioners within six months and a fortnight, shall be referred to the arbitration of the republic of Hamburg.

XXV. "And whereas the three forts of Pentagoet, St. John, and Port-Royal, lately taken (by England) in America, *i. e.* in Nova Scotia, would be reclaimed by the within-named French Ambassador; and that the Commissioners of his Highness," (the Protector,) "would argue, from certain reasons, that they ought to be detained; it is agreed to refer this point likewise to the commissioners and arbitrators in the preceding article."

Against the conclusion of this treaty King Philip IV. of Spain had strongly remonstrated by two ambassadors to the Protector, (*vide* vol. iii. p. 146, of General Collection of Treaties, published in the year 1732) by shewing that France had secretly fomented all the conspiracies against his life and government; whilst, on the contrary, Spain had been the first potentate which recognized the English republic:—and his Catholic Majesty perceiving, that the treaties with Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal are concluded, that with France so forward, and the treaty with him the only one deferred, at which all mankind are surprized, the said ambassadors had orders to press the conclusion of it.—And that in case his Highness inclines to recover Calais, Spain will join her forces to those of England, both by sea and land, for that end.—Provided England will assist the Prince of Condé with ships and troops to land him at Bourdeaux or elsewhere, so as he may have footing in France, &c.—*Vide* said Collection.

But Cromwell's particular interest, as before observed, outweighed his concern for the true interest of England: for the secret article in the above treaty with France over-balanced all other considerations, *viz.* France's engaging that the under-named persons should not remain there beyond forty days after the ratification of the treaty, *viz.* King Charles II. and his brothers the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Marquis of Ormond, Sir Edward Hyde, and fifteen more lords and gentlemen, therein named.

Thus did Cardinal Mazarine meanly abandon the English Royal Family and their friends, purely to enable France further to weaken Spain, which was already too much enfeebled, and the balance of power in Europe thereby further endangered. Upon this treaty, the King of Spain seized on all the effects of the English merchants in his dominions, to a considerable value; and by this war with Spain the Hollanders gained a valuable commerce with that country, formerly enjoyed by the English.

In proportion to the gradual declension of the power of the Spanish monarchy, the French monarchy increased in power, riches, commerce, and territory. France hitherto found it her interest to keep fair with Holland, as well on account of their shipping, which was undoubtedly very great at this time, as for the incredible quantity of French manufactures and products which the Dutch took off and dispersed all over Europe. But when Cromwell had now entered into close measures with the Cardinal Minister Mazarine, France then began to treat the Dutch with less ceremony, and to establish companies of merchants at home, for the herring, cod, and whale fisheries; and to prevent the importation of whale-fins and train oil by foreigners. France also laid a duty of fifty sols per ton on all foreign ships, both coming in and going out of her sea ports.

These and such like symptoms did but too plainly indicate the mercantile and political superiority which France already had over Spain, and that the scale of the former was likely to preponderate still further.

In this same year 1655, the Jews found means to persuade the Protector, Cromwell, to re-admit them to settle in England, although the Long Parliament had before refused it; it being, in this year, just three hundred and sixty-five years since their expulsion by King Edward the First, in the eighteenth year of his reign, in the year 1290. The Protector, it is said, had been persuaded by them and their friends, that commerce, by their re-admission, would be so far improved as to increase his revenue one hundred thousand pounds per annum.

On the other hand, the famous William Prynne, Esq; and several others, at this time, published treatises against re-admitting the Jews, shewing the mischiefs which that unhappy people have occasioned in all countries where they have been tolerated. In their favour, Menasseh Ben Israel, an eminent Jew, who styled himself a Divine and a Doctor of Physic, addressed the Protector and Commonwealth, in this same year, in the following artful strain:—

“ Our people did, in their own minds, presage, that the Kingly government being now
 “ changed into that of a Commonwealth, the ancient hatred towards them would also be
 “ changed into good will; and that those rigorous laws, made under the Kings; against so in-
 “ nocent a people would be happily repealed. So that we hope now for better treatment
 “ from your gentleness and goodness; since, from the beginning of your government of
 “ this Commonwealth, your Highness hath professed much respect and favour towards us.
 “ Wherefore, I humbly intreat your Highness that you would, with a gracious eye, have
 “ regard to us and our petition, and grant unto us, as you have done unto others, the free
 “ exercise of our religion; that we may have our Synagogues, and keep our own public
 “ worship, as our brethren do in Italy, Germany, Poland, and many other places; and we
 “ shall pray for the happiness and peace of this your much renowned and puissant Common-
 “ wealth.”

Then he shews how other states have thought it their interest to encourage the Jews in their dominions; as, for instance, the King of Denmark invited them to settle at Gluckstadt, in Holstein—The Duke of Savoy, at Nice—The Duke of Modena, at Reggio. And that, in India, the Jews have four Synagogues at Cochin, a fourth part of whom are of a white complexion, and the other three quarters are tawny.—That in Persia there are great numbers of Jews, and many of them in great favour at Court.—That in Turkey they are most numerous, many of them living in great state, and in favour with the Sultan and his Bathaws, there being in Constantinople alone, forty-eight Synagogues; in Salonichi, thirty-six; and above eighty thousand Jews in those two cities.—That in all the Turkish dominions, their number amounts to many millions of people. Next, he refutes all the accusations against the Jews, and shews the damage which accrued to Spain and Portugal by banishing the Jews out of their dominions; and the great benefit, in point of revenue, to the public, and in respect to the increase of commerce and manufactures, which would accrue by re-admitting the Jews: so that, in conclusion, they were re-admitted, and have remained in England ever since, though not in such great numbers as in some other parts.

In this same year 1655, the republic of Tunis, having not only refused to comply with Admiral Blake's just demands in behalf of the English commerce, who was then with a squadron in the Mediterranean for the purpose of watching the motions of the French fleet, but had even treated his proposals with much insolence and contumely; we learn, by that great Ad-
 miral's

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1655 miral's letter to Secretary Thurloe, in the third volume, p. 390, of his State Papers, that he sailed with his squadron into the harbour of Porto-Farino, and burned all their ships, being nine in number, with the loss of only twenty-five men killed; and then, having reduced them to reason, he returned to Cagliari, in Sardinia, whence he dates that letter. Next, he brought Algiers and Tripoli to terms of peace.

In the said year 1655, the Dutch prosecuted their conquests from the Portuguese in the East Indies, by taking from them the city of Calcut. The next year they take Columbo, the Portuguese capital, in the isle of Ceylon, and thereby became masters of the coasts of that fruitful island, and of the whole cinnamon trade; as they before were of the nutmegs, mace, and cloves: pepper was now the only spice that remained unengrossed by them, because it grows in too many distant parts of India to be monopolised by any one potentate. In 1658, the Dutch take Manaar and Jasnapatnam from the Portuguese. By which, and similar conquests, which it is unnecessary to enlarge on, the Portuguese soon became confined to their settlements on this side Cape Comorin. Thus the Hollanders made themselves ample amends for their West India Company's losses at Brasil.

The old Stadt-house at Amsterdam being now become too mean for the grandeur of that most opulent city, the two great commercial companies of the East and West Indies, undertook to erect a new one: it was begun in 1648, and completed in this year 1655; and may be truly termed the pride and glory of that city and province, being by far the most noble and superb structure in all Europe, of that kind; serving for a Senate-house and Bank. Whole volumes being published in the description of its architecture and beauty.

1656 Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, being now at war with John Casimir, King of Poland; the States General of the United Provinces being apprehensive of the disadvantage of that war to the great commerce of their subjects in the Baltic, sent thither Admiral Opdam with a fleet, which, over-awing both those Kings, brought on the treaty of peace at Elbing in Prussia.—This conduct of the Dutch was agreeable, as we have before noted, to the general tenor of their politics, with regard to their preserving an equilibrium between the potentates bordering on the Baltic shores.

The commerce of Amsterdam was, by this time, so much increased, that, for the enlargement of that city, a great space of ground was now inclosed and built on. And the whole city, thus enlarged, was now surrounded with new walls of brick with stone gates. This, it is apprehended, is the last great enlargement of Amsterdam, in respect of private buildings; but it received a great addition to the strength of its fortifications in the year 1672, when the French invaded Holland.

It is not then a matter of great surprize, if the Grand Pensionary De Witt, in his Book of the Interest of Holland, in the year 1669, observes, “ that Amsterdam is a city of greater traffic, and Holland a richer merchandising country than ever was in the world.—Their situation for an easy and quick communication with all the coasts of Friesland, Overijssel, Guelderland, and North Holland; their situation also, for receiving the fishery, and for a repository for all sorts of merchandize to be afterwards re-shipped to all parts of the world, as demands may offer, and for setting out ships to freight; are great advantages.—Then their acquiring the whole spice trade of India, and a great West India trade—the whale fishery—the trade in Italian wrought silks, which the Germans were wont to bring by land carriage from Italy, until the German wars lost them that trade; and afterwards their manufacturing the raw silk themselves—their woollen manufacture. And, in short,” he observes,
“ the

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1656 “ the Hollanders had well nigh beaten all nations, by traffic, out of the seas, and become the
 “ only carriers of goods throughout the world.”—Part i. chap. 14. How exultingly was all
 this said, even by the great and otherwise cool and moderate De Witt? And, indeed, it is a
 most shining picture of their mercantile greatness, long since in its wane, as we have elsewhere
 observed.

•We have also, in this same year, an authentic state of the naval power, or rather public navy
 of the Dutch, in the fourth volume, p. 732—3, of Secretary Thurloe’s Collection of State
 Papers, in a letter of intelligence from Sluys in Dutch Flanders, to him, in April 1656, im-
 porting, “ that they had then one hundred and one ships of war in their several ports, includ-
 “ ing eight ships with Admiral De Ruyter at Cadiz.—That their first-rate ships had seventy-
 “ two, seventy-four, and seventy-six port-holes—the second-rates, sixty—and the third-rates,
 “ fifty-two port-holes or guns.” This is an undeniable proof, that ships of war, in those
 days, were considerably short of our modern floating castles. We are here also to note, that,
 since the Dutch Admirals remonstrances to their masters, that in their last war with Eng-
 land, in the years 1652 and 1653, their ships were too small, they were thereupon built confi-
 derably larger.

In the same fourth volume of Thurloe’s State Papers, p. 419, there is a state of the naval
 strength of Spain, in a letter of intelligence, dated in January. It says, “ That they are now
 “ preparing at Cadiz for a war against England. That they have there from fifty to sixty
 “ ships of war, thirty galleys, and thirty fire ships; but the want of money doth much hinder
 “ and trouble them, which they endeavour to borrow of merchants, &c. to pay when the
 “ galleons arrive; but if these do not soon arrive, the kingdom will be in a miserable con-
 “ dition.”

This is a true, but melancholy picture, of the state of Spain so early as at that time; yet
 its misery gradually increased till the death of that weakest of monarchs, King Charles II. in
 the beginning of our present century.

Although Jamaica had been so easily won by the English, at this time, yet, on the return
 of the fleet, the Protector, provoked at the disaster at Hispaniola, sent both Penn and Ven-
 ables to the Tower. On the other hand, Spain, resenting this attack, declared war against
 England. Hereupon the brave English Admiral Blake attacked the Spanish plate fleet near the
 port of Cadiz, and burned or sunk all of them, excepting only one, which escaped, and two
 which were taken, and brought to Portsmouth, in which were found upwards of two millions
 of dollars.

Under this same year, in the fifth volume, p. 81—83, of Secretary Thurloe’s State Papers,
 we find, A brief Narrative of England’s Rights to the northern Parts of America; wherein
 it is observed, “ That the Dutch, under colour of a clause in their West India Company’s
 “ charter, enabling them to conquer whatever they could in America from enemies,” *i. e.*
 Spain, “ had settled in the north part of Virginia,” (as it was then called, but since named
 New York) “ that, at first, they called their settlement New Virginia, but because they
 “ would make it as much Dutch as they could, they had, but very lately, called it New Ned-
 “ derlandt, and so named it in all their new maps. It is commonly reported, that, by the
 “ permission of King James I. they had granted from him, to their States only, a certain
 “ island, called therefore by them Staten, or States Island, on that coast, as a watering place
 “ for their West India fleets.”

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From hence it is natural to conclude, that this supposed allowance of that King, of which, however, we can no where find a proper evidence, to water at Staten Island, encouraged so adventurous a people to take the liberty of settling on the neighbouring continent, from whence they were not quite expelled till the year 1667, when it was exchanged for the colony of Surinam.

In this same year 1656, the Protector and his Parliament erected a new General Post Office for the commonwealth of the three kingdoms, on much the same foundation as that of three years before, and, in general, on the same principle of regulation as that in our own days:—single letters as far as eighty miles for two pence; beyond that, three pence; to Scotland, four pence; and double letters twice as much. These regulations were further legally confirmed at the restoration of King Charles II.

By an ordinance, in this same year, of the Protector and his Parliament, the retail prices of wines were regulated as follows, viz.

“ No Canary wine, Muscadels, Alicants, or other Spanish wines shall be sold at above one shilling and six pence per quart. No Gascoigne or other French wines at above seven pence per quart. And no Rhenish wine at above twelve pence per quart, under the penalty of “ five pounds.”—Thus we see that the Spanish, and all other wines, were sold at a much higher price than the best French wines, until long after this time, that an high duty laid on the latter, made them come into the greater esteem because of a greater price.

Wheat, as per *Chronicon Preciosum*, was, at this time, at two pounds three shillings per quarter.

The humour of restraining the increase of buildings in and near London, on new foundations, begun by Queen Elizabeth, in the early times of commerce, and continued by the two next English Kings, was, in this year, revived by the Protector and his Parliament, by their act, cap. xxiv. the preamble of which runs thus :

“ Whereas, the great and excessive number of houses, edifices, out-houses, and cottages, “ erected and new built in and about the suburbs of the city of London, is found to be very “ mischievous and inconvenient, and a great annoyance and nuisance to the commonwealth, “ &c. Wherefore they now lay a duty of one year’s rent on all houses and edifices erected on “ new foundations in the suburbs, or within ten miles of the walls of London, since the year “ 1620, not having four acres of freehold land laid to the same.—And a fine of one hundred “ pounds is also hereby laid on all edifices which shall, from 1657, be erected, within the “ said limits, on new foundations, not having four acres laid thereto as aforesaid. More- “ over, all houses within the said limits, shall hereafter be built of brick or stone upright, “ and without butting or jetting out into the street.” Out of this act were excepted,

I. The buildings belonging to the several city hospitals.

II. The Earl of Clare’s new market, now called Clare Market, in Clement’s Inn Fields, just then built.—The streets about Lincoln’s Inn Fields, then also in hand.—Horsleydown Buildings, for the benefit of the poor of St. Olave’s parish in Southwark.—Bangor Court, in Shoe Lane, then about to be built upon the site of the Bishop of Bangor’s house and garden, &c.—And all buildings below London Bridge, and within two furlongs of the river Thames, belonging to mariners, ship-builders, their wives and widows, and some few other places.

By this act we find that Clare Market, in the fields then called Clement’s Inn Fields, was but just finished: and it is hereby declared to be a common and free market on every Tuesday,
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1656 Thursday, and Saturday; but part of Stanhope-street adjoining, was not yet quite built on, nor were all the buildings adjoining to Lincoln's Inn Fields as yet finished.

By Scobel's Collection of Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, from 1640 to 1656, we learn, that the whole charge of the public in this year 1656, in England, cap. vi. was fixed at one million three hundred thousand pounds,—viz. one million for the navy and army, and three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the civil government. No part of which sum was raised by a land tax.

And in this same year 1656, the said Parliament (cap. iv.) again abolished all tenures *in capite* by knight's service, and by socage in chief: they also hereby laid aside the court of Wards and Liveries.

Also, by the said Parliament, cap. v. we find, that saltpetre was still made in England. It directs, "That none shall dig within the houses or lands of any person, for the finding of " saltpetre, without their leave first obtained " This act relating to digging for saltpetre, removed a grievance which King Charles I. imposed on his subjects throughout his reign, of entering and digging for it every where, without asking leave.

There had been a general treaty of alliance concluded between Cromwell and Queen Christina of Sweden in the year 1654: but matters relating to commerce and navigation were then deferred to a more convenient time: so Cromwell's commissioners in this year signed a treaty with the ministers of King Charles Gustavus, of Sweden, wherein what relates to commerce is as follows:—Vol. iii. p. 163—175, of the General Collection of Treaties, 8vo. 1732.

Article IX. As to commerce to be carried on in America, it is expressly provided by law, "That the subjects of no other state or republic besides, shall be empowered to trade " there in common, without a special licence: but if any of the King of Sweden's subjects, " furnished with his recommendations, shall privately solicit such licence of the Lord Protector to trade to any of those" (English) "colonies, he will, in this respect, comply with the " desire of his Swedish Majesty, as far as the state of his affairs will permit.

X. "It shall be free for the subjects of Sweden to fish and catch herrings, &c. in the seas " and on the coasts which are in the dominion of this republic, provided the ships so employed " do not exceed one thousand in number.—And no charges shall be demanded" (of those Swedish fishers) "by the ships of war of this republic,—but all shall be treated courteously, " and amicably, and shall be even allowed to dry their nets on the shore, and to purchase necessaries there at a fair price."

The rest of this treaty relates chiefly to a mutual liberty of hiring ships of war and troops in each other's country, and against Sweden's supplying Spain with naval stores, during England's war with that crown.

Upon this treaty, and some prior ones, we may here briefly remark, that Cromwell, as well as the Rump Parliament, affected to be as punctilious and peremptory, in respect to their sea dominion, or their dominion in the four seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, as even the most positive and determined of our former English monarchs.

1657 All that part of Prussia, lying east of the Vistula, which till lately was called Ducal, (in contradistinction from the other part called Regal or Royal, as being immediately under subjection to the crown of Poland) had, ever since the year 1525, been vested in the house of Brandenburg, with the title of a Dukedom, though still owning some kind of vassalage to, or protection from the King and Republic of Poland, till this year 1657; when the latter gave up all kind of claim on it; and the Elector of Brandenburg was now vested with sovereign and

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1657 and independent dominion over that Dutchy, since erected into a kingdom, in the person of King Frederick I.

In this last year of the renowned Admiral Blake's life, he, a second time, destroyed a Spanish plate fleet, said to be much richer than that of the preceding year, at the isle of Tenerif, one of the Canary isles, burning, sinking, &c. every ship of that fleet. This great Admiral's death, in this same year, was reckoned an irreparable loss to the Protector and to his country.—Amongst several other great things said of him, even by the Earl of Clarendon, his following encomium on him is well worth our notice, viz.

“ That he was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had ever been thought very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to frighten those who could rarely be hurt by them.—He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see, by experience, what mighty things they could do if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water.—And, although he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.”

From March 1638 to May 1657, according to the author of *The Happy Future State of England*, frequently before quoted, there was coined in the Tower of London, in gold and silver, the sum of seven million seven hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and twenty-one pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. “ *England alone*,” says that author, “ having, till the peace of Munster, in the year 1648, enjoyed almost the whole manufacture, and the best part of the trade of Europe.”

The once memorable James Howell, in his *Londinopolis*, p. 389, asserts, “ that the bill of mortality of Amsterdam did not, in this year 1657, exceed sixty per week. Whereas,” says he, “ London's was near three hundred weekly.” But as this author has been very much mistaken in other parts of his computations in political arithmetic, it seems probable he is likewise greatly so in this point: more especially if Pensionary De Witt's account be not exaggerated, in his *Interest of Holland*, written in the year 1663, that Amsterdam contained three hundred thousand souls; which probably is more than it contains at present.

By Secretary Thurloe's sixth volume of *State Papers*, p. 505, we find that men of great reflection, even so early, perceived the great benefit which England's commerce would reap, from possessing a safe and fortified port at, or very near the entrance into, the Mediterranean Sea. In a letter written by General Monk, from Scotland, to the said Secretary Thurloe, in September, in the year 1657, there is the following memorable paragraph, viz.

“ I understand the Portugal Ambassador is come to London; and I make no question but he will be desiring some favour from my Lord Protector. There is a castle in the Streight's Mouth, which the Portugals have called Tangier, on the Barbary side, and which, if they would part withal, it would be very useful to us; and they make little use of it, unless it be for getting of Blackamoors: for whence (should be which) his Highness may give them leave to trade for. An hundred men will keep the castle, and half a dozen frigates there would stop the whole trade in the Streights to such as shall be enemies to us.”

This proposal of General Monk's very probably occasioned the stipulating of this port and castle, five years afterwards, to be a part of Queen Catherine's marriage portion, as it accordingly was. Yet this same General Monk afterwards found a considerable garrison little enough to defend it against the continual attacks of the Moors.

De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, justly remarks, “ That although their ships trading into the Mediterranean, should be well guarded, by convoys, against the Barbary Pirates ; yet it would by no means be proper to free that sea of those pirates : because,” says he, “ we should hereby be put upon the same footing with the Eastlanders, English, Spaniards, and Italians ; wherefore it is best to leave that thorn in the sides of those nations, whereby they will be distressed in that trade ; whilst we, by our convoys, engross all the European traffic and navigation to Holland.”

By the experience of the ill effects of former negligence, and the help of the port of Gibraltar, we have, in our own times, greatly gained ground upon Holland in this particular respect. (*Fas est & ab hoste doceri.*)—We may and ought to learn wisdom even from an enemy.

In this same year, we have, from the said sixth volume of Thurloe’s State Papers, p. 825, a letter from Leghorn to that same Secretary of State, acquainting him, “ That the Hollanders were making a plantation between Surinam and Carthagera, in the West Indies, aiming chiefly to trade with the Spaniards ; for which purpose they are sending thither twenty-five families of Jews.—If” says the letter-writer, “ our planters at Surinam took the same course, it would be much to their advantage ; for the Spaniards there are in most extreme want of all European commodities.” This was probably a project for settling on the continent of what is called terra firma, from whence they were said to be afterwards driven. Unless, perhaps, Curacoa be hereby meant, which is a small isle near that coast, possessed by the Dutch, and very commodiously situated for that smuggling trade ; the Jews being here said to be both rich and numerous, and the Dutch colonies here extremely populous and well fortified : and was, probably, first settled before this time : as was also, above twenty-five years before, a somewhat smaller isle near it, named Aruba, as well as Bonaire, another isle on that coast, which produces plenty of cotton :—the other two isles, before named, produce some sugar.

Although Curacoa be but a barren island, about thirteen leagues in circuit, yet its merchants are said to be very rich by their trade with the neighbouring Spaniards for European goods and negroes, so as to be deemed one of their best colonies in America.

In the said sixth volume of Thurloe’s State Papers, p. 596, we have an estimate of the charge or public expence of England for the year, ending the first of November 1657, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
1. The charge of the sea	994,500	0	0
2. Ditto of the army in the three kingdoms	1,132,489	0	0
3. Ditto of the civil government.	200,000	0	0
Total.	£. 2,326,989	0	0

The present revenue, viz.

1. The assessment in England, Scotland, and Ireland	1,464,000	4	0
2. The excise and customs, estimated at	700,000	0	0
3. The other revenue payable into the receipt of the Exchequer, estimated at.	198,000	0	0
Total.	£. 2,362,000	4	0

And

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1657And, (*ibid.*)

£. s. d.

1. The revenue of Ireland for two years, ending the first of November,						
1637, amounts to	-	-	-	137,558	13	3
And for one year				68,779	6	7½
2. Expence of ditto for said two years	-	-	-	142,509	11	0
Expence more than the revenue	-	-	-	4,959	17	9
And, (<i>ibid.</i> p. 444.)						
Scotland's revenue for one year	-	-	-	37,690	19	0

(But Scotland's expence is not mentioned.)

What De Witt has said of his nation's wisdom in securing their mercantile ships trading into the Mediterranean, by proper convoys, and the neglect of England in that respect, is, in part confirmed, and partly also, contradicted, by a pamphlet addressed to the Protector Cromwell, in this year 1657, by one Samuel Lamb, a merchant, entitled, *Seasonable Observations for the encouraging of foreign Commerce*: wherein he speaks "of our merchants shipping as having been, of late, the best in the world. Witness" says he, "the many single fights at sea, against the Turks, to whom, it is believed, the Dutch lose ten ships for our one; and the remarkable sea fights against the Hollanders themselves in the late wars; wherein many merchant ships, from about three hundred to five hundred tons, did engage against the enemy, with the States ships, to our great advantage; the enemy notwithstanding exceeding us every fight, in ships and tonnage." This (however, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated) shews the stoutness of our trading ships up the Mediterranean, in those times, as well as the bravery of our sailors: of which several old songs and ballads also give testimony, in their encounters with the Barbary pirates.

Before the commencement of the civil wars in England, in the year 1642, we find by the East India Company's account, "That they alone employed fifteen thousand tons of shipping," which were accounted to be the best trading ships belonging to England, as indeed they continue to be to the present times, from three hundred to six hundred tons each ship. But the East India Company became at length so much decayed in their shipping, from the general discouragements in their trade, and the underminings of the Hollanders, &c. that they had scarcely one good ship remaining. Moreover, from this year 1653, or 1654, to this year 1657, by means of the multitude of interlopers, there was a sort of open trade from England to India: "in which time," says our author, who in 1681, wrote in defence of the Joint-Stock Company, "our nation had well nigh lost all their privileges in India, which are many." There were also grievous losses to private traders by depredations; "a great lowering of English commodities, and advancing of Indian commodities;—an increase of presents to governors, &c. to such an odious excess, that at length the very private traders themselves, being without union and protection, were the forwardest petitioners for a return to a joint stock."

On the other hand, however, the ingenious author of an octavo treatise, intitled, *Britannia Languens*, published in the year 1680, affirms, p. 76, "That during the years 1653-4-5-6, when the East India trade was laid open, they afforded the Indian commodities so cheap, that they supplied more parts of Europe, and even Amsterdam itself, therewith, than ever they did after; whereby they very much sunk the Dutch East India Company's actions." Yet it is generally said, that even the interlopers or separate traders were losers in the end,

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1657 having also endured many indignities and injuries from the Indians. So difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides.

Upon the whole, the Protector Cromwell now re-established the old Company, with a joint stock of seven hundred and thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-two pounds, although only fifty per cent. or three hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-one pounds was called in, or was strictly, at that time, deemed their capital stock. Yet by the late laying open of that trade, so many lesser ships had been employed in it, that the Company, though now again restored, could find few or no merchant ships large enough for their purpose. And the author just now quoted, alleges, "That, although in former times the English trade into the Mediterranean did, by estimation, employ eighty or one hundred sail of ships, from three hundred to four hundred tons each, yet, since, they employ smaller ones, which are so often taken by the Spaniards, &c."—And he says, "He has formerly known many ships, of the above, or a greater burden, built and equipped in England, purposely to be sent to Venice to be let out to that State, for ships of war, to serve them against the Turks: but the Hollanders soon cut us out of that employment also, by serving them cheaper."

In this same year, on the ninth of May, Cromwell concluded another self-interested treaty of alliance with France, against Spain and Holland, and against the solid interest of England. And, as some of the secret articles have a relation to commerce, we shall remark on the following ones, viz.

It seems the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter had taken two French ships of war, in the Mediterranean; to revenge which "France engaged Cromwell, by the fourth and fifth secret articles, to fit out at the expence of France, from thirty to forty ships of war; part of which were to cruize before Ostend and Dunkirk, and the rest in the Channel, to take all the ships of Holland and Zealand in the French King's name.—And article ninth and ten, that an English fleet was to block up Ostend, Nieuport, and Gravelines, whilst Louis did the same on the land side.—And Louis promises to leave those ports, when taken, in the full possession and property of the Protector. On the other hand, article eleven, Louis was to enjoy all the other towns, harbours, and places which should be conquered in the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, none excepted, whoever is or has been the possessor.

"Articles fifteen and sixteen, both parties agreed to assist the King of Sweden in his intended conquest of the city of Dantzic. Louis also promising to furnish money for the conquest of the Danish forts in the Sound; the Protector engaging to send a fleet, with land forces, to block up the passage of the Sound, to the end, that, with Sweden's assistance, the Protector may be enabled to keep the trade with those countries and those of his allies free and undisturbed."

The plausible or probable ground for these two remarkable articles of this alliance and enmity against Denmark was, because that King, Christiern III. had increased his demands or toll on foreign ships passing the Sound: which toll, we have seen, having been farmed to the Hollanders, in the year 1649, it was probable they, and the crown of Denmark, had jointly aimed to make the most of it against all other nations; though contrary to former stipulations.

By article seventeenth, "The Protector was to have the disposal of any countries and forts which should be taken from Denmark, according to his good pleasure; but the ships and merchandize

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1657 “ merchandize of the French King’s subjects should pass and repass the Sound as freely as those of England.”

1658 Cardinal Mazarine, the Prime Minister of France, having obtained intelligence, that the court of Spain, for the gaining of Cromwell to its side, had, some time before, proposed to assist him in the conquest of Calais for England, took pains to convince the Protector that Dunkirk would be of much greater importance to England, as really is known to be true: and as Cromwell’s principal dread was, lest France should be assisting in King Charles’s restoration, he, after some deliberation, agreed to Mazarine’s proposal. Whereupon, on the 23d of March, 1658, new stile, Sir William Lockhart, Cromwell’s ambassador at Paris, signed a convention with the French court, whereby it was stipulated, “ that Dunkirk, Mardike, and Gravelines, “ when taken, should be put in the Protector’s hands;” which was confirmed by a second convention five days after. Whereupon Dunkirk was attacked by the joint forces of England and France, and surrendered on Midsummer-day, 1658, to the French, who, the day following, delivered it up with all its forts into the hands of Sir William Lockhart, in behalf of the Protector.

This great acquisition occasioned no small jealousy in the Dutch, who were very far from being pleased at seeing England thereby rendered master of both sides the Channel. Moreover, although France at this time yielded it to Cromwell, for the sake of his present friendship in assisting to distress and weaken Spain, and the consequent raising of her own power, yet the French court soon foresaw how dangerous Dunkirk would prove in other hands but her own, and more especially in the possession of England, even then the first maritime potentate of Europe: wherefore they too soon found means, four years after, to get it scandalously sold and surrendered to them.

Although we have seen, that clocks and clock-makers were introduced into England at least as early as the year 1368, yet we have by no notices or means as yet discovered, or are able certainly to trace, either the time, or the certain place, when or where they were first made;—which is indeed likewise the case of several other old inventions. Nuremberg, in Germany, has often been named as the most probable place of the invention of watches, or rather the revival of them about seventy years ago, though I do not find even any certainty thereof. The first pendulum clock is said to have been invented by Huygens, in the preceding year 1657; yet others ascribe it to Galileo. Be this as it may, we may be assured, that the present watches are of a much later invention than clocks, although they, in fact, were but a necessary consequence of the other. The Emperor Charles V. was the first who had any thing that might be called a watch; though some say it was only a small table clock. Others say, that Emperor had a watch of some kind or other in the jewel of his seal ring.—Spring pocket watches were the production of this century. Foreigners ascribe it to Huygens, but the English to Dr. Hooke, about this year 1658. This useful machine has been since brought to greater perfection in England than in any other part of the world.

In this same year, the Swedish fleet besieging Copenhagen, where the Danish King, Christiern III. then was, in great distress: the Dutch fleet under Admiral Opdam, defeated that of Sweden, and thereby seasonably relieved the Danish King and his capital city. The next year Admiral De Ruyter joined the Danish fleet, and, defeating that of Sweden, brought about a pacification at Roschild, between those two northern crowns, through the mediation of England and France.

Yct,

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1659 Yet, in the following year 1659, the Swedes, under their King Charles Gustavus, were so successful in a fresh war against Denmark, as to oblige that crown to restore the fine province Scania, or Sconen, to Sweden, after Denmark had been in possession of it for three centuries; which concession threw much weight into the scale of Sweden: but seems, however, to have reduced both crowns nearer to an equilibrium than before, with reference to the European states trading into the Baltic Sea.

The Danish court having further distressed the trade of other nations, by their arbitrary increase of the tolls in the passages into the Baltic, called the Sound and greater and lesser Belt, the two commonwealths of England and Holland, and the court of France, had entered into a joint treaty at the Hague, in the said year 1659, not only for obliging Denmark and Sweden, then at war, to agree to the above said peace, but, by the sixth article of the treaty, it was stipulated,

“ That no new duty, toll, or other impost, on account of beacons, lighthouses, anchor-ages, or for any other pretences whatever, be for the future raised in the Sound, or the two Belts, by any person whatsoever, upon the said three States, or either of them, or upon their subjects. And with respect to the duties or tolls which are paid there by virtue of the treaty made at London between the late Protector (Oliver) and the crown of Denmark, and of another treaty made between the said crown and the United Provinces, in the year 1645, they shall never be augmented upon the three states, nor on any of them, for any cause or pretext whatever. And, if it happens, that there are more favourable and advantageous conditions in one of the said treaties than there are in the others, with regard to the toll, or the manner of raising it, the said three states, and each of them, shall for the future enjoy the said more favourable conditions equally; as also all other privileges and exemptions; and shall be guarantees thereof one to the other.”

It seems, that before this definitive treaty, the Danes often varied the tolls they exacted from ships passing the Sound. Sometimes they laid a rose-noble on every ship, beside one per cent. lastage.—Sometimes three one-half per cent.—And, at other times, a thirtieth part of all the cargo was demanded and taken. Queen Elizabeth sent four solemn embassies to Denmark, in order to get those tolls moderated, and fixed at some certainty; though all to very little purpose.

The Swedes likewise sometimes had pretended to a toll for their castle of Helsingburg, on this side of the Sound: but now this joint treaty and mutual guarantee of the three potent states before-mentioned, seemed to have put an end to all new demands and impositions whatever.

The advantageous peace which France made this year with the declining kingdom of Spain, at the Pyrenees, gave the former full leisure to improve its foreign commerce, and more especially its trade to Turkey for woollen goods; which, by the help of Spanish wool, they soon after brought to such perfection, that they have long since been enabled, in a great measure, to possess a considerable advantage over the English Levant or Turkey Company, as well as the Dutch and Venetians. Their very able statesman, Colbert, having, soon after this time, most assiduously applied himself to this object, without sparing any expence for the improvement of all the branches of France's commerce; such, for instance, as premiums, remission of customs and taxes, warehouses rent-free, &c. Yet, in order to get their woollen cloth at first introduced into Turkey, they are said to have made use of the names of the English trad-

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1659 ers thither, and of the reputation of English cloth, calling their cloth by the name of Drap de Londres.

By the Pyrenean peace, Spain yielded up to France so much territory, and so many strong fortresses in the Netherlands, and on the side of Catalonia, Burgundy, and Lorraine, as made the scale of France still much more preponderate: the enumeration of which countries and fortresses may be seen in all the accounts of that peace; which indeed was a very unfortunate one for Spain, and much altered the balance of power in respect of those two nations, and, in some measure, therefore, affected the safety of the rest of Europe.

The island of Barbadoes was by this time become rich and populous. For, in a pamphlet, entitled, *Trade Revived*, printed in the year 1659, the author, treating of the value of our American plantations, describes “Barbadoes as having given to many men of low degree “exceeding vast fortunes, equal to noblemen.—That upwards of one hundred sail of ships “there yearly find employment, by carrying goods and passengers thither, and bringing “thence other commodities; whereby seamen are bred, and custom increased; our commodities vended, and many thousands employed therein, and in refining our sugar at home, “which we formerly had from other countries. And all this out of that very small, dry, and “rocky island.” By this account it appears, that our other Caribbee isles had scarcely as yet engaged into sugar planting. This also seems to be the first account of sugar refining in England, though it was probably of an earlier date in some other countries:—for which see the year 1503.

Dr. Charles D’Avenant, who was Inspector General of the Customs of England at the time he wrote a treatise, entitled, *New Dialogues on the then present Posture of Affairs*, printed in the year 1711, in octavo, gives us therein, in p. 71, &c. the entire coinage of England for a complete century of years, taken from the registers of the Royal Mint, viz. from 1558 to 1659.

			£.
Gold coined,—In Queen Elizabeth’s reign	-	-	1,200,000
In King James the First’s reign, about	-	-	800,000
In King Charles the First’s reign	-	-	1,723,000
			<hr/>
Total Gold			£. 3,723,000
Silver,—In Queen Elizabeth’s reign	-	-	£. 4,632,932
In King James the First’s reign	-	-	1,700,000
In King Charles the First’s reign	-	-	8,776,544
By the Parliament and Cromwell	-	-	1,000,000
			<hr/>
Total Silver	£.	16,109,476—	16,109,476
			<hr/>
Total Gold and Silver	-	£.	19,832,476

“Yet,” adds the Doctor, very properly, “all this money was not co-existing in this year “1659. For Queen Elizabeth not only called in and recoinced all the debased silver coin of “the three preceding reigns, but, by varying the standard, there were fresh fabrications occasioned, so that the same bullion was coined over and over.” And this able author conjectures, “that in the year 1600, our whole gold and silver coin together did not exceed four “mil-

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1659 “ millions; and that at the time he wrote” in the year 1711, “ there might be twelve millions of gold and silver coin in being.”

This very curious account is well worth our observation: and, as our commerce is allowed by all men to be very considerably increased since the said year 1711, being the space of fifty-one years, I conceive, we may reasonably conclude, that the present gold and silver coin of Great Britain, actually existing, cannot be less than sixteen millions: although it be not so easy to determine the near proportion between the quantity of the gold to the silver coin.

Having nothing further to add of the times preceding the restoration of King Charles II. we must do the Rump Parliament and Cromwell, with all their faults, the justice to remark, by way of recapitulation, that they certainly made several very good and successful regulations and laws for the improvement and increase of England's commerce and shipping; most of which were adopted and legally enacted by the Parliament immediately after the Restoration; which plainly evinced the public sense of their utility, viz.

I. The reduction of the legal interest of money from eight to six per cent. greatly to the advantage both of the landed and trading interests.

II. Their establishing the first general Navigation Act; by which, not only the trade to and from our American plantations was secured to ourselves alone, but likewise our mercantile shipping was considerably increased, as was also the number of our sailors, and of all trades depending on shipping.

III. Tenures by Knight's-service, Wardships, and all other kinds of servile tenures, were for ever abolished in England.

IV. All kinds of monopolies were likewise abolished.

V. Their granting full liberty of conscience to all peaceable people, inviting multitudes of such to return with their families and fortunes from New England, Holland, Germany, &c. whither they had been driven by Laud's unchristian and mad persecution, &c. and hereby not only the number of industrious people were increased, which is the most solid wealth of any nation, but likewise new manufactures were introduced, and the old ones improved and increased.

This fifth article was not however adopted in the first transports of the zealous royalists; nor was it legally enacted till the accession of King William and Queen Mary; when the nation's eyes were fully opened, to see the prejudice and folly, as well as wickedness, of denying that freedom of conscience to others, which we ourselves would think we had a right to in similar circumstances.

VI. Scotland's vassalage was abolished by them, and better orders were established in that country for providing for their poor, for punishing vagrants, and for suppressing of robberies, than had been before in use.

But this last mentioned benefit to Scotland, was far from being confirmed after the Restoration, though so reasonable and beneficial. The first four articles, however, were wisely confirmed by the legal government, as what the nation could not have been easy without, having before so fully experienced their beneficial and most salutary effects.

1660 On the third of May 1660, a final peace was concluded at the monastery of Oliva, in Polish Prussia, between John Casimir, King of Poland, and his confederates, the Emperor Leopold, and Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg, on the one part, and Charles XI. King of Sweden,

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1660 Sweden, on the other part; King Louis XIV. King of France, being guarantee. Wherein all that is essentially necessary for us to observe, is, the great additional weight thrown into the scale of Sweden, by Poland's yielding up or confirming to her, for ever, the large, fair, and fruitful province of Livonia; most of which, however, had been long before conquered and possessed by Sweden. On the other hand, Sweden yielded up to Poland the cities and forts she held in Polish Prussia.—The Emperor ceded to Holstein all that he held in that dutchy, and the Elector of Brandenburg yielded to Sweden all that he had held in western Pomerania.

We are now again returned to the legal constitution of England, of King, Lords, and Commons, by the restoration of King Charles the Second, on the twenty-ninth of May, in this year 1660: and the first act of Parliament, relating to our subject, is that of this twelfth year of the said King, cap. iv. entitled, “ A Subsidy granted to him of Tonnage and Poundage, “ and other sums of money, payable upon merchandize exported and imported :” the preamble to which act runs thus, viz.

“ The Commons assembled in Parliament, reposing trust and confidence in your Majesty, “ in and for the guarding and defending of the seas, against all persons intending, or that “ shall intend, the disturbance of your said Commons, in the intercourse of trade, and the “ invading of this your realm; for the better defraying the necessary expences thereof, which “ cannot otherwise be effected without great charge to your Majesty, do, by and with the “ advice and consent of the Lords,” the Bishops were not yet re-instated, “ in this your pre- “ sent Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, to the intent aforesaid, give “ and grant unto you, our supreme liege Lord and Sovereign, one subsidy, called tonnage; “ that is to say, of every ton of wine, of the growth of France,—that shall come into the “ port of London,—by way of merchandize, by your natural-born subjects, four pounds ten “ shillings,—and by strangers and aliens, six pounds,—and into the out-ports, three pounds “ by natural born subjects; and by aliens, four pounds ten shillings.—And, for every but or “ pipe of Muscadels, Malmseys, Gites, Tents, Alicants, Bastards, Sacks, Canaries, Malagas, “ Madeiras,” the first time this wine is mentioned by that name, “ and other wines whatso- “ ever, commonly called sweet wines, of the growth of the Levant, Spain, and Portugal, or “ any of them, or of the islands belonging to them, or elsewhere, that shall come into the “ port of London, brought by English subjects, two pounds five shillings,—and by aliens, “ three pounds;—and into the out-ports, by English subjects, one pound ten shillings,—and “ by aliens, two pounds five shillings;—also for Rhenish wines, by natural-born subjects, “ one pound per annum, and by aliens, one pound five shillings,—as in a book of rates here- “ in-after referred to:—and also one other subsidy, called poundage, *i. e.* of all manner of “ goods and merchandize exported or imported, either by denizens or aliens, twelve-pence “ for every twenty shillings, as in the book of rates valued, or *ad valorem*: and for English “ product or manufacture, exported by aliens, twelve-pence more for every twenty shillings “ over and above the first twenty shillings: excepting, however, all manner of woollen cloths, “ commonly called old draperies,—and all wines which shall have paid the above-named ton- “ nage,—and also fish, brought by Englishmen,—and all fresh fish and bestial, imported,— “ and all other goods mentioned to be custom free in the said book of rates.”

✂ No mention is as yet made in this new book of rates of tea, coffee, or chocolate, though they are all mentioned in an act of Parliament of this same year.

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1660 By an act of this same year, cap. xxv. for selling of wines by retail, &c. the following prices were fixed, viz.

I. Spanish and sweet wines not above one shilling and six-pence per quart :

II. French wines not above eight-pence per quart :

III. Rhenish wines not above twelve-pence per quart : penalty five pounds.

“ And we do hereby grant to our said liege Lord and Sovereign another subsidy, *i. e.* on every piece of short woollen cloth exported by Englishmen, called broad cloths, not exceeding twenty-eight yards in length and sixty-four pounds weight, the sum of three shillings and four-pence, and proportionably if of greater length or weight : and of lesser lengths and weight, exported by Englishmen, also three shillings and four-pence, and by aliens six shillings and eight-pence.—English merchants shipping goods, &c. in foreign ships from England, shall pay double duties, as if they were foreigners. But herrings and other sea fish exported, shall be duty free. And it is hereby enacted, that no rates shall be imposed on Englishmen without the authority of Parliament. No King’s collectors, &c. shall take more fees than was customary in the fourth year of the late King James.

Other goods, when at certain prices, may be exported, viz. gunpowder, when not exceeding five pounds the barrel : wheat, two pounds per quarter : rye, beans, and peas, one pound four shillings ; barley and malt, twenty shillings per quarter : oats, sixteen shillings ; beef, per barrel, five pounds ; pork, six pounds ten shillings ; bacon, per pound, six-pence ; butter, the barrel, four pounds ten shillings ; cheese, the hundred, one pound ten shillings ; candles, the dozen pounds, five shillings.

I. “ Provided always, that his Majesty may, by proclamation, at any time when he shall see cause so to do, and for such time as shall be therein expressed, prohibit the transportation of gunpowder, or any sort of arms or ammunition

“ And be it further enacted, that, over and above the rates herein before-mentioned, there shall be paid to your Majesty, on every ton of wine, of the growth of France, Germany, Portugal, or Madeira, brought into the port of London, or elsewhere, three pounds within nine months after importing. And of every ton of all other wines, four pounds. The importer to give security for payment. Yet if any of those wines shall be re-exported within twelve months after, then the aforesaid additional duty shall be returned. And the importer, paying ready money, shall be allowed ten per cent. discount.

II. “ Provided; that the prize of wines, or prize wines, shall pay no tonnage, customs, nor subsidy, in virtue of this act, nor of any thing therein contained.”

Although, in the preface to this work, it is declared, that it was not our intent to take notice of any duties, customs, or taxes, or the alterations of them, enacted from time to time; yet the above-recited famous act of Parliament having fixed the tonnage and subsidy on wines, and the poundage on divers other kinds of merchandize and provisions; referring to a new book of rates, which, though altered since this time, in many points, has however been, in general, a guide for the rates or duties of many other kinds of merchandize; and as, moreover, the ground of granting the ancient duties of tonnage and poundage, are in this act explained: we thought it proper to give the substance of the said law, by way of pattern or precedent.

By this same law the linen of France was too much favoured: for their fine dowlas was to pay only one halfpenny per ell; whilst fine linen of Flanders was to pay three-pence per ell duty.

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1660

We have seen the former reductions of the national or legal interest of money, in England, at different periods of time, occasioned from a proportionable increase of money and commerce; and we have shewn the rational grounds of and for those reductions, so far as hereafter to save our readers the trouble of more copiously enlarging on this subject.

The last reduction was from eight to six per cent. but as it was enacted by an illegal or usurped power, in the year 1651, the legal Parliament, at the restoration, could not consistently take direct notice of it, by way of confirmation; although, in effect, they do it by the preamble to the act, cap. xiii. that none shall take above six pounds for the loan of an hundred pounds for a year; which expresses itself in the following manner:

“ And whereas, in fresh memory, the like fall from eight to six in the hundred, by a late constant practice, hath found the like success, to the general contentment of this nation, as is visible by several improvements. And whereas nevertheless it is the endeavour of some at present to reduce it back again in practice to the allowance of the statute still in force,” *i. e.* to eight per cent. “ to the great discouragement of ingenuity and industry in the husbandry, trade, and commerce of this nation:—be it therefore enacted, that from and after the twenty-ninth of September 1660, none shall take above six pounds per cent. as above, and that all bonds and assurances whatever, made after the time aforesaid, for payment of any principal money to be lent or covenanted to be performed, upon or for any usury, whereupon there shall be reserved or taken above the rate of six pounds in the hundred, shall be utterly void.—And the taker of any higher interest or usury, shall forfeit, for every such offence, the treble value of the money so lent, &c.

Two things are worth remarking on this act, viz.

First, That the word usury was still the legal term for the lawful interest of money.

Secondly, That this act does not take the least notice of the unlawfulness, in point of religion or conscience, or the sin of taking usury or interest for the loan of money, as had been expressed in the two preceding legal acts for the reduction of it.

Upon this reduction, Sir Josiah Child remarks, as he also did in treating on the two former reductions:

“ I. That in about twenty years after the like reduction by the Rump Parliament, in 1651, notwithstanding the long civil wars and the great complaints of the deadness of trade, there are more men to be found upon the exchange now,” (*i. e.* about 1688; as he first published his Brief Observations concerning Trade and Interest of Money, in a small quarto pamphlet, in that year 1688, to which he made a short addition in the same year: so, by degrees, his judicious writings on commerce have swelled to a reasonable octavo book:) “ worth ten thousand pounds than were then worth one thousand pounds.—And that five hundred pounds sixty years before, with a daughter, was esteemed a larger portion than two thousand pounds in his time.

“ II. That gentlewomen, in those days, esteemed themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid now would be ashamed to be seen in.—That, beside the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, there were one hundred coaches now,” *i. e.* about the year 1688, “ to one kept formerly.”

All which, and much more, he solely ascribes to the abatement of interest, which he calls the *causa causans* of all the other causes of the riches of the Dutch, as well as of ourselves, increased to six times what it then was. “ Hereby also,” says he, “ we are enabled to pay a greater tax in one year than our forefathers could in twenty.” “ I can,” says he, “ my-

“ I self remember since there were not used in London so many wharfs or quays, for landing
 “ of merchants goods, by at least one third part, as now there are ; and those that were then
 “ could scarce have employment for half what they could do.—Lands in the country now
 “ yield twenty years purchase, which would not then have yielded above eight or ten at
 “ most. The same farms or lands to be now sold, would yield treble,” and in some cases six
 times, “ the money they were sold for fifty years ago.—Ireland has also been vastly improved
 “ in its lands, since great part of it has been lately possessed by the industrious English, who
 “ were soldiers in the late army.” In brief, he lays it down as a constant rule to judge whe-
 ther any country be rich or poor, to know what interest they pay for money. “ Near home,”
 continues he, “ we see it evidently, in Scotland and Ireland, where, ten and twelve per cent.
 “ being paid for interest,” (here he is certainly mistaken as to Scotland, whose Parliament,
 as we have seen, did, in the year 1633, reduce their national interest from ten to eight per
 cent. as we shall soon see them further reducing it to six per cent.) “ the people are poor, de-
 “ spicable, ill-clothed, and their houses worse provided ; money intolerably scarce, notwith-
 “ standing their great plenty of all provisions. In France, where money is at seven per cent.
 “ lands yield about eighteen years purchase. In Italy, money will not yield above three per
 “ cent. upon real security ; and there the people are rich, full of trade, well attired, and their
 “ lands will sell at thirty-five to forty years purchase : and that it is so, or better with them
 “ in Holland, is too manifest. In Turkey, twenty per cent. is their interest, which makes
 “ commerce there to be engrossed by a few, as is always the case where interest is very high,
 “ and was the case in England in Elizabeth’s and James the First’s time, when interest was
 “ at ten per cent. In Spain, the usual interest is ten and twelve per cent. and there, not-
 “ withstanding they have the only trade in the world for gold and silver, money is no where
 “ more scarce ; the people poor, despicable, and void of commerce, other than what the Eng-
 “ lish, Dutch, Italians, Jews, and other foreigners, bring to them ; who are to them, in
 “ effect, as leeches, who suck their blood and vital spirits from them.”

This author, however, seems to have been aware of a very strong objection against a pre-
 cipitate reduction of the legal interest of money in a nation, without duly attending to what
 may very properly be termed the natural interest of money in such a nation, *i. e.* at what in-
 terest money may generally be borrowed on good security ; so that such proposed legal reduc-
 tion of interest should not be very different from the said natural interest of money at such re-
 spective time proposed : wherefore he observes, “ that the matter in England was, at that
 “ time, prepared for an abatement of the” legal “ interest ; for,” says he, “ the East India
 “ Company do now borrow,” in the year 1688, “ what they want at four per cent.”

Yet notwithstanding all that this able and experienced gentleman has said upon this favour-
 ite subject of his, it seems to us, that he has not sufficiently considered another point, *viz.*
 that low interest for money, in any country, is, at least, as much the effect as the cause of
 wealth and commerce. An increase of commerce brings an increase of wealth, which is ever
 attended with an increase of money, and such increase of money will naturally and necessarily
 produce a low rate of interest, as plenty of any thing whatever, consequently causes its cheap-
 ness. A wise nation may indeed facilitate the reduction of its legal interest, by good and pru-
 dent preparatory regulations, and thereby contribute to the increase of commerce, and to the
 encouragement of agriculture : but such reduction of the legal interest is to be done with great
 circumspection, and ever with a due regard to the current natural interest of money, at any
 such proposed time.

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In this same year and session of Parliament, was the first legal act, cap. xviii. passed for the general encouragement and encrease of shipping and navigation. "Wherein," says its preamble, "under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of this kingdom are so much concerned."

The principal enacting clauses are,

I. "No goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into, or exported from, any of the King's lands, islands, plantations, or territories, in Asia, Africa, or America, in any other than English, Irish, or plantation-built ships; and whereof the master, and at least three-fourths of the mariners shall be Englishmen; under forfeiture of ships and goods.

II. "None but natural born subjects, or naturalized, shall henceforth exercise the occupation of a merchant or factor in those places; under forfeiture of goods and chattels." This clause is a good improvement on the Rump's act of navigation, in the year 1651; it having been before common to have Dutch merchants to be factors and agents in our colonies.

III. "No goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, shall be imported into England, but in such ships as do truly belong to English people, either here, or in the King's lands or plantations in those parts, and navigated as in the first clause above." This clause secured the East India, Guinea, and Levant companies from foreign ships, as well as it did our American colonies.

IV. "No goods or commodities of foreign growth, production, or manufacture, which shall be brought into England, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey, &c. other than in ships built and navigated as aforesaid, shall be shipped from any other place but the place of their growth, production, or manufacture, or from those ports where they can only be, or usually have been brought; under forfeiture of ship and goods." So lately as about the year 1755, or 1756, twelve ships from Apenrade, in Denmark, were guilty of a breach of this clause, by bringing timber to Liverpool, not of the growth of Denmark, and were obliged to compound for the same; as were two ships from the said town of Apenrade, the next year, for timber brought to the port of Leith. So necessary is it for the freighters and commanders of trading ships to know the mercantile laws of the country they trade to.

V. "Such salted fish, train-oil, and whale fins, (as have been usually caught, &c. by the English or Irish) not caught, cured, &c. by English or Irish, nor imported in vessels truly English, and navigated as above, shall pay double aliens customs."

VI. "No goods nor provisions shall be carried coast-wise, from one English port to another, in vessels whereof any stranger, not naturalized, is owner in whole or in part, and which shall not be navigated as before.

VII. "No goods of the growth, &c. of Russia, as also no masts, timber, or boards, foreign salt, pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, flax, raisins, figs, prunes, olive-oil, corn, sugar, pot-ash, wines, vinegar, and spirits, shall be imported in any ships, but such whereof the true owners are English, and navigated as aforesaid. Nor any currants, or other goods, of the Turks dominions, but in English-built ships, and navigated as aforesaid. Excepting only such foreign ships as are of the built of that country of which the said goods are the growth, &c. or of such port where the aforesaid goods can only be, or most usually are, first shipped for transportation; and whereof the master, and three-fourths of the mariners at least, are of the said country or place.

VIII. "To prevent the colouring or concealing of aliens goods, all the foreign goods before-named, which shall be henceforth imported into England, in ships not belonging to

"England,

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1660 “ England, and not navigated as aforesaid, shall be deemed aliens goods, and shall pay all strangers customs and port dues.”

IX. “ To prevent the like frauds in colouring the buying of foreign ships :

“ 1. No foreign-built ship shall enjoy the privileges of one belonging to England, till first the owners make it appear that they are not aliens : and,

“ 2. They shall swear that they gave a valuable consideration (to be then specified) for such ship, and that no foreigner has any share therein. Of all which a certificate shall be produced, and a register kept.”—Ever since this act, there is an officer established at the custom-house, called the Surveyor of the Act of Navigation, who keeps the register of all British-built ships, &c.

X. “ This act shall not extend to merchandize from any place within the Straits of Gibraltar, if it be brought from the usual ports there, though not from the place of its growth, production, or manufacture ; (this clause has a special respect to goods brought from Turkey, though the product, &c. of Persia and Arabia, &c.) “ so as the ship and crew be qualified as above. The like as to all East India commodities, brought from any place east of the Cape of Good Hope. Moreover, English ships, navigated as above, may import from Spain, Portugal, the Canaries, Azores, and Madeira, all sorts of goods of the plantations Spain or Portugal.

XI. “ Bullion, prize-goods, corn, and salt,” (and fish from Scotland, in Scottish-built ships, and three-fourths of the mariners the King’s subjects) “ are excepted out of this act ; and seal-oil from Russia, in English ships, and three-fourths English mariners.

XII. “ French ships, in our ports, shall pay five shillings per ton, so long as English ships in French ports pay fifty sols per ton.”

The Dutch were exempted from this imposition of fifty sols per ton, by the treaty of Ryfwick, much to the damage of France, says the French Council of Trade, in their report, in the year 1701 ; since that duty, which before had produced from six to seven hundred thousand livres, now (*i. e.* in the same year) yields but one hundred thousand.

XIII. “ No sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fuslic, and other dying woods, of the growth or manufacture of our Asian, African, or American colonies, shall be shipped from the said colonies to any place but to England, Ireland,” (This last country is left out in all subsequent acts, and expressly excepted by cap. xxvi. of the twenty-second and twenty-third of the said King) “ or to some other of his Majesty’s said plantations, there to be landed ; under forfeiture as before. And to make effectual this last-named clause, for the sole benefit of our own navigation and people, the owners of the ships shall give bonds, at their setting out, for the due performance thereof.”—Confirmed by the twenty-fifth of King Charles the Second, chap. vii.

These were called enumerated commodities ; and by the acts of the fifteenth, twenty-second, and twenty-third of this reign, (the first, for the encouraging of trade ; and the others, for the preventing the planting of tobacco in England, and for regulating the plantation-trade) the enumerated commodities, in the first act, were expressly prohibited to be carried to Ireland, till first landed in England.

By the third and fourth of Queen Anne, rice and molasses are made enumerated commodities ; but by the third of King George the Second, rice is again rendered unenumerated.—By the eighth of King George the First, for encouraging the silk manufacture, beaver, and other peltry of America, are made enumerated. And by the second of King George the Second,

pitch,

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1660 pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards, and bowsprits, from our plantations, are also made enumerated commodities; and all other plantation goods are called unenumerated. And by the eighth of George the First, cap. xviii. copper ore of the plantations was made an enumerated commodity; that is, such a one must be first landed in England, before it can be landed in foreign parts.

These enumerated commodities will, probably, be hereafter found necessary to be altered, with the unforeseen changes necessarily happening in our American and European commerce.

This is the substance of this very long act, so necessary to be inserted in this work, as being perhaps the most important statute, in behalf of commerce, that ever was enacted in this, or, possibly, in any other nation. Indeed, Sir Josiah Child, in his Discourse on Trade, was so entirely of this opinion, that he thinks it deserves to be called our *Charta Maritima*.

There wanted not, however, authors, who, at first, as in a former one, enacted by the Rump, found fault with it; affirming, that it would be destructive to our commerce, &c. In Roger Coke's Discourse of Trade, published even so late as 1670, he asserts, "That in two years after the Navigation Act of the Rump Parliament, in the year 1651, the building of ships in England became one-third dearer than before," (at which none but such a head as his would have wondered) "and that seamen's wages became so excessive dear, that we have wholly lost the Muscovy and Greenland trades, whereby we gave the Dutch, and other nations, the power of driving the trade of the world." Yet, on the contrary, we, by this Navigation Act, have gradually obtained a vast increase of shipping and mariners: for, by patience and steadiness, we have, in length of time, obtained the two great ends of this ever-famous act, viz.

I. The bringing our own people to build ships for carrying on such an extensive commerce as they had not before. Sir Josiah Child was of opinion, "That, without this act, we had not now," (*i. e.* in 1658) "been owners of one half of the shipping nor trade, nor should have employed one half of the seamen we do at present." So vast an alteration had this act brought about in a few years: so that we are at length become, in a great measure, what the Dutch once were, that is, the great carriers of Europe, more especially within the Mediterranean sea.

II. By this act we have absolutely excluded all other nations from any direct trade or correspondence with our American plantations; and, were it not for this act, says our before-quoted able author, we should see forty Dutch ships at our own plantations, for one of England.—That, before the passing of this act, and whilst our American colonies were but in their infancy, the ships of other European nations, more especially of the Dutch, resorted to our plantations both to lade and unlade; and their merchants and factors nestled themselves amongst our people there, which utterly frustrated the original intent of our planting those colonies, viz. to be a benefit to their mother-country, to which they owed their being and protection. It could not therefore be thought strange, that when our planters were become able to stand on their own legs, and to supply considerable quantities of materials for exportation, as was now the case of Virginia for tobacco, and of Barbadoes for sugar, ginger, cotton, &c. our legislature thought it high time to secure to ourselves alone, those increasing benefits which had been produced at our sole charge and trouble. And, in this respect, Spain had long before set us a just and laudable example, since followed by the other principal European nations who have made settlements in America.

We may here also observe, that, till this act took place, the Dutch, in a manner, engrossed the whole trade to Sweden; whereas, by this regulation, our English ships have since got a share of the trade thither.

Such immense benefits, obtained by this act, may well be our justification for enlarging so much on it; since the history of our commerce must have been left very imperfect, without duly illustrating what has been one great means of increasing both our commerce and naval power.

Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, part i. chap. 22. treating of the expedience of Holland's easing its own, and charging foreign manufactures with duties, observes, "That in this same year 1660, the English settled their rates of customs and convoy-money so well, to favour their own people as much as possible, and to burthen all foreign masters of ships and merchants," (he meant by this the Navigation Act) "that it is to be feared the English merchants may in time bereave the Dutch of much of their trade." Than which there cannot be a stronger approbation or commendation of our navigation laws.

We have seen, under the years 1645 and 1656, that wards, liveries, and tenures *in capite*, and by knights service, were abolished by the Long Parliament, and also by the Rump. And the people of England having enjoyed the benefits thereof for fifteen years past, it could not but be very acceptable to them to have it legally confirmed, at the restoration of King Charles the Second, in the year 1660, and the twelfth of his reign, cap. 24. the preamble to which will shew what opinion the Parliament had of those old slavish dependencies of the people on the crown, and on the great lords, viz.

"Whereas it hath been found, by former experience, that the court of wards and liveries, and of tenures by knights service, either of the King or others, or by knights service *in capite*, or soccage *in capite* of the King; and the consequents upon the same have been much more burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the kingdom, than they have been beneficial to the King. And whereas, since the intermission of the said court, in the year 1645, many persons have, by will, and otherwise, made disposal of their lands held by knights service, whereupon diverse questions might possibly arise, unless some seasonable remedy be taken, to prevent the same:—Be it therefore enacted,—That the court of wards and liveries, and all wardships and liveries, *premier-seizins*, and also voyages-royal and *oustre-les-mains*, values and forfeitures of marriages, by reason of any tenure of the King's Majesty, or of any other knights service, fines for alienations, escuage, tenures by homage; and also *aides pur file-mariage*, and *pur faire fitz-chevalier*, be taken away and discharged. And that all tenures before-mentioned be utterly abolished; and all tenures of any honours, manors, lands, or any estate of inheritance at the common law, held either of the King, or of any other person, be hereby turned into free and common soccage, from that time for ever."—By this act also, "Purveyance of provisions, &c. for the King's household, was taken away, so as no money or other things shall be taken, imposed, or levied, for any provision, carriages, or purveyance for the crown. Nor shall the subjects timber, fuel, corn, cattle, hay, straw, victual, carts, carriage-horses, &c. be taken away without their free and full consent. Neither shall the crown hereafter have any pre-emption, in market or out of market; but the subjects shall freely buy and sell how, and to whom they please, under proper penalties and forfeitures."

This famous law, which took away all servile tenures and dependencies, either on the King, or on the great lords; and also, for the future, absolutely prevented the arbitrary treatment
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1660 of the people by the King's officers, under pretence of purveying or providing for his table, journies, &c. was, at that time, in some degree, looked on as a second Magna Charta for the people of England. It was therefore judged but reasonable, that the crown, which had hereby lost many emoluments, and much power and influence, should be recompensed some other way: by this same act therefore, "the duties of excise on malt liquors, cyder, perry, " mead, spirits or strong waters, coffee, tea, sherbet, and chocolate, were settled on him during his life, by way of additional revenue to the tonnage and poundage act already recited." This is the first time we meet with the public mention of tea and chocolate, or of coffee, in the Statute-book.

In this same year 1660, an act of Parliament, cap. xxxii. again prohibited the exportation of live sheep, wool, woollen-yarn, and fullers-earth, of the produce of England and Ireland; upon the forfeiture thereof, and of the ships carrying them, and also of the penalty of twenty shillings for every sheep, and three shillings for every pound of wool; and also three months imprisonment for the master of such ship.

A clause was, however, added in behalf of the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, Alderney and Sark, by granting them licence, annually to export thither three thousand three hundred tods of uncombed wool, each tod not exceeding thirty-two pounds: which licence, it is said, gave birth to the great stocking-trade of those isles, and thereby sunk the stocking-manufacture of Somersetshire, and some other parts of England. This was the first legal act for the express and general prohibition of the exportation of wool by English subjects.

Several additions and penalties have since been enacted for corroboration thereof; yet such is the force of the temptation to gain, that, to this day, the complaints of the exportation of wool to France and Holland are as loud as ever: and although numberless schemes and proposals for new laws and penalties, have so often been offered to the public, yet none of them have been hitherto judged practicable in every respect.

Some authors tell us, that, in this year, the Dutch East India Company divided sixty per cent. on their capital stock to the proprietors, yet others say but forty per cent. These large dividends were sometimes made in India spices, especially at such times as that company's ships imported a greater quantity thereof than usual.

In this same memorable year, we have the first legal act of Parliament, cap. xxxiv. against the planting of tobacco in England or Ireland: and which first takes notice, "of the great " concern and importance of the colonies and plantations of England in America; and that " all due and possible encouragement should be given to them; not only as great dominions " have thereby been added to the imperial crown of England, but also, that the strength and " welfare of the kingdom very much depend on them, in regard to the employment of a considerable part of its shipping and seamen, and of the vent of very great quantities of its native commodities and manufactures; as also of their supplying us with several commodities formerly furnished us by foreigners. And forasmuch as tobacco is one of the main products of several of those plantations, it is hereby prohibited to be planted in England or Ireland; as depriving the King of a considerable part of his revenue by customs. Besides that, tobacco of our own growth is, by experience, found not to be so wholesome as our plantation tobacco."

The first Earl of Clarendon, (Lord Chancellor) in his own defence, upon his impeachment in Parliament, observed, "That soon after King Charles's restoration, he used all the " endeavours he could, for preparing and disposing his Majesty to have a great esteem of his " plantations,

“ plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them : and that he was confirmed in his
 “ said opinion and desire, as soon as he had a view of the entries at the custom-house, by
 “ which he found what a great revenue accrued to the King from those plantations : in-
 “ much, that the receipts from thence had, upon the matter, repaired the decrease of the cus-
 “ toms, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade.”

As the ingenious author of the Present State of England, published in the year 1683, part iii. p. 259, observes, that asparagus, artichokes, oranges, and lemons, were then but of a late date in England ; we imagine they may have been first produced with us about or near the time of the restoration ; and, probably, the colliflower was rather somewhat, though very little, later than this time ; as were also various kinds of beans, peas, and salads, now in common use.

In this same year, the rates of the post-office, for England and Ireland, were legally established by act of Parliament, cap. xxxv. in the twelfth of Charles II. much the same as in the year 1653. Letters of one sheet, to any place not exceeding eighty miles, to be charged but two-pence ; and for one of two sheets, four-pence ; and proportionably for larger packets, at the rate of eight-pence per ounce : and for one sheet above the distance of eighty miles, three-pence, and two sheets, six-pence ; and proportionably twelve-pence per ounce. Also one sheet from London to Berwick, three-pence ; two sheets, six-pence ; and one shilling and six-pence per ounce. From Berwick to forty miles distance, two-pence ; and for two sheets, four-pence ; and per ounce, eight-pence. And from Berwick farther than forty miles, a single letter four-pence ; and a double letter, or two sheets, eight-pence ; and one shilling per ounce.— From any part of England to Dublin, one sheet, six-pence ; and two sheets, one shilling ; and two shillings per ounce. From Dublin to any part of Ireland, forty miles distant, two-pence ; and two sheets, four-pence ; and eight-pence per ounce ; and double for a greater distance. The foreign letters we omit, for brevity's sake, as they are in every counting-house.

This revenue was found to bring in twenty-one thousand five hundred pounds, when it and the wine licenses were settled, in the year 1663, on the Duke of York. All the foregoing acts of Parliament being made without the bishops, and that Parliament being dissolved on the twentieth of December, 1660, the next Parliament, in the thirteenth year of King Charles the Second, cap. xiv. thought fit to re-enact all the said acts.

Till King William the Third's reign, there was no act of Parliament in Scotland concerning posts, though it is certain they had posts long before. By a resolution of the Committee of the British House of Commons, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1735, and agreed to by the said House of Commons, it appears, that Members of Parliament franking their letters was coeval with this establishment, viz.

“ Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the privilege of franking letters
 “ by the knights, citizens, and burgesses, chosen to represent the Commons in Parliament,
 “ began with the erecting a post-office within this kingdom, by act of Parliament.—And that
 “ all letters, not exceeding two ounces, signed by, or directed to, any Member of this House,
 “ during the sitting of every session of Parliament, and forty days before, and forty days after,
 “ every summons or prorogation, ought to be carried and delivered freely from all parts of
 “ Great Britain and Ireland, without any charge of postage.”

It was not till after King Charles the Second's restoration, that the French began first to invade the island of Newfoundland, till then solely possessed by England. They soon settled on the southern coast of it, by the aid they had from their colony in Canada, and strongly fortified.

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1660 fortified themselves at Placentia ; where they continued to encroach on the English in the wars of King William and Queen Anne : the various historical events whereof, relating to this island, would be too tedious, and little to our purpose ; since, as we shall see, it was entirely restored to England in the year 1713.

It is certain that there is a vast profit accruing to the public from the Newfoundland fishery, chiefly carried on from the western ports of the kingdom. It breeds great numbers of excellent seamen : it keeps up a great number of shipping ; it employs many various trades ; it perhaps gains us almost four hundred thousand pounds per annum increase to the national stock of treasure, from Portugal, Spain, and Italy, to which countries most of the fish is carried, what is shipped for Britain and Ireland being but inconsiderable, when compared with what is sent to those countries : and some also is sent to the sugar islands. Computations have been made, that a ship of one hundred tons usually carries to market as much fish as yields three thousand pounds, of which two thousand pounds is said to be clear gain ; which shews, that the fishery is of all trades the most profitable. There were usually two different ways of conducting that trade, viz.

First, Such as victual and man their ships from Poole, Dartmouth, and Biddeford, and other western ports, and resort early to the Banks of Newfoundland, to fish on their own proper account :—Or,

Secondly, Those who sail directly to the land, and purchase those cargoes of the fishers ; or else of the inhabitants from their stages. The banks are vast shoals of sand-hills, lying on the ocean, on which the cod delight to be in infinite numbers. Train-oil is drawn from their livers in considerable quantities. On those banks, and on the coasts of Newfoundland, off the harbours in flocks, there have been seen six or seven hundred ships, of different nations, fishing at the same time.

In this same year 1660, Sir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the island of Barbadoes, having acquired a vast fortune there, chose to remove from thence, and settle in Jamaica, where he instructed the young English planters to cultivate the sugar-cane ; for which, and his other great improvements, he was afterwards appointed governor of the said island of Jamaica, and so continued from 1663, to 1669.

About this time, the Hollanders attempted the conquest of Goa, the chief settlement of the Portuguese in East India ; but it being then probably in a better condition than it has since been, they were not able to take it, although they blocked up the bar of that city for twelve years together.

Goa was still a magnificent city, full of churches and monasteries ; some accounts say, to the number of eighty ; and that its district extended forty miles along the coast, and fifteen miles within land. That there were then about thirty thousand persons in its district, who lived by the church ; being equal in number to the laity there, (a most wise nation, surely !) beside fifty thousand native Indians. Yet it is no wonder that most of the laity are described to be poor, since the clergy swallow up the bulk of its riches. Goa is, in our time, much decayed ; occasioned chiefly indeed by Portugal's having lost most of its settlements and factories in India : yet it was described, some years ago, to have one hundred and forty thousand people, of all forts, under the Portuguese dominion, in the isles of Goa, South Salfet, and Bardes ; whither three or four large vessels went yearly from Portugal, but now probably not so many.

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We may here take notice, that in this same year, an act of Parliament passed, though here somewhat out of its place, cap. xxii. in favour of the Dutch or Flemings at Colchester, who had first brought into England, in Queen Elizabeth's time, the manufacture of bayes.

"Hereby, the governor of the Dutch Baye-hall in that town, and the Dutch people belonging to that community, were confirmed in all the privileges and immunities which they had at any preceding time enjoyed, for the well governing of their said trade.—And all bayes made in that town, were hereby directed to be first carried to their Row-hall, to be searched and stamped, before they be sold."

Wheat, per quarter, two pounds sixteen shillings and six-pence.—*Chronicon Preciosum*.

In this twelfth year of King Charles the Second, both his gold and silver money were coined into the same pieces as in the second year of his father, (see the year 1626) and was all hammered till 1663, when milled money was coined.

In this very remarkable year, 1660, was the *Royal Society of London* first formed and incorporated, by King Charles the Second; of which the author of this work does not presume to give the complete and perfect character and eulogium. It is sufficient for his purpose only to remark, that its improvements in astronomy and geography, are alone sufficient to exalt its reputation, and to demonstrate its great utility even to the mercantile world, without insisting on its many and great improvements in other arts and sciences, some of which have also a relation to commerce, navigation, manufactures, mines, agriculture, &c.

Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis the Fourteenth*, vol. ii. observes, "That to this illustrious society the world is indebted for the late discoveries relating to light,—the principle of gravitation,—the motion of the fixed stars,—the geometry of transcendant qualities,—and an hundred other discoveries, which, in this respect, might justly denominate the age we speak of to be the Age of the English, as well as the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth."

In 1666, the great Colbert, emulous of this glory to England, brought King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, at the request also of several other men of learning, to establish the *French Academy of Sciences*, which, in 1669, became an incorporated body, like ours of London; as several others have since been in other countries of Europe.

So greatly was the commerce, and, consequently, the wealth of England increased by this time, that several political writers (and particularly the anonymous author of the *Happy Future State of England*, thought by some to be the then Earl of Anglesey, published in folio, in the year 1689, and often before quoted) are of opinion, that the revenue of England, at the restoration, was quintuple of what it was at the reformation from Popery, in King Henry the Eighth's time. This, we apprehend, may be probable enough; yet no author, that we know of, has clearly made it out to be precisely such a proportion of increase; and therefore we shall leave it as we found it, rather than mislead our readers by positive assertions, void of absolute proof, which it is not easy to come at.

Whilst the East India trade from England remained, in a manner, free and open, viz. from 1653 to 1657, an incident in East India had well nigh made an open breach between our two Houses of Parliament, after the restoration, and made a great bustle for some years.

In the said year 1657, Thomas Skinner, a merchant, had fitted out a ship for India, where he arrived in 1658. At the same time, the then East India Company had a new charter from Cromwell, and their agents seized on his ship and merchandize, and on his house and island of Barella, which he had bought of the King of Jamby. Those agents even denied him a passage home; so that he was obliged to journey over land from India to Europe. His case, and

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1660 and the learned law debates about it, take up an entire octavo book: but though formerly it bore a great price, it is now of little value. For several years after the restoration, Skinner made lamentable complaints to the King, who at length recommended his case to a Committee of the Council, and next to the House of Peers, to whom also Skinner petitioned for redress. The Peers directed the East India Company to answer, who pleaded their exclusive privileges and trade in and to India, and also demurred to the Lords jurisdiction, as not coming to them regularly, by appeal from an inferior court.—The Lords over-rule this plea, and, in 1666, appoint Skinner's case to be pleaded at their bar; yet the Company found means to get it postponed to the year 1667, when they again demur as before, and at the same time petition the House of Commons against the proceedings of the House of Lords, which they alleged to be contrary to law. The Lords hereupon were greatly inflamed, and finally gave Skinner five thousand pounds damages, to be paid by the East India Company. This inflamed the House of Commons, who hereupon not only pass some very warm votes against the House of Lords, but send poor Skinner prisoner to the Tower. The Lords are thereby farther inflamed, and vote the Company's petition to the House of Commons to be false and scandalous. Hereupon the Commons resolve, "that whoever should execute the sentence of the Lords, in favour of Skinner, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of their House." Those violent heats obliged the King to adjourn the Parliament seven times, and the quarrel reviving in the session of 1670, the King called both Houses to Whitehall, and prevailed on them to erase all the votes, &c. of both Houses on this subject. Thus it ended, after many elaborate disquisitions on the jurisdiction of either House of Parliament: nor does it clearly appear, that Skinner ever had any redress at all.

☞ Vide the Grand Question concerning the jurisdiction of the House of Peers, stated and argued: in the Case of Thomas Skinner. Octavo: two hundred and nineteen pages. London 1669.

1661 In the year 1661, King Charles the Second, in this thirteenth year of his reign, granted a new or supplementary charter to the English Levant or Turkey Company. Whereby, after ratifying and confirming that Company's first charter, granted, in the year 1605, it is directed, "that no person residing within twenty miles of London, excepting noblemen and gentlemen of quality, shall be admitted into the freedom of the said Company, unless first made free of the city of London." So hereby all persons who from thenceforth desired to trade to Turkey, and were not free of the city of London, were put to a considerable additional expence in taking up the said freedom, which has been since frequently found fault with.

After the restoration of King Charles the Second, the English East India Company being supposed, notwithstanding the disorders in it of late years, still to exist, as established by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the First, obtained of that Prince a new and exclusive charter, dated the third of April, 1661, by the old name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies. "It was to consist of a governor, a deputy governor, and twenty-four committees," since called directors, "to be annually elected; the limits of their trade the same as in those former charters. They," *i. e.* every freeman of this Company, "their sons at twenty-one years of age, their apprentices, factors, and servants, employed in this trade, might freely trade to India, in such manner only as a general court should direct. The Company to have perpetual succession, to make bye laws, and impose penalties not repugnant to the laws of England;—might ex-

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“ port only fifty thousand pounds in foreign silver annually.—And, in time of restraint, to
 “ be allowed six good ships and six good pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, to sail yearly
 “ to India; unless the King should judge proper to stop them from going, in order to rein-
 “ force his royal navy for defence of the realm, on urgent occasions.—None other should
 “ trade to India without their licence, on pain of forfeiting ships and goods, one half to the
 “ crown, one half to the Company.—They might admit into their freedom all such appren-
 “ tices, factors, and servants of any freeman of the Company, and all such others, as a ma-
 “ jority of their general courts should chuse.—The Company must import, within six months
 “ after every voyage, at least as much silver as they carried out.—All their gold and silver ex-
 “ ported must be shipped at London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth.—Adventurers to have votes
 “ in proportion to their stock paid in on the respective voyages.—Five hundred pounds stock
 “ to be one vote; and any such freemen as have paid in less than five hundred pounds
 “ might join together, and make up five hundred pounds, or one vote, jointly. The Com-
 “ pany to have and enjoy all plantations, forts, factories, &c. in the East Indies;—may erect
 “ new fortifications there, or at St. Helena, immediately under their command;—shall have
 “ six and six months time for the payment of the King’s customs, *i. e.* half in six months,
 “ and the other half six months after. And if any goods, which shall have paid custom, shall
 “ be lost, the custom shall be returned to the losers;—may appoint governors, judges, &c.
 “ thereof, and may judge all persons living under them, both in civil and criminal causes;—
 “ might make war and peace with any prince or people that are not Christians, within their
 “ limits, as shall be most for the benefit of their trade, and may recompense themselves on
 “ the goods, estates, or people there who shall injure them;—may build, plant, and fortify
 “ at St. Helena, and elsewhere, within their limits;—may transport such numbers of men as
 “ they shall think fit, being willing thereunto, and govern them there, in such legal manner
 “ as the Company shall think fit, and may inflict punishments, fines, &c. for misdemeanors;
 “ may seize on the persons of all such English subjects, sailing in any Indian or English
 “ vessel, or inhabiting there without the Company’s leave first obtained, and may send them
 “ to England.—Persons in the Company’s service, appealing from the sentence of the gover-
 “ nors, &c. in India, are to be sent home to receive sentence of the Company, agreeable to
 “ the laws of the land.—Governors, &c. in India may examine, upon oath, all factors, mas-
 “ ters, purfers, &c. for discovery of injuries.”

First proviso, “ That this Company may not trade to any place within their limits, already
 “ possessed by any Christian Prince or State in amity with his Majesty, without the consent of
 “ such Prince or State.

Second proviso, “ That in case the continuance of this charter, or of any part thereof, shall
 “ hereafter appear to the King or his successors, not to be profitable to the crown or kingdom;
 “ then, after three years warning given to this Company by the crown, this present charter
 “ shall be void to all intents and purposes.” The rest is only a repetition of the clauses in
 Queen Elizabeth’s charter, in the year 1600, to which therefore, for brevity’s sake, we refer.

Thus the very people and their capital stock, re-incorporated by Cromwell in the year
 1657, were now again legally established and confirmed by this charter; in which, however,
 there were some powers, relating to punishments of delinquents, &c. that were afterwards
 deemed illegal and arbitrary.

By this charter it appears, that this Company had not, in the manner of our modern East
 India Company, one sole transferable joint stock; but that every one, who was free of this
 Company;

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1661 Company, paid a certain sum of money to the Company, on the fitting out of their voyages, for which he had credit in the Company's books, and had his proportionable dividend on the profits of such respective voyage. The whole investments were made by the Company in their corporate capacity : but they were not established as an irrevocable corporation, as they might be dissolved on three years notice.

By the petition of Charles Lord Baltimore, a minor, to the Parliament, in the year 1715, against a bill then depending, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America, &c. it is set forth, " that in this year 1661, Charles Lord Baltimore " failed to his province of Maryland : and that from the first settlement of that province, in " the year 1635, till this voyage of his said lordship, being twenty-six years, Maryland had " yielded little or nothing to the family : but that, nevertheless, the duties on tobacco plant- " ed there, in that time, had brought in a considerable revenue to the crown, at the sole " charge of that family."

In this same year 1661, the Dutch East India Company were driven out of the island of Formosa by the Chinese, after they had held it from the year 1635, when they expelled the Portuguese. The Dutch hereupon retired to and fortified on some small isles in the neighbourhood of Formosa.

In the course of the same year, the said Dutch Company had expelled the Portuguese out of the following important forts and ports on the coast of Malabar, viz. Coulan, Cananor, Cochin, Cranganor, and Calicut, though with much difficulty.

By an act of Parliament of the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles the Second, cap. ii. for repairing the highways and sewers, and paving and keeping clean the streets in and about London and Westminster ; and for reforming of annoyances and disorders there ; and for regulating and licensing of hackney coaches ; and for the enlarging of several strait and inconvenient streets and passages ; it appears, that many new streets were then scarcely finished in and about St. James's parish :

First, The following common highways and new built streets are directed to be immediately repaired and new paved, viz.

" The street or way from the end of Petty France to St. James's House," this definition is at present so dark, that it is now difficult to know what part was meant, " one other street " from St. James's House up to the highway," *i. e.* now called St. James's-street, " one " other street in St. James's-fields, commonly called the Pall-mall, and also one other street " beginning from the Meuse up to Piccadilly," *i. e.* St. James's Hay-marker, " and from " thence towards the Stone Bridge, to the furthestmost building near the Bull, at the corner of " Air-street." These were hereby directed to be paved.—At the rate of sixteen-pence for every square yard, out from the houses or garden walls to the middle of the way, at the expence of the proprietors of those houses, &c.

Secondly, The other ways to be kept in repair out of the money arising from four hundred hackney coaches hereby directed to be licenced, at five pounds to be paid annually for every coach. The rates of the said coaches, by the day, by the hour, and by the ground, hereby established exactly the same as at this day.

Thirdly, Candles or lights in lanthorns to be hung out by every householder fronting the streets, in London, Westminster, and suburbs, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, from its being dark until nine in the evening.

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Fourthly, The following streets and narrow passages are hereby directed to be widened, viz.

The street or passage near Stocks in London.—The street or passage from Fleet Conduit to St. Paul's Church in London.—The passage from the White Hart Inn from the Strand, into Covent Garden.—The street and passage by and near Exeter House and the Savoy, being obstructed by a rail and the unevenness of the ground thereabouts.—The passage and street of St. Martin's-lane out of the Strand.—The passage or street of Field-lane, commonly called Jack-an-apes-lane, going between Chancery-lane and Lincoln's-inn-fields.—The passage and gate-house of Cheap-side into St. Paul's Church-yard.—The passage against St. Dunstan's Church in the West, being obstructed by a wall.—The street and passage by and near the west end of the poultry in London.—And the passage at Temple-bar. “ All these were deemed “ very inconvenient to coaches, carts, and passengers, and prejudicial to commerce and “ trading.”

All which circumstances shew too plainly, how very inelegant as well as inconvenient a great part of the city of London was at this time; and also how much the liberty of Westminster was constantly increasing in new streets and buildings, the consequence of our increasing commerce and wealth. So much is the great contiguity of London altered since that period, that some part of this description is difficult to be traced at this present time.

More Protestant Dissenters about this time go from England and Scotland, in considerable numbers, to New England, to avoid persecution and restraints at home. So wisely was the public or national interest conducted.

Hostilities were carried on between the Portuguese and the Dutch till the year 1661; when, on the one hand, the Portuguese having driven the Dutch out of the rich and greatly extensive province of Brasil, whilst, on the other hand, the Dutch East India Company had conquered from Portugal the best places and posts they had so long possessed in the East Indies; it was settled by treaty, that the *uti possidetis* should be the ground of such a treaty; so each potentate was to retain what they were then actually possessed of.

We may here make a short remark on the preamble of another law, of this same session of Parliament, cap. v. entitled, An Act for regulating the making of Stuffs in Norfolk and Norwich, viz. that it says,

“ The said trade of weaving of stuffs hath of late times been very much increased, and great “ variety of new sorts of stuffs have been invented: so that the power given by the statute of “ the seventeenth of King Edward IV. cap. i. is not sufficient for the regulating of the same; “ and that the number of the wardens by the same act appointed being but eight, are too few “ for the governing and ordering of the same trade; wherefore there shall be twelve wardens “ and thirty assistants, for regulating the manufacture of worsteds and Norwich stuffs.”

This statute shews the very great increase of those light manufactures.

The silk manufacture of London was become so considerable in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of King Charles the Second, that the preamble to the act of Parliament, cap. xv. for regulating the trade of silk-throwing, observes, “ that the said Company of silk-throwsters,” as it is expressed in their petition, “ employ above forty thousand men, women, and children “ therein.”

After this time we find divers acts of Parliament in this and succeeding reigns, for regulating the silk manufacture at home, and the importation of raw and thrown silk from foreign parts; many of which were temporary, others have been repealed or altered, and the rest of

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1661 little information to the generality of readers, until we come to the eighth of King George the First, in 1722.

In this same session of Parliament, cap. xviii. another act passed, against the exporting of live sheep, wool, woollen yarn, fullers earth, fulling clay, and tobacco pipe clay. Additional laws have since this time been made for this very important end: but, once for all, we shall take the liberty to remark, that they have by no means answered the end, though reinforced by severer penalties. So difficult a task it is effectually to master an evil, of which immediate and considerable gain is the object.

So vast were the profits of the commerce of the Dutch East India Company, that for this same year 1661, that Company divided forty per cent. to the Proprietors of their capital stock.

An act of Parliament, of the ninth of King Edward III. having prohibited the melting down of any silver halfpenny or farthing, for the making of plate, or for any other purpose whatever; and another act, of the seventeenth of King Richard II. having prohibited the like melting down of silver groats and half groats; those denominations being the highest silver coins then in use; the goldsmiths and refiners, at this time, taking advantage of the strict letter of the said two acts to conclude, that there was no penalty for melting down of the silver coins of an higher denomination than were then in being, took the liberty to elude the said penalty. A law was therefore made this year, cap. xxxi. fourteenth of Charles II. against the melting down of any of our silver coins, upon the penalty of forfeiting the same and double the value.—Yet, in this, as well as in the laws prohibiting the exportation of our wool, the temptation of immediate profit gets the better of all restraints whatever.

In this same year 1661, the Parliament of Scotland, who in most matters relating to commerce, more especially since the union of the crowns, wisely followed close at the heels of the English, passed a navigation act, entitled, for the encouraging of shipping and navigation. But theirs was not to extend to importations from Asia, Africa and America, Russia and Italy, till so declared by a subsequent act, or by their private council, or their council of trade,—nor to corn in time of dearth.—Also that all goods shipped in foreign vessels, or belonging to aliens, should pay double duty.

At this time also the Parliament of Scotland passed an act, for erecting of companies for the improvement of the herring and white fisheries.—And in this and succeeding reigns, down to the consolidating union of the two kingdoms, they granted various bounties on the exportation of fish of all kinds: and made many good laws, especially since the restoration, for the regulation of their commerce, and of their linen and woollen manufactures, &c. All which being now of little or no use, we have not thought them worth while to enlarge on.

After the prohibitions by two several acts of Parliament, and two royal proclamations, against the use of the till then, so called, pernicious material used in dying called logwood; yet, by cap. xi. of the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles the Second, all the said laws and prohibitions are repealed: it being now found, says that act, entitled, Frauds and Abuses in his Majesty's Customs prevented and regulated, “ that the ingenious industry of these times “ hath taught the dyers of England the art of fixing the colours made of logwood, alias block- “ wood, so as that, by experience, they are found as lasting and serviceable as the colours “ made with any other sort of dying wood.”

At this time, King Charles the Second shamefully delivered up to France the country of Nova Scotia, (and such part of Canada, say our common historians, as was held by our people, if any part of the latter was now possessed by us, of which I much doubt.) Former ac-

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1661 counts of those countries being however related with such great carelessness, as if they had merited very little regard by our own historians.

As the treaty of alliance between King Charles the Second of England, and King Charles the eleventh of Sweden, for the mutual security of their dominions and trade, concluded in this year 1661, vol. iii. p. 240 and 253, of the General Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, published in four volumes, in 1732, contains nothing new or particular, we need only to mention it in this place, for the further information of such as would desire to see it.

And the same may be said of a treaty between England and Denmark, in this year, *ibid.* p. 254 and 263, which is also doubtful whether it was ever executed.

Many and loud complaints had been made by the merchants and clothiers of Exeter and other parts of the west of England, who, not being free of the Company of Merchant-adventurers of England, were by that Company stiled interlopers; as particularly, in the year 1638, to the House of Commons, and also in the years 1643 and 1645.

They were again complained of in Parliament in this year 1661, by them; who, in their remonstrance, termed that Company Monopolizers, and Obstructors of the sale of our Woollen Manufactures. And as it is possible, that some such objections, however slightly grounded, may some time or other be hereafter renewed, and that it will also throw some light upon the state, &c. of our justly beloved woollen manufacture, and will give a distinct state of that Company's condition at that time. We shall as briefly as possible set down their objections, with that Company's answer, viz.

In general, it was objected,

“ That the confirming the whole trade of the manufactures of wool sent to Germany and the Netherlands, being the greatest staple commodity of England, to one particular company of men, who call themselves the only Merchant-adventurers, is detrimental to all in general, and particularly to those of Exeter and Devonshire: for,

“ First, They make the clothiers take what price they please, by suspending the buying of their goods brought to market, until necessity obliges them to sell even for loss. They moreover frequently stint or limit the number of cloths to be shipped, and allot to each merchant how much he shall ship for his particular proportion: so that the governor, deputy, and committees may serve themselves and friends with the greatest share: which is not only prejudicial to the rest, but does also hinder the putting off so much more cloth abroad.

“ Secondly, The Company confines the vent of this great staple commodity to a few places at home, as the trade of all the west countries to London. Whereas Exeter and other places ought to have liberty to ship off their goods from the nearest port; whereby much charge might be saved.”

Their confining the staples of our cloths abroad to one or two towns in each country, was also complained of; and this also created uneasiness in those countries: Amsterdam, for instance, and other Dutch towns, formerly took it extremely ill, that Rotterdam alone, for all Holland, should be the sole staple for woollen goods from England.

“ Thirdly, By the two resolutions of the House of Commons, in the year 1624, for liberty to all merchants, as well as those called Merchant-adventurers, to export dozens, kerseys, and new manufactures, as well as dyed dressed, and coloured cloths, into Germany and the Netherlands, the English traders increased in number, and the Dutch fell off from making

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1661 “ of cloths, so as not to make four thousand cloths in the year 1632. But the Company being again encouraged by means of their purse, &c. the Dutch again increased to twenty thousand cloths per annum, and many of our manufacturing people settled in Holland.

“ Fourthly, This Company make their embarkations but thrice in the year, which hinders the clothiers from selling their goods but just at those times, and that only to two towns beyond sea.

“ Fifthly, The heavy impositions and fines they lay on the manufacturers amount to near as much as the King’s customs: insomuch, that from 1616 to 1641 they raised, as appears by their own books, one hundred and eighty-two thousand two hundred and ninety-five pounds, beside what duties they received beyond sea: whereby the cheapness of our commodities is hindered, and the Dutch are encouraged to improve their manufacture of woollen goods, as they have greatly done for the last forty or fifty years.

“ Sixthly, The Company strictly ties their members to trade only to two towns, viz. Hamburg and Dort; the latter of which is inconveniently situated for vending the goods into the inland parts.

“ Seventhly, In the Company’s present condition, they are indebted for vast sums, which cannot be discharged but by raising it on our manufactures.

“ Eighthly, The great inconvenience of the power this Company arrogates of imposing of oaths, and levying of fines and taxes on their fellow subjects, complained of, although they were never yet established by law; and have been so complained of from time to time these hundred and sixty years.

“ Ninthly, That this monopolizing Company did in all transport but two hundred and twenty-five pieces of woollen goods from Midsummer to Michaelmas 1661: and yet five or six Exeter merchants, not free of the Company, did, within the said quarter of a year, buy and export beyond sea nine thousand two hundred and fifty-four pieces of the said woollen goods. That Company employs ships, but seldom in comparison of other merchants, nor the fourth part of the mariners that other merchants do.

“ Tenthly, That the unlimited power given to this Company by their charter is a great inconvenience, and repugnant to the statute of the twelfth of King Henry VII. cap. vi. For they are thereby impowered to make what rules and ordinances they shall think fit, for the support of their privileges, and may not only compel those of their fellowship, but even all others using trade with woollen manufactures in their precincts to obey the same.”

Parker, in his pamphlet called *Free Trade*, printed in the year 1645, says, That this fellowship at their marts beyond sea, takes of every Englishman at his first coming forty pounds sterling, as a fine for liberty to buy and sell his own proper goods. In consequence of which practice all merchants not being of that fellowship withdraw from the said marts; which prevents the vent of the woollen cloth of this realm.

On the other hand, the Company, in their own vindication, replied in substance as follows, viz.

“ I. The Company does not pretend to be the only Merchant-adventurers, although their charters stile them The Merchant-adventurers of England: yet they count it their honour that they are no Company of one city, town, or burgh, but a national Corporation, and dispersed all over the kingdom: that they all meet together in their marts abroad, where their consultations are for the interest of the whole kingdom in the clothing trade, and

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1661 “ where a majority, of the freemen and traders present, governs in all matters. Yet nothing
 “ can be concluded in that chief mart town beyond sea but by the concurrence of that other
 “ court which resides in the United Netherlands, and of this here in London. And this
 “ court at London maintains a correspondence all along with all other their distinct courts,
 “ as of York, Hull, and Newcastle: and Exeter once had one of their most considerable
 “ courts in it, though now there be only one member there.

“ II. They deny their opponents accusations of stinting the exportations, or of distressing
 “ the clothiers in the sale of their goods; as also the confining the vent of the western coun-
 “ ties to London; seeing any freeman may ship his goods directly abroad from the next port,
 “ as from York, Hull, Beverley, Leeds, Newcastle, Hartlepoole, Stockton, Norwich, Yar-
 “ mouth, Lynn, Ipswich, Colchester, and all other ports of England, where they have
 “ members.

“ III. That as the said statute of the twelfth of King Henry VII. cap. vi. relates only to a
 “ freedom of commerce during the four marts, for which also they were to pay the Company
 “ ten marks, that act can be of no force at present, seeing those marts are in disuse in the
 “ Netherlands. And it is enough, that the fellowship submits to the Parliament’s pleasure
 “ to admit all men that can relish government on such conditions and limitations of fines as
 “ they shall direct.

“ IV. That, in answer to the hundred and eighty-two thousand two hundred and ninety-
 “ five pounds said to be raised on the trade by the fellowship in twenty-five years time, they
 “ say, that when they were dissolved, in order to make room for Sir William Cockayne’s
 “ project of dying and dressing of cloths before exportation, the fellowship was indebted a
 “ good sum of money.—That after their charters were restored, they were engaged in several
 “ services both to the King and Queen of Bohemia, and to King James and King Charles I.
 “ To which, if the charge of six several residences, and of courts abroad and at home be
 “ added, it will appear, they were no ill husbands; and that this sum was not so burdensome
 “ to be raised on the manufactures in so long a tract of time. For the imposition laid on
 “ cloths is but about one per cent. and in recompence for this one per cent. the Company’s
 “ immunities abroad, and their freedoms there, by treaties, from taxes, tolls, watch and
 “ ward, &c. which others not free of the fellowship must pay in the Netherlands and Ger-
 “ many, are worth three per cent. to their members.

“ V. That it is true, they owe a large debt, occasioned partly by the misfortunes of the
 “ civil wars, &c. and partly from the opposition of the interlopers; and they think it rea-
 “ sonable that it should be paid off, though very gradually, by contributions or taxes on the
 “ commerce.

“ VI. If the fellowship be not as yet established by any law, it is now submitted, whether
 “ it is not more than time it should be settled by act of Parliament.

“ VII. The fellowship take care, that the rich over-grown traders shall not engross the
 “ whole traffic; but there shall be room for younger and smaller traders to employ their
 “ stocks.

“ VIII. They carefully inspect the true making of cloth.

“ IX. They have done more, and been at greater expence, to prevent the exportation of
 “ our wools and fullers earth, than all the other corporations and merchants in England.

“ Lastly, They insisted, that unless their corporation be supported, and even legally esta-
 “ blished, all the privileges and advantages which our commerce has for many ages enjoyed

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1661 “ in foreign parts, beyond other nations, must necessarily fall with their fellowship : and the kingdom at home be left without a shadow of regulation in its greatest concernment.”

After this time we hear no more of this Company's complaints against separate traders, nor, on the other hand, of any uneasiness of merchants not free of it ; the terms being quite easy, if they incline so to be. They have long since fixed their residence solely at Hamburg, where they have considerable privileges, and carry on a great commerce, for supplying many provinces of Germany with our woollen, &c. manufactures.

Toward the close of this year 1661, a marriage treaty was concluded between King Charles the Second, of England, and the Princess Catherine, sister to Alphonso VI. King of Portugal. It is said, that the real fortune which Alphonso agreed to give with his sister was three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

It is almost foreign to our purpose to remark, that France greatly forwarded this match, for the further weakening of Spain ; and that Spain, for the prevention thereof, proposed to our King three several Protestant princesses : but it is much to our purpose here to observe, that Portugal, hoping for great assistance from England against Spain, not only agreed to the above named large sum, but likewise to yield up to King Charles for ever the town and port of Tangier, on the Barbary shore, at the entrance of the Streight's Mouth of the Mediterranean, and of the town, port, and island of Bombay, or Bombaim, with the rest of the isle of North Sasset, on the coast of Malabar, in East India. Tangier, or Tanger, had been possessed by the Portuguese ever since the year 1463, when King Alphonso V. took it from the Moors.

To this port King Charles granted all the privileges and immunities of a free port, in order to make it a place of trade ; for which, as well for the security of the Mediterranean, &c. commerce, it was advantageously situated : but by the King's bad conduct it did not, as we shall see, answer expectation.—See General Monk's letter about this place, in the year 1657, to Secretary Thurloc.

With respect to Bombay, King Charles at first had thoughts of keeping it and the isle of Sasset as part of his roval domain, and therefore he sent the Earl of Marlborough thither, with five ships of war and five hundred soldiers.—But he met with so many difficulties from the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, &c. that, after losing many men by sickness, &c. he did not get absolute possession of Bombay till the year 1664, and even then not all the territory agreed to be yielded with it.

It was soon after found, that the King's expence in maintaining of it greatly exceeded the profits arising from it,—and that the King's people there undersold the English East India Company's agents ; in consequence of which, and by violences committed on the natives by our King's soldiers, &c. great confusions were likely to ensue.—Similar considerations induced the King to make a grant in full propriety for ever of that port and territory to our East India Company, by charter, dated twenty seventh March 1668, to hold it in free and common socage of his imperial crown, (under an annual rent of ten pounds, in gold, on the thirtieth September yearly, at the Custom-house in London) whose past expence our Company were to reimburse.

Bombay has been, by degrees, greatly improved by that and the present East India Company, both in strength, commerce, and healthfulness ; and some say they lately had sixty thousand people on that island of different nations, under our Company's protection ; though the Portuguese had scarcely one thousand people on it. It is extremely well situated for the trade of that extensive coast, and now enjoys a considerable commerce.

1661 King Charles II. of England, by his commission under the great seal, now constituted his brother the Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and several other persons of distinction, to be, The Council of the Royal Fishery Company of Great Britain and Ireland; and great matters were expected from so pompous a title: yet all soon came to nothing, although it must be owned, that the King freely granted them all the immunities, and even more than were granted by the Commonwealth, in the year 1654: with authority to set up a lottery, and to have a voluntary collection in all parish churches. Moreover, all houses of entertainment, as taverns, inns, alehouses, &c. should be obliged to take one or more barrels of herrings, at the stated price of thirty shillings per barrel; also, two shillings and six pence per barrel was to be paid, to the stock of this Company, on all foreign-caught fish imported.

Wheat, this year, according to *Chronicon Preciosum*, was three pounds ten shillings per quarter, and the year following, three pounds fourteen shillings per quarter.

The statute of the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles the Second, in the year 1662, cap. vi. for "enlarging and repairing common highways," so as they should be all made eight yards, or twenty-four feet in width, was become very necessary, since the great increase of carts, waggons, &c. by the general increase of our commerce. Which act, being only temporary, was revived by an act of the eighth and ninth of King William, cap. xv. and further enforced; and, by this last act, it is well ordered, (in the year 1697) that where two or more cross highways meet, a stone or post be erected, with an inscription in large letters, directing to the next market town to which each of the said adjoining highways lead. It is much to be wished, that this breadth of eight yards for highways was better observed in many parts, which is hitherto very far from being the case.

1662 It was in this year 1662, that the English, from their colonies on the north continent of America, first began to cut down the logwood trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coasts of the province of Yucatan, and more especially in the Bay of Campeachy, where they made a settlement for that end, as it was not near to any Spanish settlement or inhabitants. Their first settlement was near Cape Catoche; next at the Laguna di Termino, which was found more convenient, and where the English Buccaneers afterward found themselves obliged to settle, upon the treaty of Madrid between England and Spain, in the year 1667.

This treaty, though it made no particular mention of America by name, expressly stipulated, "A general firm and perpetual amity between the two crowns, as well by land as by sea, and between all the countries under the obedience of either of the Kings."

By the year 1669, that English settlement was considerably increased; and much logwood was carried from thence both to New England and Jamaica. In the year 1670 was concluded at Madrid, by Sir William Godolphin, the first treaty between England and Spain, which expressly related to America, and therefore is usually called the American Treaty; and by which the then possessions of both nations in America are confirmed. This gave encouragement to many more of our people to settle with the above-mentioned logwood cutters, as it was then in a desolate and unplanted country, and that the Spaniards had not hitherto made any complaints about it. For it was not till the year 1672, that the Spaniards first begun to interrupt our logwood cutters there, or to make the least complaint to our court against their settling in that Bay.

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1662 Soon after, however, the Spaniards became so uneasy at that settlement and our logwood cutting, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met in the American seas which had logwood in them; of which the Earl of Arlington, the English Secretary of State, loudly complained, in a letter, written in the year 1674, to Sir William Godolphin, our then Minister at Madrid. For as the sole advantage our court had in view by concluding this famous American treaty of 1670, was, that our people might, without interruption, trade to our own colonies, and peaceably enjoy our then possessions in America, we were herein greatly frustrated by the court of Spain's orders to make prize of all ships having logwood in them. So that this same American treaty has ever since afforded a handle or pretence for Spain to seize on our ships sailing along their American coasts, although with no intention of carrying on any contraband trade.—It has occasionally been further improved by Spain, to the having any quantity of pieces of eight to be seized, when found on board our ships, near their American coasts. Yet, excepting two or three months in the year 1680, that the Spaniards, by a considerable force, dislodged our logwood cutters from the Laguna di Terminos, and the island of Trist, our people, till very lately, have remained in possession thereof. But as the controversy remains undetermined to this day, it is to be feared it may still occasion much altercation.

See more on this subject, under the year 1717, when it was more fully explained by the Board of Trade and Plantations, in answer to the Spanish Ambassador's Memorial of that year.

See the rest of this memorable treaty under the year 1670.

At this time, a statute was made in the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles II. cap. xii. entitled, For the better Relief of the Poor of England: by which a corporation was established, out of the Magistrates of London, Westminster, and the suburbs, on both sides the Thames, within the weekly bills of mortality, for erecting workhouses for employing the poor. And also another act of the twenty-third of that King, cap. xviii. confirming and corroborating the said former act, and enabling that corporation to levy a certain assessment on parishes, not exceeding one fourth part of the assessment to the poor, for any respective year: yet, to the shame of the nation, nothing has as yet been effectually done, for answering that truly great and good end, even to this day; so many difficulties being started to every scheme hitherto proposed to the public.

In this same year 1662, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, petitioned the House of Commons to erect four new corporations of merchants, viz. those trading to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, for confining those trades intirely to English natives.

The pretext for this regulation was, “that most part of the trade for exporting the commodities of England was in the hands of aliens,” whom they would have to be obliged by law, to pay double duties on all draperies by them exported. They also, and several merchants of London, in behalf of themselves and the English merchants of the out ports, petitioned, that the companies already incorporated may be further privileged and confirmed by Parliament, exclusive of foreigners, viz. the Companies of the Merchant Adventurers; of the Levant; of East-land; of Russia; and of East India. But the House of Commons was wiser than to add new fetters on our exports to foreign parts; so that nothing came of those ill-judged petitions.

King Charles II. having lavishly and quickly consumed the large supplies granted by his loyal Parliament, was, in this same year 1662, put upon the most pernicious project that could

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1662 have entered into the thoughts of the Monarch of the first commercial kingdom of Europe, in yielding up, by treaty, to France, the town and port of Dunkirk, with all its fortifications, sluices, dams, &c. and likewise the fort of Mardyke, with the wooden fort, and the other great and small forts between Dunkirk and Bergh St. Wynox, together with all the arms, artillery, ammunition, &c.

We have seen that Dunkirk had been surrendered by France to Cromwell four years before, by stipulated agreement, for the succours which that Protector had given to France against Spain. Our passive Parliament seemed to content themselves with Charles's poor pretence,—that as it was only surrendered to an Usurper, he had a right to dispose of it as he pleased.

This treaty was concluded at London, by the French Ambassador, the Count d'Estrades; (for which he merited a statue to be erected for him at Dunkirk,) and by the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer; the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich, (all Englishmen) under a commission from the King. As for the price, it was almost as shameful, as the delivering up the place was criminal; viz. five millions of livres, or about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Had that number of millions been sterling money, instead of French, fatal experience has long since demonstrated its being inadequate to so inestimable a jewel.—We ought, however, to do justice, as far as we fairly can, to one of the four commissioners, who, rather than lose their private emoluments, so shamefully gave up the nation's interest, viz. to the Earl of Sandwich, who at first proposed the absolute demolition of Dunkirk, and the filling up or destroying its harbour, in such a manner as to render it for ever useless; which, next to its remaining in our hands, was certainly the best scheme. For, as to what several writers have remarked, of its being better to have been sold to Spain or Holland; that might be true with respect to the time we are upon, but who can answer for the hurt that place might, in future times, have done to us, in the hands of either of those nations, as power is perpetually fluctuating?

There was, therefore, nothing for a wise King, and an honest English ministry to chuse, but to preserve, strengthen, and improve that place, let the expence be more or less; by which we should have remained masters of both sides of the greatest commercial thorough-fare in the universe. Marschal Schomberg, then in England, advised the King to keep it, as his naval strength would effectually prevent its being taken, and that the holding of it would keep both France and Spain in a dependance upon him: in which opinion, says Bishop Burnet, he was singular: and yet there was more truth and judgment in this opinion, than in all that was said and written on this point. For, with regard to the most solemn treaties, which the necessities of France have since obliged that crown to stipulate, for the demolition of its fortifications, and the filling up of its harbour, &c. we have more than once seen, how easy it has been, for such a powerful nation, void of all shame and honour, to restore both the one and the other.

In this same year, Voltaire, in the second volume of his *Age of Louis the Fourteenth*, acquaints us, “That the French Royal Council of Commerce was first erected, which still subsists: and that the King himself presided therein once in every fortnight.” Need we to wonder then at the progress that nation has since made in commerce, thus so eminently encouraged by so discerning and potent a prince?

N. B. The new Council, or Board of Commerce, erected in the year 1701, was subordinate to this Royal Council.

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In this same year, King Charles the Second, in council, issued his proclamation, intimating, “ that notwithstanding the Navigation Act, passed two years ago, several letters or warrants had, through misinformation, been obtained from him, by which the Lubeckers ships, merchants, and mariners, were licensed to come into England, &c. freed from the penalties in the said act, upon pretence of a former custom; the council board, well weighing the ill consequences by trenching on that act, and the damages, &c. which, by such toleration, will accrue to the owners of English shipping, and to their merchants and mariners,—it was ordered by his Majesty in Council, that all such letters, licenses, or warrants, be recalled and declared void, &c.”

Moreover, in this same year 1662, in an act of Parliament of the fourteenth of King Charles, cap. xi. For regulating of Frauds and Abuses in the Customs, the following improvements, (*inter alia*) were made in relation to the Act of Navigation, viz.

I. “ No foreign built ships shall enjoy the privileges of English or Irish built ships, even although navigated as that act directs;—and although the owners likewise be Englishmen; prize ships only excepted.

II. “ Whoever shall export or import goods, to or from any port of this kingdom, capable of a ship of two hundred tons burthen) to or from any port of the Mediterranean, beyond the port of Malaga, in any ship that hath not two decks, and carries less than sixteen cannon; shall pay to the King one per cent. on their loadings, beside all other duties.

III. “ And for the better encouraging of the building of good and defensible ships, it was further enacted, that, for seven years to come, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two and an half decks and a fore-castle, and five feet between each deck, mounted with at least thirty cannon; shall, for the first two voyages, receive one-tenth of all the customs paid on their loadings, exported or imported.”

The two last clauses were designed by way of precaution against the Barbary Rovers.

Other good statutes were made in this same year, viz. such as, that prohibiting the exportation of our wool and Fuller’s earth, yarn, and undressed hides:—and against the importation of foreign bone lace, and other French frippery wares; by which that nation drew incredible sums of money from us, turning the balance of the trade with France to be very much against us.

In the former part of this same year 1662, two eminent persons left the stage of life, viz. the unfortunate Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James the First, of England; and Cardinal Mazarine, Prime Minister of France.

The English American plantations were by this time so much cultivated and improved, that the demands for servants and labourers was greatly increased: and as their mother-country could by no means afford numbers sufficient for their supply, and that they were not then so well supplied with negroes from the African coast as they wished, since the trade thither had been laid open; a third exclusive English African or Guinea Company was, in this year 1662, incorporated for that end, at the head of which was his Royal Highness the Duke of York, joined with many persons of rank and distinction. This Company undertook to supply our West India plantations with three thousand negroes annually.

If this new Company’s accounts are to be relied on, it seems that whilst the trade was laid open in the times of the late civil wars, our forts on the Guinea coast were demolished by both Dutch and Danes, thereby ruining the second Company’s stock, and taking, of their’s,

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1662 and of separate traders ships and goods, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, sterling.

This new Company, supported by the King's brother, &c. and knowing the King's inclinations to make war against the Dutch, afterwards got Sir Robert Holmes to be sent out with a squadron of fourteen ships to the coast of Guinea, for attacking the Dutch forts, &c. prior to a formal declaration of war :—of which more in its place.

Towards the close of this year, King Charles sent Admiral Lawfon to Algiers, who obliged that piratical state, and also those of Tunis and Tripoli, to sign articles of pacification, which they kept just so long as they stood in fear of our ships of war in the Mediterranean.

In this same year 1662, the Chinese expelled the Hollanders from the island of Formosa on that coast. The Dutch, according to some authors, had taken Formosa from the Portuguese, in the year 1635. The ports of that island were extremely commodious for their China and Japan trades : yet Candidius, a Dutch clergyman's account, in Churchill's voyages, is very different from this.

He says, “ the Dutch had built a fort in one of the islands called Pelhou, near the mouth of the great river Chincheo, in China ; from whence they intercepted the Chinese trading to the Philippines. This obliged the Chinese to agree with the Dutch to grant them the harbour of Tagowang in Formosa, in lieu of the other, where they might build a fort, whence they traded with the Chinese, till dispossessed as above.”

Connecticut, a province of New England, had its first charter, dated April 23, 1662, being the fourteenth of King Charles II. It is one of the six charter colonies of the continent of British America.

1663 We have exhibited, under the year 1629, some fruitless efforts, from England, to settle the country then named Carolana, in North America, but now called Carolina ; but the succeeding discontents in England, and the consequent civil wars and confusions, occasioned Carolina to remain unsettled till two years after the restoration of King Charles the Second, when that King granted his first charter by the modern name of Carolina, dated the 24th day of March 1662—3, viz.

“ To the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord Craven, the Lord Berkley, the Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Sir George Carteret, Vice Chamberlain ; Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colleton :” whose eight names, given to several of its rivers and counties, will probably be remembered there to the end of time. “ The limits of this their first charter run from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, being the south end of modern Virginia, to the thirty-first degree, or south end of modern Georgia, along the Atlantic ocean ; and stretching westward, without limitation, to the South Seas. This land, which the King, in his charter, declares to be a part of his dominions in America, he grants them, in absolute propriety, with all loyal mines, fisheries, &c. paying a quit-rent of twenty marks yearly.”

A Dutchman sets up the first Wire Mill that had ever been in England, at Sheen, near Richmond.

A statute of this fifteenth year of King Charles the Second, cap. i. directs, “ the repairing of the highways in the counties of Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon ; much worn by the many great loads drawn by waggons, with barley and malt, to Ware, and also of goods from Norwich, Bury, Lincoln, &c. These are, I conceive, the first Toll Gates erected by law in

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1663 in England; which were to be for Hertfordshire, at Wadefmill; Cambridgeshire, at Caxton; and for Huntingdonshire, at Stilton.

By an act of Parliament of the fourteenth of King Charles the Second, cap. xv. For regulating the Trade of Silk-throwing, it is recited, "That the silk-throwers of London having petitioned the Parliament for an enlargement of their former charter, they therein represented, that above forty thousand men, women, and children are employed therein." And it was thereby enacted, "That none should set up that trade, but such as should have served seven years apprenticeship to it, and should make themselves free of that Company, &c."

The Parliament, in this same year 1663, cap. xiv. settled the revenues of the Post Office, and of the Wine Licenses, on the Duke of York, the King's only brother; which revenues were afterwards considerably increased: they were now, by most authors, reckoned together to bring in twenty-one thousand pounds per annum. Yet the following proviso of this same act, verbatim, shews they were much mistaken, viz. "Nothing hereîn contained shall make void the grant made by his Majesty to Daniel O'Neale, Esq; of the office of Postmaster General for four one-half years, from Lady-day 1663, under the yearly rent of twenty-one thousand five hundred pounds, for all the said term, except the last quarter, which is paid aforehand, so as the said rents be paid unto his said Highness James Duke of York."

In the year 1653, the Post Office revenue, as we have already observed, was let to farm for ten thousand pounds yearly: yet I cannot perceive upon what grounds Dr. D'Avenant, in his Essay on the public Revenue and Trade of England, part i. p. 125, in the year 1698, could remark, "that for years this Post Office revenue hardly bore its own expence," unless he meant the times anterior to the said year 1653. But he adds, "That then" (viz. in 1698,) "it had been so much improved, under a management, as that its gross produce, by a medium of three years, amounted, per annum, to about ninety thousand four hundred and forty pounds fifteen shillings."

Every reader may not, perhaps, know that by the word Management, is meant the Government's making the most of it, in contradistinction to farming it at a sum certain; and that by gross produce, is meant the income, without deducting the charge of management.

By cap. xvii. of the fifteenth of King Charles II. in the year 1663, for the encouragement of trade, it was enacted, that when wheat should be currently sold in England for forty-eight shillings per quarter, or six shillings per bushel, and other grain in proportion, then wheat and the other kinds of grain might be exported. And that when the before named kinds of grain exceed the said prices, they may be freely imported, paying five shillings and four pence custom and poundage, per quarter of wheat, &c.

By this same statute it was enacted, "That, for the further improvement of former navigation acts, no merchandize of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into any of the English plantations or factories in Asia, Africa, or America, Tangier only excepted, but what shall be laden in England, and in English built shipping, and navigated by at least three-fourths English mariners: and shall be carried to those places directly from England, and no where else; on forfeiture of ships and ladings. Excepting, however, salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland; and wines from the Madeira and the Azores, servants, victuals and horses from Scotland or Ireland. And that none of the product of the English plantations, viz. sugar, tobacco, cotton, gin-

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“ger, fuslick, and other drugs, shall be carried any where, except to other English plantations, till they be first landed in England, under forfeiture of ships and cargoes.” And here the word Ireland was first left out, though inserted in the twelfth of this King, cap. xviii. sect. 9.

“And for the encouragement of the Herring and North Sea, Iceland and Westmony fisheries; no fresh herring, cod, haddock, &c. shall be imported into England, but in English built ships, navigated, &c. as before.”

“And forasmuch as the planting of tobacco in England doth continually increase, notwithstanding the act of the twelfth year of this King, cap. xxxiv. a further penalty of ten pounds is laid for every rood or pole of land so planted, either in England, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey:—excepting, however, tobacco planted in the physic-gardens of either University, or in other private gardens for surgery, so as the quantity so planted exceed not half a pole of land in any one garden.”

By a clause in the said act of Parliament, we have the first public or legal licence for the exportation of foreign coin and bullion, for the benefit of commerce; in the remarkable words following, viz.

“And forasmuch as severable considerable and advantageous trades cannot be conveniently driven and carried on without the species of money and bullion, and that it is found by experience, that they are carried in greatest abundance, as to a common market, to such places as give free liberty for exporting the same; and the better to keep in and increase the current coins of this kingdom: be it enacted, that it shall be lawful to export out of any custom-house or port of England, all sorts of foreign coin or bullion of gold or silver, first entering the same at the custom-house, without paying any duty or custom for the same.”

It is strange that our legislature should be so late in coming into this measure, when it was so much earlier practised by other wise and mercantile nations: bullion and foreign coin being undoubtedly to be deemed in commerce as much a mercantile commodity as any other instrument of commerce whatever. Mr. Thomas Munn, in his judicious octavo treatise, entitled, *England's Treasure by foreign Trade*, published in the year 1664, has fully shewn of what benefit the free exportation of money was in Tuscany, under the year 1630. He has also no less clearly evinced the absurdity of the old English laws for obliging merchant-strangers importing goods into England, to lay out their produce in the commodities of our realm: as also the laws for obliging all merchants exporting corn, fish, ammunition, &c. to bring home money or bullion in return: and, in fine, “that nothing but an over-balance in foreign trade, or our exporting more in value of our own product and manufacture, than we import of those of other nations, can either increase our bullion, or even keep what we have already.”

Mr. Pollexfen, however, an able and strenuous opponent of the East India trade, in his account of that trade, in the year 1696, on the other hand, remarks, “that till the licence granted by this act, to export foreign coin and bullion, the East India Company did not export above forty thousand pounds in bullion yearly: but now it began to be exported in much greater quantities; and that it was no less than six hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, taking any number of years when the trade was carried on without any great obstruction.” Yet possibly that Company might before have exported much more than forty thousand pounds, though they did it clandestinely till this law gave permission.

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In the same statute of the fifteenth of Charles the Second, there is the following clause, viz.

“ That whereas a great part of the richest and best land of England cannot so well be otherwise employed as in the feeding and fattening of cattle, and that by the coming in of late of vast numbers of cattle from beyond-sea, already fattened,” meaning from Ireland, “ such lands are, in many places, much fallen in rents and values, to the great impoverishment of this kingdom ; it was now enacted, That for every head of great cattle imported, except the breed of Scotland, between the first of July and twentieth of December, in any year ; and of the breed of Scotland, between the twenty-fourth of August and twentieth of December, in any year, there shall be paid or forfeited twenty shillings to the King, and also ten shillings to him that shall inform or seize the same, and other ten shillings to the poor of the parish where such seizure shall be made : and for every sheep so imported ten shillings ; to be recovered and levied in manner aforesaid.” This act was to continue no longer in force than to the end of the first session of the next Parliament ; but has since been made perpetual.

We shall here only remark, that the nation, in the opinion of many, has since oftentimes had ground to repent the so far obliging the grazing counties by such restraints, to the prejudice of the rest of the kingdom.

Two other well-intended statutes were made in this same year 1663, viz. cap. xv. for the encouragement of the linen and tapestry manufactures of England, and discouragement of the very great importation of foreign linen and tapestry. And, cap. xvi. for regulating the packing of herrings. It was also thereby enacted, that, for the preservation of the spawn of fish, at the isles of Iceland and Westmorny, no ship shall sail thither until the tenth of March, in any year.—Neither shall there be taken any toll, or other duty, at Newfoundland, for any fish caught there.

By this time, the Dutch East India Company had taken from the Portuguese, in India, the best places they had formerly held there, viz. such as Cananor, Cranganor, Cochin, Coulang, &c. now leaving the Portuguese only Goa, Diu, and a few other petty places, of little consequence in commerce.

Before we close this year 1663, we cannot forget to do justice to an excellent little treatise on commerce, published this year by Samuel Fortrey, Esq. entitled, *England's Interest and Improvement* ; which, in only forty-three small duodecimo pages, treats most judiciously of all the principal branches of our foreign and domestic commerce.—Of the benefit of increasing our industrious people by naturalization ;—the improvement of our lands by inclosures, and the breeding of cattle ;—of the exportation of horses ;—the improvement of mines ;—our manufactures ; our fisheries ;—of discouraging the wear of foreign manufactures, more especially the French ones, whereby that country gets so great a balance from us ;—of the benefit of the Act of Navigation ;—and of our foreign plantations ;—the regulation of our coin ;—the lowering the interest of money, &c. A treatise, which, though written above one hundred years ago, will bear reading over even at this day : which can scarcely be said of any other on this subject, of so old a date, unless it be the before-quoted treatise of Mr. Thomas Munn, printed in octavo, in the year 1664.

Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation, two provinces of New England, had this year a charter, dated the fifteenth of King Charles the Second, to the whole freemen or inhabitants of each colony, empowered to elect their own representatives ; the last of which elects its governor and council. The report of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords, in January 1733-4, observes of these two colonies, and of Connecticut,

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- 1663 " That almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people : and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do make laws, even without their governors consent, and " directly contrary to their opinions ; no negative voice being reserved to them as governors, " in the said charter." This was carelessly granted by a very careless monarch ; and is what no wise ministry nor council would have deliberately advised.
- 1664 In the year 1664, the English again took possession of the isle of St. Lucia, or, as some call it, St. Mouzie ; having previously treated with the native Caribbeans for the purchase of it, says the author of the *British Empire in America*, whom, nevertheless, we must very cautiously trust on many occasions. Five ships of war carried thither about fifteen hundred men ; who, being joined by six hundred Caribbeans, in seventeen canoes, had the island fort yielded up to them, without resistance, on condition that the French governor and his garrison, of only fourteen men, should, with their artillery and baggage, be escorted to Martinico. Yet, it seems, two years after, the English, for want of supplies, abandoned it again, and burned their fort, although, but two days after they were gone, a bark with necessaries arrived there, from Lord Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes. In the treaties between King Charles and King James on the one side, and the French court, and in those of Ryswick and Utrecht, there are general stipulations for the restoring to the crown of Great Britain all islands and countries which may have been conquered by France, and such as had been in the possession of the King of Great Britain before such respective war began. But such general stipulations signified little with the French.

This island had, at various times, been inhabited by both English and French planters, at one and the same time in several parts of it : and so it remained till about the year 1719, when we shall again resume its further history.

In Mr. Munn's valuable treatise, named, *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*, published in the year 1664, p. 177, he relates, that there was in those times exported, one year with another, to the value of two millions two hundred thousand pounds of our native commodities. " So that," says he, " if we were not too much affected to pride, monstrous fashions, " and riot, above all other nations, a million and an half of our money might plentifully supply our unnecessary wants, as I may term them, of silks, sugars, spices, fruits, &c. So " seven hundred thousand pounds might be yearly treasured up in money, to make the kingdom exceeding rich and powerful in a short time."—But this was far from being the case at that time : for, by a report of Dr. Charles D'Avenant, inspector-general of the customs, our imports, in the year 1662, amounted to — — — — — £. 4,016,019
And our exports, to — — — — — 2,022,812

So that the balance against us was no less than — — — — — £. 1,993,207
A most melancholy account, truly ; more especially as coming from this able author, who possessed that important office in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne.

In the third volume of the English octavo Collection of *Treaties of Peace and Commerce*, published in the year 1732, in four volumes, we find a treaty between King Charles the Second of England, and James Duke of Courland, in 1664, concerning Tobago, one of the Caribbee isles, in America ; in the title of this treaty said to have been discovered, cultivated, and fortified by that Duke's subjects, till they were dispossessed by the Dutch, upon which the Duke submitted it to King Charles's protection, and held it by way of grant from the crown of England.

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1664. " I. The King grants to the Duke and his successors, full liberty of trade and commerce for such ships as properly belonged to him and his heirs, (but not to those of his subjects) in any rivers or havens within his Majesty's dominions on the coast of Guinea, for goods not exceeding twelve thousand pounds in value: and may build store-houses, under protection of the King's forts there.

" II. In consideration whereof, the Duke makes over to that King his fort of St. Andrew, on the Guinea coast, and all his other forts there, together with their guns and ammunition; the Duke's paying three per cent. on all goods imported or exported.

" III. On the other hand, King Charles grants to the Duke and his heirs the above-named isle of Tobago, to be enjoyed by him under that King's protection:—Provided the Duke shall suffer none others but the subjects of the King and him to remain on that island.

" IV. The Duke further agrees, that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his subjects, shall export any of the product of that island, nor import, otherwise than out of or into some ports belonging either to England or Courland, or the port of the city of Dantzick.

" V. And, in return for the protection of England, whenever the King shall be at war with any nation but Poland, the Dukes of Courland, when required, shall, at their cost, furnish one good ship of war of forty cannon, to be sent to such port as the King shall name, for one year at a time, to be manned, victualled, and paid by his Majesty."

Yet Holland soon after got possession of Tobago, in her then war with England, which she held till the year 1672.

This treaty is so far of use at present, as to testify, that a Duke of Courland did once make some figure in foreign commerce, and had some maritime force at command, as we have already observed, under the year 1637, though not strong enough to support his commercial acquisitions without the protection of England, or of some other powerful state. It may also serve to illustrate the crown of Great Britain's original right to that island.

In this same year, the English clergy voluntarily resigned the power they had enjoyed for so many ages of taxing themselves in their own convocation.

In the troublesome times preceding the restoration of King Charles the Second, the then clergy, having no proxies nor regular convocations, submitted to be taxed with the laity; and the court finding that method easier, and, perhaps too, bringing in a better revenue, was glad to accept of this resignation: whereby, however, the convocations of the clergy have greatly lost their former weight with the crown.

King Charles of England, on making war with the Dutch, had designed, as before-mentioned, to drive that people out of New Niderland, since named New York; where, and also in the country since called New Jersey, (by the Dutch, New Belgia) they had settled, and greatly improved. Our King therefore made a grant thereof to the Duke of York; and, even some months before the declaration of war, he sent thither Sir Robert Carr, with a squadron of ships, and three thousand land-forces. They landed at the entrance into Hudson's River, and immediately attacked the town of New Amsterdam, since called the city of New York, and took it without any difficulty, the Dutch there not knowing of any rupture with England.—The English found the houses of that city handsomely built of brick and stone: and its situation being on an island, before the entrance of the said river, on an high land, it makes a beautiful appearance from the sea. It has since been much enlarged and improved, so as to be justly deemed the third city of British America, Boston and Philadelphia being the first and second, as Charlestown, in South Carolina, is deservedly esteemed the fourth in dignity. The major

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1664 part of the Dutch at New York remained there, as the great number of Dutch names to be found even at this day in that city and province sufficiently testify; and those who desired to remove, were permitted to take their effects with them, the province being soon re-peopled with English.

Fort Orange, since named New Albany, the Duke of York's Scotch title, a great way up Hudson's River, was soon reduced, as were also Staten Island, Long Island, &c. And the first English governor, Colonel Nichols, is said to have been the first who concluded a league with the famous Five, since named Six Indian Nations of the Iroquois, behind this province; which league was recognized by France at the treaty of Utrecht, by which France engaged to observe peace with those Indian nations as inviolably as with the English of this province, which extended north-westward into the country for two hundred miles to Lake Champlain, although the French afterwards encroached on our territory, by building of forts near that lake: but its breadth on the sea-coast is not above thirty miles.

New York province has long been one of the most prosperous colonies on that continent; which some, in part, ascribe to that spirit of frugality that the Dutch carried thither, and which is said to be seen amongst them, in some degree, even at this day. The New Yorkers export to our sugar islands great quantities of flour, peas, biscuit, bacon, butter, pork, &c. and return home from thence with sugar, molasses, rum, cotton, ginger, pimento, &c. and also Spanish money; with which they pay Great Britain for all the various necessaries they receive from thence.

King Charles the Second of England, having, in his said grant to his brother the Duke of York, in the year 1664, of the country till then possessed by the Dutch, and named New Nidderland, now New York, extended it as far south as to comprehend the country since named New Jersey: the Duke of York, in the same year, re-granted part of the said country to the Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret; and the latter's family being from our isle of Jersey, in the British Channel, he gave it the name of New Jersey, and East and West New Jersey. Lord Berkley assigned his part to William Penn, and three others, as did afterwards Sir George Carteret to Penn, and eleven others, in the year 1681. The before-named assignees sold many shares to the Earl of Perth, Sir George M'Kenzie, and many other Scots.—Many of the Scots being soon after persecuted for their religious opinions, went and settled there; and, amongst others, the famous Mr. Robert Barclay, who might not improperly be termed the apostle of the Quakers, went thither as governor, with his family. In 1683, Lord Neil Campbell, son of the Marquis of Argyll, succeeded him as governor of East Jersey. So that New Jersey continued to be two separate proprietary governments till 1702; when, as will be seen under the next century, they were united under one regal government.

In this year 1664, and in the minority of Louis XIV. of France, his able minister Colbert, commenced his deep-laid schemes for the advancement of the commerce, manufactures, and naval power of that monarchy, the foundation whereof had been laid by the great Richlieu.—For which purpose, he granted numberless immunities, indulgences, premiums, pensions, protections, &c. to foreign artists, artificers, manufacturers, &c. from all parts, to settle with their families and workmen in France. He got his King to appropriate a million of livres annually for the improvement of the woollen manufacture alone. And it is generally believed that it was first owing to Colbert that the mischievous practice of wooling, as it is vulgarly termed, that is, the running of our English and Irish wool into France, was first set on foot; whereby

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1664 whereby they gradually brought forward their present great woollen manufacture; having, till this time, been chiefly supplied with that manufacture from England.

So far, likewise, had the culture of raw-silk been improved, so early in this King's reign, on the plan of his grandfather, King Henry IV. that the person employed by Colbert for this end, did, in this same year, produce a considerable quantity of it raised in France, said to have been better than that of Avignon, or even Messina.

In this same year 1664, notwithstanding former fruitless attempts, France erected an exclusive East India Company for fifty years, on the ruins of a China Company, erected in 1660, which came to nothing soon after. Their limits being from the Cape of Good Hope eastward, to the furthest Indies, and from the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire westward, into all the South Seas. Which Company's immunities, &c. were much augmented in the year following. It was to be under the government of twenty-one directors; twelve whereof were for Paris, and nine for the sea-ports. Soon after, they possessed and fortified Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast, which has since been their capital settlement; their principal trade on that coast being in muslins and calicoes, of many various kinds. Yet, partly from the difficulties of settling a trade by any nation before unacquainted with India, and partly by their war with the Dutch in that country, they did not prosper for a great number of years after this time.

In the same year 1664, Colbert, on the ruins of their former Canada and West India Companies, erected a new exclusive West India one, for forty years. "Its limits being,

"First, That part of the continent of South America lying between the rivers of Amazons and Oronooko, with the adjacent islands.

"Secondly, In North America, all Canada, down to and behind Virginia and Florida.—
"And,

"Thirdly, All the coast of Africa from Cape Verde, southward, to the Cape of Good Hope."

Colbert saw how much the Dutch had increased their power and wealth by their extended commerce, although France, which naturally abounded with all things, was in a manner destitute of commerce and naval strength. He therefore got King Louis to make him protector of both those companies, to whom he lent six millions, without interest. Mr. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV. says, that from the year 1635 to 1665, the colonies of Martinico, Canada, &c. had been in a languishing state, and rather chargeable than profitable: but that now, (*i. e.* 1665) they began to flourish. And that, in the said year 1664, his King sent a fresh colony to Cayenne island, first settled on by France in the year 1635; and another colony in that same year to Madagascar, which had been settled on by France in 1650, but afterwards deserted: yet, ten years after, Louis reversed all these grants to that company, and laid the trade open to all his subjects.

In this year, King Charles the Second of England made war on the United Netherlands, in a very extraordinary manner, without a formal declaration of it till some months after.—For which no other certain grounds are generally assigned by historians, than jealousy on account of rivalry for commerce and naval power; set on likewise secretly, as it is said, by the arts of the French court and of Rome, for the weakening of both sides.

The English fleet, under Admiral Holmes, takes several forts near Cape Verde from the Dutch, for the benefit of the English African Company, at the head of which was the Duke of York; which forts the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter retook the same year. Holmes also erected a new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, and named it James Fort, which we still

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1664 hold. Thence sailing southward, he took all the Dutch forts on the Guinea coast, except St. George del Mina and Acheen : though De Ruyter soon regained all again. Whereupon the English fleet, commanded in chief by the Duke of York, made prize of one hundred and thirty Dutch merchant ships. A war was then formally declared, for which the Parliament voted two millions five hundred thousand pounds.

What is already in all histories, and also not very material for our subject, was, that the grand fleet of England, in 1665, consisting of one hundred and eight ships of war, and fourteen fireships, under the Duke of York, attacked the Dutch fleet, under Opdam, of one hundred and three ships of war, and eleven fireships, and quite defeated it ; many of the latter being taken, sunk, and burnt : and, in the same year, our fleet took eight Dutch ships of war, two East India ships, and many other merchant ships.

Had the English East India Company better fortified the isle of Poleron, which produced fine nutmegs and mace, but, according to others, only cloves, it had not been so easily taken, as it was in this year 1664, by one single Dutch ship from Batavia. By this event, the English were quite excluded from all the Spice Islands, which the Dutch Company has absolutely possessed to this day.

In the same year 1664, a general valuation was made of the English East India Company's capital, the market-price on the Exchange of London being then only seventy pounds per cent. And it then appeared, that their stock was, as their writers say, intrinsically worth one hundred and thirty per cent. and that, in the remaining quarter of this year, and the compass of next year, they are said actually to have divided fifty per cent. profits on their capital stock. But this seems somewhat exaggerated.

There was a private company of merchants of Dieppe, in Normandy, who, in early times, had carried on a trade to the river of Senegal, being the same with the great river Niger of the ancients, on the west coast of Africa ; where, by means of a small settlement on an island, at the mouth of a branch of that river, they had carried on a considerable trade. That branch of trade fell afterwards to certain merchants of the city of Rouen, who, in this year 1664, yielded it up to the French West India Company. Yet, the last-named company being dissolved ten years afterwards, the old Senegal Company resumed that commerce till 1681, when Colbert transferred that trade into the hands of a much larger number of merchants ; whose privileges also being thought too extensive for their capital stock, a new Guinea Company was hereupon erected, to whom most of their privileges were assigned ; and yet the old Senegal Company continued to be a thriving society. A single member whereof, however, in the year 1694, by their ill-management, bought out their privileges, and erected a new company ; which last-named company proved at length so unfortunate, as to be obliged to yield up their privileges to certain rich merchants at Rouen ; who, with various success carried on the Senegal trade till the year 1718, when it was united to the East India Company.

The Guinea Company, on the accession of King Philip V. to the throne of Spain, had a grant of the Affiento negro trade ; which trade was, by the treaty of Utrecht, conveyed to the South Sea Company. And thus the principal commerce of France was united to what they called their India Company, comprehending not only the East India, the American, the Guinea, but also the Senegal trade, by the wild schemes of the Duke Regent and Mr. Law.

By an English act of Parliament of this sixteenth year of King Charles the Second, " For preventing the commanders of merchant ships from delivering of such ships to Turkish and other pirates without fighting ; whereby," according to its preamble, " not only merchants

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1664 “ were much prejudiced and discouraged, but the honour of the English navigation was likewise much diminished. To which practice such commanders were much encouraged by a practice used towards them by those pirates; who, after they have taken out the goods, as an encouragement to masters of ships to yield, do not only restore the ship, with such goods as are claimed by masters or seamen, but do many times pay unto the master all or some part of the freight. It was therefore now enacted, That where any merchandize shall be laden on board any English ship of the burthen of two hundred tons, or upwards, mounted with sixteen guns, or more, if the master shall yield up the said goods to any Turkish, or other pirate, without fighting, he shall thenceforth be incapable of commanding any ship; and the ship so delivered back to him, and also the goods, shall be forfeited, to make good the loss sustained by the owners of the goods detained by such pirates, *pro rata*; and the said owners to have their action against such master for the remainder.—And if any English ship, though it be under the said tonnage and guns, shall be yielded up by the master to any such pirate, not having at least double his number of guns, without fighting, such master shall be liable to all the penalties aforesaid.—Also, every mariner refusing to fight such pirates, when required by the master of the ship, shall forfeit all his wages and his effects in such ship, and shall be imprisoned for six months, and kept during that time to hard labour.—Moreover, mariners laying violent hands on their master, to hinder him from fighting such pirates, shall suffer death as felons.—Masters or mariners wounded in defence of their ship from pirates, shall, on their return home with their ship, receive a compensation from the owners of the ships and goods, not exceeding two per cent. of the value of the said ship and goods so defended, to be distributed amongst the captain, master, officers, and seamen, of such ship, or the widows and children of the slain, by direction of the judge of the admiralty-court, in due proportion.

“ Lastly, Whereas it often happeneth, that masters and mariners of ships, having insured, or taken up on bottomree, greater sums of money than the value of the adventure, do willfully cast away, burn, or otherwise destroy the ships under their charge, to merchants and owners great loss; such captain, master, &c. shall suffer death as a felon.”

1665 In the year 1665, the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter not only retook most of the forts which Sir Robert Holmes had taken from Holland, but he also took our own fort of Cormanteen, which they hold to this day, by the name of Fort Amsterdam. They also seized on the isle of St. Helena, which was a refreshing place for our East India shipping, and therefore was retaken even the same year.

Under the year 1645, we have given the rise of banking by goldsmiths in London, and how much they improved that new branch of their business after King Charles the Second's restoration, by taking advantage of that King's perpetual necessities, from his unfrugal management of the public revenue, which he was constantly anticipating; partly proceeding from their readiness to lend him at extravagant interest, and their taking to pawn the King's bills, orders, and tallies. Nevertheless, the number of bankers increased so much, and the money came so fast into their hands, by people to whom they paid a moderate interest for the same, that all the public demands fell short of employing their cash. This made them run into the way of lending money on private pawns, at high interest; on discounting of bills of exchange; on lending money on personal security to heirs in expectancy, &c.—These, and many other similar methods of bestowing their cash, were about this time put in practice by the goldsmiths, says the author already quoted under the year 1645; who, through the increase of

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1665 commerce, thinks the said banking trade was at its greatest height in the year 1667, when the Dutch burned our ships at Chatham. But that disaster causing what is in our days called a run (probably the first of its kind) on the bankers, it, in some measure, lessened their future credit, which was entirely ruined by the shutting up of the Exchequer, five years after; of which more in its place.

As there was a great quantity of cash in the kingdom at that time, this brief account may, in part, serve to answer a query often made in our days, viz. How were monied people able to dispose of their super-lucration cash, before the modern public funds existed?

In this same year, a violent pestilence in the course of a twelve month swept off in London alone one hundred thousand persons, which was a terrible shock to the commerce of England.

In an obstinate sea fight, this year, between the English and Dutch fleets, both sides claimed the victory; which shews it was a doubtful conflict. They soon after met again, being about one hundred ships of war on each side, when the English fleet obtained a real victory, destroying twenty Dutch ships of war. Soon after which Sir Robert Holmes burned one hundred and fifty Dutch merchant ships on the coast of North Holland, and two of their ships of war. Yet, in this same year, the Dutch insulted our own coasts, making descents in several places.

In the same year, the Dutch East India Company's privileges were renewed for forty years longer.

Whether the English noblemen, &c. who were grantees in the charter for Carolina, in the year 1663, did judge their said charter was too far north of the latitude of the silver mines of New Mexico, although their longitude reached as far back westward as the South Seas, by considering, that all or most of those rich mines lay somewhat nearer to the equator than thirty-one degrees, or what other hidden considerations they might have to move the King for a second charter; such as, that Spain's then feeble condition pointed it out to be a fit season for extending the British monarchy's claim at least as far south on the Florida coast as still remained unplanted by Spain, or by any other European nation, whereby the English might have a chance to fall westward into the same parallel of latitude with some of the New Mexico mines, in which latitude, though perhaps not so far west as New Mexico, they might probably find a vein of silver: or whatever other reasons they were guided by, we cannot expressly say: but it is certain, that, in this year 1665, King Charles granted a second charter to the said eight honourable persons, to be extended southward as far as twenty-nine degrees; where, or within which parallel, Mr. John Lawson's History of Carolina, printed, in quarto, in Queen Anne's reign, observes, "that the very mouth of the great river Mississippi is included, as falling somewhat north of twenty-nine degrees." These patentees had likewise an extent of half a degree further northward, on or to the borders of Virginia, viz. to thirty-six degrees and an half north latitude. So that by both charters they had now an extent of seven degrees and an half, or about four hundred and fifty miles, along the coast south and north, and an unknown depth westward to the South Seas. This second charter files the grantees, "The true and absolute Lords Proprietors of the Province and Territory of Carolina.—Saving always the faith, allegiance, and sovereign dominion, due to us, our heirs, and successors, for the same.—To be held in free and common soccage, as of our manor of East Greenwich, in Kent; yielding and paying to us and our successors, for the same, the fourth part of all gold and silver ore found within their limits, besides the yearly rent of twenty marks."

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1665. Those patentees were empowered to grant peculiar titles of honour to great planters in Carolina, so as they should not be the same as in England. And, in consequence of this clause, they accordingly, at different times, conferred the titles of Caciques and Land Graves; the former an Indian dignity, the latter a German one. The patentees had also the power to enjoy quit-rents, and also reasonable customs on merchandize; but not without the approbation and consent of the freemen of the colony. Also to erect forts, to incorporate towns and cities, to train soldiers, &c.

The noble patentees immediately set about the planting of that delightful country: and all freemen who settled there had fifty acres of land granted to them for their own persons, and fifty more for each man servant; also fifty acres for each marriageable woman servant; and forty for unmarried ones. Covenant servants, when out of their time, to have fifty acres also given them. The first embarkation cost the Proprietaries twelve thousand pounds. The fundamental constitutions of its government were framed by the truly great John Locke, Esq; founded on the most just and generous principles, and calculated for encouraging men of all persuasions to settle therein. The eldest of those Lords Proprietaries had the title of Palatine; in whom, assisted by three other Proprietaries, the executive powers in most cases were lodged: and those four constituted the Palatine Court, whose deputies in Carolina acted by their directions. Its Parliament consisted, in the Upper House, of the Proprietaries, or their deputies, with the Governor, Council, Caciques, and Landgraves: and the Commons, or Lower House, were elected as in other colonies.

In this same year 1665, King Charles the Second, of England, in the seventeenth year of his reign, erected, an ill-judged Canary Company, by his patent, to sixty persons, and to all others of his subjects that had within seven years past traded to the Canaries, to the value of one thousand pounds yearly; and also to all others who should be admitted: whereby they were constituted a body politic, and were to enjoy the sole trade thither, under a governor, deputy governor, and twelve assistants. The grounds for this charter, as set forth in its preamble were, "that the trade to the Canary Isles was formerly of greater advantage to the King's subjects than at this time. That, by reason of the too much access and trading of subjects thither, our merchandize was decreased in its value, and the Canary wines, on the other hand, were increased to double their former value: so that the King's subjects were forced to carry silver and bullion thither to get wines: and that all this was owing to want of regulation in trade." The word regulation was, in those days, much used, but little understood, and often ill-applied.

This Company, in spite of the *non obstante* in its charter to the statute of Monopolies, had judgment given against it, in the year 1667, when both Houses of Parliament, in an address to the King, thanked him for revoking its patent. And the third article of the House of Commons's impeachment of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, directly charges him with having received great sums of money, for procuring this and other illegal patents.

In this same year 1665, (according to the supplement to Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe) the state of Genoa made its first attempt for a treaty of commerce with Turkey, by their envoy going thither, under the protection of Count Lesley, the Imperial ambassador, though much opposed by that of France. But, says De Mailly, vol. iii. l. 17. in spite of all their endeavours they were not able to put off a sufficiency of their woollen cloth, in the goodness of which they were excelled by the English and Dutch; nor of their silver coin of five sols, (counterfeited from the French coin of that name, then in great credit

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1665 in Turkey) which the Turks named Themins, to support the expence and dignity of their resident at Constantinople, and their consul at Smyrna: so that this attempt proved abortive. They again made a fresh attempt for this purpose, in the year 1675, which also proved abortive; and we have not heard, that they have since ever attempted it. The Genoese, in their above-named first attempt, took advantage of the assistance which France had afforded to the Emperor in Hungary, and to the Venetians, in defence of Candia. Yet, though those aids made a difference between France and the Ottoman Porte for a while, Lewis the Fourteenth found means, in the year 1673, to renew his commerce with Turkey; which Colbert began, in this same year 1665, seriously to think of, though retarded for the last-named reasons.

1666 The war between England and Holland continuing, the fleet of the former, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, fought the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter for four days successively; in which conflicts the English are said to have lost twenty-three ships, and six thousand men killed, with the Admirals Sir William Berkeley and Sir Christopher Mynes; beside two thousand six hundred men taken prisoners by the Dutch, who allege, that they lost only six ships, two thousand eight hundred soldiers, and eighty seamen, beside three of their Admirals, and several officers.

In August, this same year, another sea fight gave England the advantage: and, in the Mediterranean, the French joined the Dutch with thirty-six ships, in hopes to ruin the English trade in those parts. A French squadron likewise joining the Dutch fleet near Dunkirk, obliged ours to retire, with the loss of one of our fifty gun ships. These terrible conflicts are very variously represented by the writers of the opposite nations, and, in some respects, by different English writers.

“The vain and ridiculous competition between England and Holland,” as Voltaire terms it, in his age of Lewis the Fourteenth, “for the honour of the flag; and also concerning the commerce to the East Indies, having kindled the war between those two nations; King Lewis the Fourteenth of France with pleasure beheld them destroying each other, by the most obstinate sea fights that had been ever seen before in any age of the world: all the fruits whereof,” as the same author justly remarks, “were merely the weakening of both nations.—Thus,” says he, “the sovereignty of the seas was for some time divided between those two nations, and the art of ship building, and of employing them in commerce and in war, was perfectly known only by them. France, under Richlieu’s Ministry, esteemed herself powerful at sea, because that of sixty ships then in her ports, she could put to sea about thirty, of which only one carried seventy cannon. Under Mazarine, the few ships we (France) had, were purchased of the Dutch.—We were in want of officers, sailors, manufactures; and, in short, of every thing needful for shipping.—In the year 1664 and 1665, whilst the English and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred large ships of war; Lewis the Fourteenth had not then above fifteen or sixteen of the lowest rates.—But Lewis used his utmost efforts to efface the shame thereof in the most sudden and effectual manner.”

In this same year, the English colony in the island of St. Christophers, in the West Indies, was overpowered by that of France, in the said isle, and they were entirely dispossessed of all their plantations, which however were restored four years after. It was surely very ill-judged in both nations to plant on the same small island; which however was not entirely remedied, until, by the treaty of Utrecht, France yielded up the whole to Great Britain for ever.

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1666

In the said eighteenth year of King Charles the Second, an act of Parliament, cap. ii. declaring that the penalties of the statute of the fifteenth of that King, cap. viii. already recited, not being found effectual for preventing the importation of foreign live cattle, it was enacted,

“ I. That the continuance of any importation either of lean or fat cattle, dead or alive, is not only unnecessary, but also very destructive to the welfare of this kingdom: and it was further enacted, that such importation thenceforth shall be deemed a public common nuisance: “ and that all great cattle, sheep, swine, beef, pork, or bacon, imported, except for necessary provisions, shall be forfeited.” Sir William Petty, in his Political Survey of Ireland, says, “ that before this statute took place, three fourths of Ireland’s foreign trade was with England, but since not one fourth part of the same.”

“ II. And for the better encouragement of the fishery of this kingdom, it was hereby enacted, that if any ling, herring, cod, or pilchard, fresh or salted, dried or bloated; or any salmon, eels, or congers, taken by any foreigners, shall be imported, uttered, or sold in England, it shall be lawful for any person to seize the same; half for his own use, the other half for the poor of the parish. Proviso, That six hundred head of black cattle, of the breed of the Isle of Man, may annually be imported, at Chester only.”

This act to continue for seven years, and to the end of the first session of the next Parliament: prolonged and further strengthened by the twentieth of the said King, cap. vii.

And by an act of the thirty-second of the said King, cap. ii. this act is further continued and extended to mutton, lamb, butter, and cheese, from Ireland; yet, by reason of a late very great dearth of provisions, in the year 1757, an act of Parliament allowed the importation of salted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland.

Concerning these laws, for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, many people think them in general to be hurtful; and that it would be wiser to suffer the Irish to be employed in breeding and fattening of their black cattle for us, than to turn their lands into sheep walks as at present; in consequence of which they are enabled, in spite of all our laws to the contrary, to supply foreign nations with their wool, to our very great detriment. Of this opinion was the great Sir William Temple, in his Miscellanies, the second edition, octavo, published in the year 1681, and later experience has confirmed it.

In the said eighteenth year of that King, by a statute, cap. iv. for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures of England, it was enacted, “ that no person should be buried in any shirt, shift, or sheet, made of, or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver: or other than what shall be made of wool only,—upon forfeiture of five pounds to the poor of the parish, towards a stock or work house for their employment.”

☞ This is certainly a wise and salutary law, as it is a means of consuming a considerable quantity of our slight woollen manufactures. Yet such is the vanity of too many, that they will rather pay the penalty than be instrumental in promoting our own most important manufacture.

Another good law was made in this same eighteenth year of King Charles the Second, cap. v. for encouraging of the coinage of gold and silver: whereby both natives and foreigners were entitled “ to receive out of the mint an equal quantity of our gold and silver coin, for what crown gold or sterling silver they should bring thither: and in the same proportion for over or under fineness: without any expence whatever to the bringers of the same to the mint. The expence of which coinage was now to be defrayed by a tax on wines, spirits, vinegar, cyder, and beer imported.”

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The island of Antigua, or Antego, one of the Caribbees, in the West Indian seas, about twenty miles in length and almost as broad, by reason of its having no fresh water brooks, and at that time scarcely any springs of water, was for a long time deemed almost uninhabitable; and it was probably for that reason, that some English families, from its neighbouring isle of St. Christophers, who had settled thereon about the year 1632, soon deserted it again: yet the Lord Willoughby de Parham, having obtained a grant of it from King Charles the Second, in the year 1663, planted a colony on it, in this year 1666: since which time it has prospered extremely, being the best English colony of the Caribbees, next after Barbadoes and St. Christophers.

Antigua is well known for possessing the best harbours in all the Caribbee isles; though it is somewhat dangerous coming into them without a skilful commander who is well acquainted with the rocks round the island: it is much troubled with hurricanes, often doing considerable damage on shore, as well as on the adjacent seas. It is now well fortified at proper distances; and, by means of tanks or cisterns, the inhabitants make a tolerable shift to supply themselves with rain water, when their wells fail. They raise and send home to Britain great quantities of sugar, rum, and molasses, and many of their planters bring over with them very considerable estates to settle finally in Britain. Yet, for want of a sufficiency of fresh water, it is a considerable inconvenience, that their shipping are obliged to take in their water at the island of St. Christophers.

The most extensive and dreadful conflagration that ever happened to the city of London, broke out this year, on the second of September, burning no less than thirteen thousand two hundred houses, and most of its churches and corporation halls: the damage sustained by this terrible accident, has been usually computed to amount to ten millions sterling. So vast a loss of merchandize, treasure, plate, and household furniture, and so immense an expence for rebuilding that city, in a more beautiful, convenient, and substantial manner than it ever was before, was undoubtedly a great shock and obstruction, for some time, to the commerce of London; yet the noble city, by redoubling its diligence, did in a few years recover its pristine foreign and domestic trade; and has since so very much increased it in both those respects, as to be beyond all doubt, at present, the greatest commercial city in the known world.

By the aid of two acts of Parliament, it was sooner and more beautifully rebuilt than could have been reasonably expected, considering the great necessity there was for dispatch, for accommodating merchants and traders.

Since that terrible conflagration, the increase of our foreign commerce, and of our home manufactures, has been so great, that the suburbs of that city, as well as the adjacent villages and hamlets, have so vastly increased, as (in point of magnitude, though not of wealth) to vie with, and, taken together, even to surpass the city itself. Particularly the vast increase of the hamlet of Spital-fields occasions surprize to all who know, or have heard from their friends, of but one or two generations backward, that almost all that space of ground running from Artillery-lane, on the east side of Bishopsgate-street, quite down to Shoreditch church; next, turning eastward towards Bethnal Green, and then south-eastward quite to Whitechapel road, containing by common estimation between three and four hundred acres of ground, should have, since then, been built up into almost numberless streets, lanes, alleys, and courts, filled with industrious manufacturers, chiefly of the silk kind; and of trades depending thereon, to the amount perhaps of above one hundred thousand people, where probably not one single house stood little above one hundred and fifty years ago.

Another

1666 Another vast increase of buildings, on new foundations, is the great number of streets contained within the compass of ground still called Goodman's-Fields, with Welleclose-Square, Ratcliff-Highway, and the adjacent streets.

Northward, there is the greatest part of the village of Hoxton built on, since about the year 1688; and all about Old-Street, on each side, and up to Islington Road, to a place where a wind mill stood, still called Mount Mill. The fine and extensive street of Hatton-Garden, on the site of the single house and garden of the Lord Hatton, the great number of alleys in and about Saffron Hill, formerly called the Bishop of Ely's vineyard, Brook-Street, Greville-Street, &c. where formerly stood Lord Brook's house and garden, as were also all the streets from the Strand down to the Thames, formerly only noblemens houses and gardens.

Westward, there is a vast range of buildings erected on Red-Lion Fields, near Holborn, on which ground now stands Red-Lion Square, and Red-Lion Street, and many other streets built in and since the reign of James the Second, quite up to Bloomsbury Square, otherwise called Southampton Square, and thence to the town, as it was then called, of St. Giles in the Fields, formerly a detached village, all the vacancy of which was built since 1680.

More westward and south-westward still, all the buildings of the street named Long-acre, up to the place now called Seven Dials: Covent-Garden, and its neighbourhood, were built up in the reigns of King Charles the First and Second, though some part of it in the memory of many still living. And, northward from Leicester Fields and St. Martin's Lane, up to Soho and St. Giles's Road; and westward, to the further end of Piccadilly; and from the north side of Piccadilly, up to Tyburn Road, including Soho (otherwise named King's) Square, and Golden Square; and, on the south side of Piccadilly, St. James's Square, Pall-mall, St. James's-Street, Arlington Street, &c. All which were pasture-grounds till about the year 1680.

In the city of Westminster, strictly so called, since the year 1688, there has been a great increase of buildings towards Tothill Fields, &c. beside the superb streets, in our days, erected in the purlieu of the new bridge there.

Lastly, since the accession of our present illustrious royal family to the throne of these realms, there is so great an addition made to the western suburbs, where stand New Bond-Street, and the other streets adjoining to the fine squares called Hanover, Cavendish, Grosvenor, and Berkeley Squares, as alone would constitute a considerable and beautiful city: and a considerable addition has been also made in the proper city of Westminster; beside the great additions made to the nearly-adjoining villages of Paddington, Chelsea, Knightbridge, and Kensington, westward; and Marybone, Islington, and Newington, northward; and, more eminently, to the famous village of Hackney, north-eastward; and also, eastward, to Mile-End, Bow and Stratford, Wapping and Limehouse; and a new town, growing gradually up, south of the Thames, from the fine bridges of Westminster and Blackfriars, in St. George's Fields, Lambeth, Newington Butts, Kennington, &c. and at Stockwell and Clapham; beside the many streets built on the marsh-grounds of Rotherhithe and Deptford, and also at Greenwich.

Whither indeed can we turn or cast our eyes, east, west, south, or north, where there are not great improvements on new foundations, adjoining to, and occasioned by the immense commerce of the ancient and noble mercantile city of London?

Before the said great conflagration of the year 1666 happened, the streets were very narrow, so as in many of them the garrets on each side projected very near each other, the houses being almost wholly of timber, lath, and plaster, one story still projecting further than the next lower one. Wherefore, in order to widen many of the more public streets, after this great

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1666 difaster, there were two extenſive acts of Parliament paſſed, cap. ii. and iii. of the nineteenth year of King Charles the Second, for determining, in a ſummary way, the ground and bounds of houſes and ſtreets to be rebuilt in London; and many great alterations were made for the better, in the width of ſtreets and lanes, as in the famous ſtreets of Fleet-Street, Luſſigate-Hill, Ludgate-Street, St. Paul's Church-Yard, Cheapſide, Newgate-Street, the Poultry, Grace-church-Street, Thames-Street, Old Fiſh-Street; and from Cheapſide to the Thames, then a poor, narrow, and crooked lane, called Soper-Lane, now Queen-Street: a fine new ſtreet from Cheapſide up to Guildhall, called King-Street, there being no other coach-way thither before the fire but down Laurence-Lane. Thames-Street was raiſed three feet, to prevent inundations. Conduits, blocking up ſtreets, were removed; and alſo ſeveral middle rows of houſes in many parts. The new and widened ſtreets were to be at leaſt twenty-four feet in breadth. Hereby alſo we learn, that the water-houſe adjoining to London-bridge, had ſupplied the ſouth ſide of the city with water, for almoſt a hundred years preceding.— From Mincing-Lane down a new way to the Cuſtom-Houſe, as may be ſeen in the ſaid act, cap. iii. ſeveral other ſtreets, now paſſable by coaches, were only foot way thoroughfares, as Princes-Street, near the new Manſion-Houſe; others were only open by mean gate-ways, as Shoe-Lane, &c. and ſome, as Bartholomew-Lane, behind the Royal Exchange, had no exiſtence at all.

In order to widen the more public ſtreets, much ground, before built on, was ſet apart; ſuch as middle rows of houſes in many ſtreets, now quite clear of ſuch nuiſances, and gate-ways turned into open ſtreets: on the other hand, it is known, that many of the great merchants houſes, and city-halls, ſtood on much more ground than at preſent, with gardens and large court-yards: ſo that, according to ſome opinions, there were near four thouſand more houſes erected after this conflagration than had been in the city before, and that, conſequently, there are more people in it. Thus, for a few inſtances, the famous Exchange-Alley, on which ſo conſiderable a number of of capital tenements now ſtand, was, till that period, only one ſingle merchant's houſe and garden, running between the ſtreets of Cornhill and Lombard-Street: and the like of Sweeting's-Alley, at the eaſt-end of the Royal Exchange. All Croſby-Square, though not then burnt down, was, it ſeems, only the houſe and garden of Sir James Langham, a merchant. The ſame might be ſaid of Princes-Street, Copthall-Court, Angel-Court, and Warneford-Court, in Throgmorton-Street, and of King's-Arms-Yard in Coleman-Street, formerly ſingle houſes, now containing many eminent merchants and traders habitations: Devonſhire-Square, with the adjoining back-ſtreets and alleys, were all built on the Earl of Devonſhire's houſe and garden; as were Bridgewater-Square and adjoining ſtreets, on that of the Earl of Bridgewater's, burnt down in the year 1687.

The ground-plots of many other of the great houſes of the nobility and great merchants have had the like improvements; ſome few before this great fire, though moſtly ſince: ſuch as Prince Rupert's, in Barbican; the Ducheſs of Suffolk's, in Alderſgate-Street; where two others ſtill remain entire, viz. the Earl of Shaftesbury's and the Biſhop of London's palaces: the Biſhop of Wincheſter's, in Wincheſter-Street, &c. All which, though happening in various periods of time, we have thrown together in this place, that we may not any more have recourſe to them hereafter.

In this ſame year 1666, Captain Sayle, in the ſervice of the new colony of Carolina, in his way thither, was by ſtorm driven on the ſhore of the iſle of Providence, the chief of the Bahama or Lucaya iſlands; and on his return to England, with a report of the condition of thoſe iſles,

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1666 isles, on which, as we have seen, some English had settled long before, but afterwards were driven out by the Spaniards, in 1641, King Charles the Second now granted a patent to the lords proprietors of Carolina of the said islands.

The isle of Providence lies in the midst of some hundreds, great and small, of dangerously situated isles, from latitude twenty-two to twenty-seven north of the isle of Cuba, and east of the coast of Florida; the greater part of them are of very little value, and more remarkable for frequent shipwrecks, when ships chance to be driven amongst them by stress of weather, and the tempestuousness of those seas, than for any material benefit they can afford us in time of peace, as lying several hundred miles out of the usual course of our ships to or from any of our plantations. Yet, when we are at war with other European nations, who have colonies in America, our privateers may be usefully employed thereabout, as also our smaller ships of war, which the port of Nassau, in Providence Isle, can well receive; by which, and by a royal squadron stationed at Port Royal in Carolina, the Spanish plate fleets from the Havanna, in time of war, might be more easily intercepted, than by any fleet at Jamaica; which Captain Rogers, Governor of Providence, clearly explained to our government in the year 1728. It has, for such reasons, been judged proper to fortify Providence Isle, which has also a regular government: for should it be possessed by any other nation, it might be a means of greatly injuring our American commerce. It lies in twenty-five degrees of north latitude, and is about twenty-eight miles in length, and eleven miles in breadth. Spain's jealousy of our possessing it, so near to the Havanna, occasioned their surprising the English there, as related in the year 1641, burning their habitations, and murdering the Governor; so that it remained a desert, till resettled in 1666; but was soon after again neglected or deserted till about the year 1690, when the said Lords proprietors once more repeopled it, and appointed them a governor.

In Queen Anne's war, in 1703, the French and Spaniards utterly wasted and depopulated the isle of Providence, driving out the English, carrying off their negroes, &c. and demolishing our fort of Nassau; and so it remained till the reign of King George the First; when our House of Lords addressed that King, to replant and refortify the Bahama Isles, where pirates then had their usual retreat. Whereupon, in the year 1718, Captain Woods Rogers was sent Regal Governor to Providence, to whom the pirates for the most part submitted, and accepted of our King's pardon; and it has ever since remained a regal colony, where there is a small town, named Nassau, with two good and well designed forts, erected in 1745, so as to be now in a very good state of defence against any enemy. And, beside this principal island of Providence, there are small British settlements on Harbour Island, and on Eleuthera, and a few families on some other of those islands, who join with the rest of the isles in the choice of twenty assembly-men to represent them all. These isles abound with many sorts of good, and some very uncommon timbers; and with plenty of stones and lime: on Exuma, there is excellent salt; and they have made some essays at sugar canes. The whole white people in those isles were lately said to be about two thousand in number; but the condition of such kind of places is usually so fluctuating, more especially in time of war, that we can say little more of them at present.

By a state of the Dutch East India Company's affairs, published in this same year, it appears that their settlement at the Cape of Good Hope was, even so early, in a pretty good condition; their garrison consisted of five hundred men, and their new fort was near completed: they indeed complained of some want of slaves for the cultivation of their lands; but their vines and olive trees prospered very well.

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1666 Wheat was, in this year, at one pound sixteen shillings per quarter, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*,—a great blessing amidst the terrible calamity of the great conflagration at London.

1667 What Alderman Cockayne had fruitlessly attempted for seven years together, viz. from 1667 to 1668, was, in the year 1667, easily effected by making use of proper workmen, and taking other prudent measures. For, one Brewer, from the Netherlands, came over to England, with his servants, and had due encouragement from the crown for instructing our people in the dying and dressing of our finest white woollen cloths, which were consequently brought to the greatest perfection before their exportation.

Since Captain Fox's and Captain James's attempts for a north-west passage, through Hudson's Bay, to China, in the years 1631 and 1633, we hear of no more until the year 1667, when several persons of worth and distinction, who had been, for some years before, consulting about that voyage and discovery, fitted out a ship with merchandize from London, under the command of one Captain Gillam, who passed through Hudson's Straights, and so into Baffin's Bay, as far as seventy-five degrees northward: next, he sailed as far south as fifty-one degrees, odd minutes, where, in the river he named after Prince Rupert, one of the adventurers, he built Charles's Fort, the first we ever had in Hudson's Bay: indeed, he was the first that ever practised any thing like real commerce in that bay. Gillam carried with him two Frenchmen who had lived at Quebec in Canada, and who, upon the information of an Indian there, that the French, by travelling further north, would come to the bottom of a great bay or sea, had gone home to France, to solicit ships to sail into Hudson's Bay, but their proposal being slighted by the French court, our Ambassador there picked them up, and sent them to England, where the noble adventurers employed them as above.

The parties at war against England, viz. France and Holland, being willing to treat of a peace, their plenipotentiaries meeting, this year, at Breda, a peace between England and France was concluded: by which the latter yielded up to England all their part of the isle of St. Christopher, together with the isles of Antigua and Montserrat. On the other hand, the English court, not then knowing or duly weighing the importance of the country of Acadia, or Acadie, part of Nova Scotia, yielded the same up to France.

At the said place, and in the same year, a treaty was concluded between England and Holland; by which it was agreed, that both parties should retain what they then possessed. But, before it was quite concluded and signed, the King, imagining the peace to be certain, (some say too, for saving the money granted by Parliament, for less valuable ends) omitted to fit out his principal fleet to sea; the Dutch, at the instigation of the French court, sent over De Ruyter with seventy ships of war, who, entering the mouth of the river Thames, took the fort of Sheerness, which he blew up with a great quantity of naval and military stores, &c. From thence, sending Van Ghent with part of his fleet up the river Medway, to Chatham, where many of our capital ships lay, he burned four, the Dutch say six, of them, and brought off the hull of the Royal Charles: but two or three of the Dutch ships running a-ground, he caused them to be burned, to prevent them falling into our hands; and so returned in triumph to his own coast. But as the peace was now too far gone to break it off, it was soon after signed.—We shall here only further take notice, that the fort at Sheerness has since been rebuilt in so substantial and judicious a manner, as will probably prevent any such daring attempt hereafter.

Yet this disaster, did, at this time, create great uneasiness amongst the Londoners, and more especially in the people who had trusted the London goldsmiths with money, at a moderate

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1667 rate interest ; which money, the said goldsmiths had advanced to the King, at a much higher interest, on the security of his revenue, as it should come in ; the creditors of these bankers being justly apprehensive lest a sudden stop should be put to their payments at the Exchequer. The King therefore, in order to quiet this uneasiness in the people, who were continually demanding their money of the said goldsmiths or bankers, issued his declaration for preserving inviolably the course of payments in his Exchequer, both with regard to principal and interest : although, in less than five years, we shall see, that he absolutely disregarded this solemn declaration.

At the said treaty of Breda, the English ministers, at first, insisted on the Dutch East India Company's restoring the spice isle of Poleron ; Cromwell had indeed obliged them, in the year 1654, to restore it : yet the Dutch had again seized on it in the year 1664.—But at length, Poleron was agreed to be left to the Hollanders for ever—although it is said to yield the best nutmegs and mace of all the Molucca isles.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate the excellence of the English Navigation Act, than the Dutch Plenipotentiaries so strenuously insisting, at this treaty of Breda, that the said law was destructive of the Hollanders commerce, and should therefore, by a clause therein, be made void. Yet, although our ministers durst not go so far, it was however thereby stipulated, “ That all merchandize brought down the Rhine from Germany, to the staple at Dort, “ should be deemed the same as if it was the growth of Holland, and might consequently be “ transported to England in Dutch bottoms.”

And whereas, during the said war, the English colony at Surinam, on the coast of Guiana, had been attacked, and had surrendered to the Zealand squadron ; and, considering that the *uti possidetis* was agreed, at this treaty, to be the basis thereof, that colony was therefore yielded to the Dutch ; which England had never made of any great importance to her commerce, though there were some fine sugar plantations then in it, and also some tobacco ones ; but the latter were not of any great value ; and it has ever since been in their possession ;—as, by this same rule, the fine province of New York, a much nobler exchange, was confirmed to England.

Lastly, it was by this peace stipulated, that as well Dutch ships of war, as their merchant ships, which shall meet any English ships of war in the four seas surrounding Great Britain, shall strike the flag and lower the top-sail as formerly. But the heirs of Sir William Courten received no satisfaction for the capture of his two ships in India, by the Dutch East India Company, long before, after much stir made about it for many years past.

It was, on the whole, rather a dishonourable peace for us, and an honourable and advantageous peace for the Dutch : for although they hereby quitted all pretensions to New York province, it was purely because they were quite before dispossessed of it, and being surrounded by the other English colonies, could never have been able to regain or keep possession thereof. The province of New York is said, by some, to have, on trial, yielded as good tobacco as Virginia or Maryland. It has a great increase of corn, and a profitable trade for furs and peltry, with the Iroquois Indians ; and with the sugar isles, for its horses and provisions of all kinds, and pipe-staves ; as also to Madeira and the Azores.

We are at length arrived to somewhat like a pacification between England and Spain, in the American seas, where till now both nations had continued, in some sort, in a state of hostility, even while they lived peaceably together in Europe. By this time, indeed, Spain's old pretensions to an universal sovereignty in the American seas, were become obsolete ; yet till

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1667 now both nations took advantages of each other in those parts : the improving spirit of the English, and the great declension of Spain's power, had gained them considerable ground in America. King Charles II. of England, thought it nevertheless, at this time, prudent to agree to a general pacification with Spain, in America, in a treaty of peace and alliance, concluded with that crown, that eighth article whereof, being the only one relating to America, or any particular commercial point, runs in the following strain, viz.

" We do mutually agree to remain on the same footing, with regard to our American commerce, upon which the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands were put by the sixth article of the treaty of Munster, between Spain and the said States General, in the year 1648, which runs in the following words, viz,

" As to the West Indies ; the subjects and inhabitants of the said Lords, the King and the States General, respectively, shall forbear sailing to, and trading in any of the harbours, places, &c. possessed by the one or the other party, viz. the subjects of the said Lord the King shall not sail to, or trade in, those held and possessed by the said Lords the States ; nor shall the subjects of the said Lords the States sail to or trade in those held and possessed by said Lord the King of Spain."

This eighth article, though thus loosely expressed, was at least a tacit agreement of the *uti possidetis* in America ; and was introductory of another more explicit treaty, three years after.

About this time, France, in the ministry of the sharp-sighted Colbert, set on foot the famous tapestry manufacture, at the Gobelins in Paris ; for this end, procuring from all foreign parts, drawers, designers, painters, dyers, and engravers ; also workers in gold, silver, ivory, brass, &c. which, under the direction of the famous Le Brun, were brought to great perfection, and thereby much money kept at home, which before was sent abroad for ornaments and curiosities of that kind. As also every possible means was used for improving of old manufactures, and introducing of new ones and new branches of commerce. By all which measures, France soon became the great rival and supplanter of both England and Holland in most foreign markets, as in Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, more particularly for woollen goods, with which, till after this time, the two first named nations alone supplied most of the countries of Europe.

Yet, in some respects, the French overshot the mark, as even their countryman, Monsieur Huet, in his Memoirs of the Dutch Commerce, observes : for, " by laying such high duties on all foreign merchandize imported,—and pretending to sell their own merchandize to other nations, without buying any from them, they vainly imagined, that foreign nations could not be without French wares : for which, too, they would pay ready money to France, whilst the French took off none of theirs. This," he observes, " made both the English and Dutch set up many of the manufactures they were accustomed to have from France, and who, especially the Dutch, sold them in imitation of those of France, much cheaper than France could afford to do ; such, particularly, as broad silks, gold and silver brocades, ribbons laces, hats, hardware, watches, toys, paper, &c. and have since been wonderfully successful therein." We may add, that, in England our broad silk manufacture has been brought to great perfection, as also that of hardware, watches, and haberdashery ; and our paper, quite a modern manufacture, so far improved, as to save great sums, formerly paid to France.

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1668 In January 1668, N. S. King Charles II. of England, concluded with the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, a defensive alliance; and, in February following, a treaty of commerce, in substance as follows, viz.

Articles I. II. "The King's subjects may freely trade with such kingdoms and states with whom he is in peace, although the States General should happen to be at war with the said kingdoms and states;—which freedom shall extend to all kinds of merchandize, but contraband goods.

III. "By 'contraband goods are meant, all sorts of fire-arms, gun-powder, and military instruments of war: also, ropes, horses, saltpetre, horse accoutrements, saddles, bridles, &c.

IV. "But provisions of all kinds, for the sustenance of life, may be carried freely even to the enemies of the States, excepting only to towns besieged or invested.

V. "English ships entering laden into any of the ports of the States, with an intention to sail thence to places at war with them, shall only be obliged to produce their passports, containing an attested inventory of their lading, and then may freely proceed.

VI. VII. VIII. "Other means to be used where there may be just ground for suspicion of carrying contraband merchandize.

IX. "Contraband goods, found in English ships bound to the ports of enemies of the States, shall be taken out, but neither the ship, nor the other merchandize, shall be seized.

X. "Merchandize sent by the King's subjects, in ships belonging to the enemies of the States, even though not contraband, shall be forfeited together with the other goods in such ships: but, on the other hand, whatever is found on board British ships, though the lading, or any part of it, should belong to the enemies of the States, shall be free, except they be contraband goods.

XI. "And the subjects and ships of the States General shall, in all respects, enjoy all the before named and after named privileges allowed to the King's subjects and ships, in reference to trade and navigation on the coasts, and in the ports of the said King's dominions.

XII. XIII. XIV. "No violence nor injury shall be offered by British ships and subjects to those of the States, and *vice versa*, and the commanders of privateers, before they put to sea, shall give security, to the value of one thousand five hundred pounds, or fifteen thousand guilders, for this end: but if a commander of any English ship shall take a vessel, laden with prohibited goods, he shall not be allowed to open chests, &c. nor to sell, barter, or make away with them till brought on shore, in the presence of the officers for prizes: and unless the prohibited goods make only a part of the lading, in which case they shall be presently taken out, that the ship may pursue the voyage.

XV. XVI. XVII. "The King promises to do all possible right and justice in the case of prizes; and, in case the States ministers complain of any injustice in the sentences passed, the same shall be reviewed by his council in three months space.—Neither shall the controverted goods be sold or disposed of in the mean time, unless perishable, but by the consent of the parties complaining; who, if they get a sentence in their favour, either in the first or second instance, such sentence, upon giving security, shall be put in execution, although the other appeal to a higher court, but not against the opponents, if the sentence should be pronounced in their favour. And finally, all the foregoing stipulations shall be equally observed by the States, in respect to the suits or the King's subjects."—Vide vol. i. p. 136, of a Collection of Treaties, second edition, 1732.

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The ingenious and well-known treatise, entitled, *The British Merchant*, and many other writers, loudly and justly complain of England's giving too much encouragement to the consumption of French wines and brandies, and to the wear of their silks, linens, hats, &c. formerly in immense quantities.

That, until the year 1668, French wines were sold in London at eight pence per quart : but that a duty of four pence per quart being, in this year, laid on them, they were thenceforward sold for many years after at twelve pence per quart ; whilst we took off infinite quantities of them, and of almost every other species of French merchandize, and that nation, on the contrary, were continually diminishing more and more their consumption of English manufactures and merchandize, by new and high impositions, obstructions, and, at length, prohibitions : inasmuch, that, in this same year 1668, according to the above named *British Merchant*, vol. iii. p. 315, 316, first published in 1713, the general balance of the trade of England, was most grievously to our loss, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Imported into England, in the year 1668, from all the world	4,196,139	17	0
Exported	2,063,274	19	0

The imports exceed the exports, the sum of £. 2,132,864 18 0

“ This great national loss,” continues our said author, “ was owing to our having a full trade with France. Which full trade being afterwards prohibited, the general balance in the year 1699, was got to be so far in our favour as one million one hundred and forty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty pounds ten shillings and nine pence. Total gained by us from having no trade with France in the year 1699, three million two hundred and eighty thousand five hundred and twenty-five pounds eight shillings and nine pence ; which balance, in the year 1703, was so considerably increased as to be no less than two million one hundred and seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-three pounds three shillings and ten pence halfpenny. Total gained by us from having no trade with France, in the year 1703, four million two hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and eighty-eight pounds, one shilling and ten pence halfpenny.—A most interesting consideration.”

As the *British Merchant's* principal author was Mr. Martin, then Inspector General of the British Customs, a gentleman of great honour and abilities, we may safely rely on the truth of these balances, and may fairly draw some very useful and important inferences therefrom, in behalf of our foreign commerce, and also particularly in favour of our American continent plantations ; which, to our vast benefit, might, by the help of bounties and other encouragements, in a few years be brought to supply us with all the merchandize we now take from Norway ; and, indeed, most, if not all, that we take from the countries on both shores of the Baltic Sea, with all which parts the balance is greatly against us. A wise nation, therefore, should not hesitate a moment on a point so clear as this is universally judged to be.

“ At this time also,” says the same ingenious author, “ The laudable English fashions of former times began to alter in favour of France. The womens hats were turned into hoods made of French silk : whereby every maid servant in England became a standing revenue to the French King of the half of her wages. Many hats for men were likewise brought from France, which also supplied Italy with woollen goods, made of English wool run to them, in return for Italian silk, which France manufactured, and sold to England to pay for that wool.

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1668 “ wool. And whilst they laid such high duties on our woollen cloths as amounted to a prohibition, we were in a manner totally supplied with their linens; beside their wines, brandies, paper, &c.” And this also supplies us with another obvious inference, viz. to learn even from enemies whatever may be for the national advantage.

In the said year 1668, by Lord Ashléy's persuasion, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, King Charles the Second, of England, instituted a Council of Commerce; consisting of, a President,—salary, eight hundred pounds; Vice President,—six hundred pounds; and nine other counsellors, with each five hundred pounds salary; who, instead of the former method of referring all commercial matters to a fluctuating committee of the Privy Council, which was liable to several objections, were to apply themselves diligently to the advancement of the nation's commerce, colonies, manufactures, and shipping. But as this King was never long constant in any very laudable regulation, he, a few years after, laid aside so very beneficial an institution, too expensive also for him to spare from his pleasures; so that commercial matters fell into their former way of a reference to a committee of the Privy Council.

In this same year, King Charles II. of England, having in January concluded a defensive alliance with the Dutch, to which the King of Sweden acceded, called, by way of eminence the Triple Alliance; to the intent to oblige France to make a reasonable peace with Spain, whereby the rest of the Spanish Netherlands might be preserved; in the same year, concluded also the before recited treaty of commerce with the Dutch.

At length France was induced to conclude a peace with Spain, at Aix-la-Chapelle, though on the following very disadvantageous terms for the latter: Spain now yielding up to France the towns and forts of Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Doway, Fort Scarpe, Tournay, Lille, Oudenarde, Armentiers, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, together with their bailiwicks, chatellanies, territories, and dependencies. Thus France got a more firm footing into the very heart of the Spanish Netherlands, whereby the balance of power between those two great nations was shamefully suffered, by King Charles II. of England, to be quite destroyed; who, had he felt any great regard for England's commercial interests, or for the equilibrium of Europe in general, might have undoubtedly prevented it.

Yet Lewis XIV. scarcely kept to this peace for so long as two years, without making farther encroachments on Spain's weak King, Charles II. and his feebly declining monarchy. At this time, however, Lewis found himself obliged to restore back to Spain the county of Burgundy, commonly called Franche Compté, the invading whereof and of the Netherlands, had obliged Spain to make peace with, and renounce all pretensions to Portugal.

In this same year, Charles II. of England, granted a new charter to the famous Cinque Ports, situated on the coasts of Kent and Suffex, by which he confirmed their ancient privileges, with some new regulations, more suitable to modern times, relating to taxes, and the election of officers, &c. now of no use to our purpose. Since our vast increase of the royal navy, these Cinque Ports are no more of any great importance; though, as we have more than once shewn, they were greatly useful to our Norman race of Kings in their expeditions to the continent, and also in case of threatened invasions from thence, before our Kings had any royal navy, properly so called.

We learn the retail prices of wines at London, in this year 1668, by an act of Parliament of the twentieth of Charles II. cap. i. for laying the following duties thereon, viz.

For every quart of French wine retailed, four pence; of Spanish wine, and all other wines, six pence; brandies, and all other spirits imported, twelve pence per quart:—and, for the enabling retailers to pay those duties on wines, they are empowered to take or demand for every quart of French wine, four pence; and of Spanish, &c. wines, six pence, over and above the prices they were sold at before—Provided, that French wines shall not hereafter be sold at above twelve pence, nor Spanish, &c. wines, at above two shillings per quart, the said new duties included. This shews, that till these new duties were laid, French wines, as already observed, were retailed at eight pence, and Spanish, &c. wines, at one shilling and six pence per quart.

The timber of the King's forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, being of late much destroyed; by an act of Parliament of this same year 1668, cap. iii. “Eleven thousand acres of the waste lands in that forest were directed to be inclosed, for the growth and preservation of oak timber, for the supply of the royal navy, and the maintenance of shipping for the trade of this nation.” So says this act, and we wish it may be inquired into whether the same be duly observed at this day.

1669 It is scarcely worth relating, were it not being somewhat historical, in respect of the linen manufacture, what the anonymous author of a book frequently before quoted, entitled, The happy future State of England, acquaints us with, viz. that in the year 1669, there was twenty-three thousand six hundred and eighty pounds weight of linen yarn imported from Scotland into the port of London. He also relates, that at this time, the French Protestants, settled at Ipswich, made linen of fifteen shillings per ell.

Under this year 1669, Pensionary De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, speaking of the increased power of England, begins so far back as the preceding century. “Thus,” says he, “when the compulsive laws of the Netherland Halls, had first driven the cloth-weaving from the cities into our villages, and thence into England, and that, by the cruelty of the Duke D’Alva, the say-weaving went also after it; the English, by degrees, began to vend their manufactures throughout Europe: they became potent at sea, and no longer to depend on the Netherlands.—Also by that discovery of the inexpressibly rich cod-bank of Newfoundland, those of Bristol in particular made use of that advantage.—Moreover, the long persecution of Puritans in England has occasioned the planting of many English colonies in America, by which they drive a very considerable foreign trade thither.—So that this mighty island, united with Ireland under one King—situated in the midst of Europe, having a clear deep coast, with good havens and bays, in so narrow a sea, that all foreign ships that sail either to the eastward or the westward, are necessitated, even in fair weather, to shun the dangerous French coast, and sail along that of England, and in stormy weather to run in and preserve their lives, ships, and merchandize in its bays.—So that England now, by its conjunction with Scotland, being much increased in strength, as well by manufactures as by a great navigation, will in all respects be formidable to all Europe. For, according to the proverb,—‘a master at sea is a lord at land;’—and more especially a King of England, seeing he is able, both whole fleets and private ships of war, at all times, to seize on ships sailing by that coast; the westerly winds which blow for most part of the year on this side of the tropic giving the English great opportunities to sail out of their numerous bays and harbours, at pleasure, to molest our navigation.—Of which formidable power King Henry the Eighth was so sensible, that he dared to use this device, *Cui adharco præest*,—i. e. He whom I assist shall be master:—and he accordingly made war as he listed; sometimes

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1669 “ against France, at other times against Spain, though then strengthened with the German Empire and these Netherlands ; making peace at his own pleasure, both with King Francis the First, and with the Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom he dared so horribly to despise as to repudiate his Aunt Queen Catherine.”

Thus this able, though frenchified, Minister of State lays down an immutably interesting lesson for Britain, viz. ever to be superior to any other nation on the ocean ; whereby we shall ever be superior in commerce : and whilst we preserve, by such a conduct, our great influence on the councils of the nations on the continent of Europe, we shall increase our wealth and preserve our independence, and our consequent liberty. Neither need we, on this subject, to observe, that our superiority at sea must ever be very considerable ; not only on account of the guard of our own extensive coasts, but also for the protection of our commerce on all the four quarters of the earth. This will ever be our great palladium ; and, according to the poet,—

“ We then most happy, who can fear no force,
“ But winged troops and Pegasean horse !”

WALLER.

In this year, the French Prime Minister, Colbert, brought from Holland, Van Robais, a Dutch merchant, to settle, with five hundred workmen, at Abbeville, in Picardie, where a new manufacture for superfine woollen broad cloth was successfully set on foot. It is superfluous to recite all the privileges, immunities, and sums of money, bestowed on him and his said workmen.—From thirty looms, in the year 1681, he was encouraged to set on foot fifty. In 1698, Van Robais’s looms amounted to eighty. And, in 1708, they exceeded one hundred in number.—And the French King, for doing the greater honour to this new manufactory, gave leave even for the noblesse to be concerned in it, without its detracting from their nobility.

And, for procuring a sufficient vent for these and other French woollen goods in Turkey, money was issued to the merchants of Marseilles out of the King’s treasure, to be re-paid after the return of the ships from Turkey : in consequence of which that city has gradually supplanted England and Holland of much of their Turkey trade. And the apprehensions of some people go so far as to think, Marseilles will be able in time to engross the whole of it.

France, at this time, as has been already in part observed, began to abound in all kinds of curious manufactures, toys, &c. with which they supplied every corner of Europe. One most material thing, however, they hitherto wanted, for completing their superiority over the rest of the world, viz. a superiority of naval power.

Penfionary De Witt, who first wrote at this time, his Interest of Holland, observes, in part ii. chap. 7, that, “ it is apparent the French have very few ships and mariners of their own : so that all their traffic is carried on by Holland ships, and to Holland, or at least by unlading there, some few English ships and traffic excepted : and when any goods are to be transported from one French harbour to another, they are put on board ships of Holland.” —This was the case at this time.

In the second volume of Voltaire’s Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, it is said, that this great Prince soon after granted a bounty of five livres per ton for every new built ship in France ; by which means shipping soon became more plenty : yet, he says, that so ignorant were they then in France, that not a few condemned those wise regulations as pernicious.

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With respect to the woollen manufactures in general, there is a very great mistake which prevails with many even to this day, in imagining, that the fine broad cloth in France is principally supported by our English run wool. Seeing it is well known, that the real very superfine cloth every where must be entirely of Spanish wool; and therefore often called Spanish cloth. And that although the second sort of French cloth is much meliorated by the help of our fine short wool, yet, for the most part, the best wool of France alone may do well enough for their coarse cloths.—And it is principally for their fine stuffs, hose, caps, &c. that the French find our soft and long combing wool, the best of its kind in all Europe, absolutely necessary;—as, without a certain proportion thereof, mixed up with their own wool, they cannot make those fine goods fit for the markets of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Moreover, by running of our wool to Hamburg, Holland, Flanders, France, &c. those countries are enabled to manufacture those stuffs and stockings, to the great detriment of our own manufacturers.

France, in our days, takes from us no other commodities than what they can further improve or manufacture; or else, such as they cannot as yet be without, viz. raw-hides, leather, beef, and butter, chiefly from Ireland; and also much leaf tobacco.

So much was the commerce and navigation of Holland improved since the pacification with Spain in the year 1648, to the time of De Witt's first writing his Interest of Holland, in the year 1669, viz. in twenty-one years time,—that, in part ii. chap. 2, he thinks it was increased one half. “That it was during her before named war with Holland, that Spain lost the bulk of her naval power: and since the above named peace we have mostly beat the English and the English out of the trade to Spain, all the coasts of which country are navigated chiefly with Dutch shipping; and, for want of ships and sailors of their own, Spain has now openly begun to hire Dutch ships to sail to her Indies, though formerly so careful to exclude all foreigners from thence: and so great is the supply of Dutch manufactures to Spain, &c. that all the merchandize brought from the Spanish West Indies is not sufficient to make returns for them; so that the Dutch carry home the balance in money.”

The said great author, De Witt, has, for the better illustration of the increase of the Dutch commerce and of their people, exhibited the computed number of the inhabitants of the province of Holland and West Friesland, with the several means whereby they are supported at this time, viz.

	<i>Persons.</i>
“ I. By the fisheries at sea, and the several trades and traffic depending thereon	450,000
“ II. By agriculture of all kinds, turf-making, inland fishing, and by furnishing those people with all sorts of materials, they being husbandmen	200,000
“ III. By manufactures, shipping, works of art, &c. consumed abroad; and by trades relating to the said manufactures	650,000
“ IV. By navigating for freight and trade jointly, exclusive of the fishery, and trades depending thereon	250,000
“ V. By all the before named people, men, women, and children, who must be supplied with what they want; as food, cloathing, housing, furniture, and all other things for art, ease, pleasure, and ornament	650,000
“ VI. Gentry, without employment; civil magistrates, and officers; and such as live on their estates or money; soldiers; the poor in hospitals, beggars, &c.	200,000
“ Total number of souls in the single province of Holland	2,400,000

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He adds, "That the eighth part of this number could not be supplied with necessaries out of the product of Holland, it being their gain by traffic which brings in the necessaries for the other seven-eighth parts of the whole people."

In another place, chap. vi. part 3, he acquaints us, "That the city of Amsterdam hath, to his said time, been enlarged two parts in three. And yet none can observe that either the houses or the inhabitants are thereby lessened in value: and that it is so augmented in buildings, that the imposts on the bulky goods of that city only, in the last farm, yielded above three hundred thousand guilders more than in the former farm; and we may affirm the like of Leyden, Dort, and other cities in proportion."

In this same year, the Dutch East India Company, after a long contest with the King of Macassar, in the East Indies, obliged him to yield up the fortrefs of that name.

King Charles of England, having now received intelligence, that the Spaniards had abandoned the most part of the great province of Chili, in South America, was advised to attempt a settlement in a country so greatly abounding in gold, &c. He therefore sent out Sir John Narborough, with a ship of thirty-six guns and a pink, with orders to make discoveries on that coast, and in other parts of the South Seas. He passed the Straits of Magellan, sailing along the coasts of Patagonia and Chili; but as his orders were express, not to molest the Spaniards in those parts, and as the Spaniards at Baldivia would not permit him to trade with the Indians, and had seized his lieutenant and three of his sailors, he judged it prudent to return home; which he accordingly did by the same Magellanic Straits; which, probably, none after him has ever attempted, as the voyage round Cape Horn into the South Seas is every way so superior. He arrived in England in the year 1671; and his observations and draughts were afterwards published. Which is all that is needful to say on this expedition, after briefly observing, that such a settlement as was hereby proposed to be made in so remote a part of the world from England, in so tempestuous an ocean, and with so obstinate a people as the inhabitants of Chili, would have, probably, been attended with almost insuperable difficulties; since Spain itself, though possessed of the countries north and east of Chili, has had enough to do to preserve their footing there.

In the same year, the Turks completed the total conquest of the noble island of Candia, anciently Crete, from the republic of Venice. Their siege of its capital city, of the same name, lasted twenty-eight months, at which alone the Turks are said to have lost one hundred thousand men, and in their conquest of the whole island, above half a million of men; which provoked the brutish Grand Vizir to monstrous cruelties. As Candia lies directly in the way of the navigation from and to Constantinople, and to the Turkish isles of the Archipelago, and also to Egypt, &c. it was a very mortifying object to them whilst in the possession of Venice.

It is commonly remarked, that ever since this conquest, the naval power of Turkey has greatly decreased; possibly, because since being possessed of Candia they are more secure and uninterrupted in their communication with Egypt, and their other Levantine provinces.—Formerly the Turks were very formidable in those seas; and indeed several parts of their dominions afford great abundance of materials for ship-building and naval stores; but, as they never were much, and now less than ever, addicted to commerce, this reason alone is sufficient to account for the present declension of their marine.

It was in or about this year, that the French East India Company abandoned their settlement in Madagascar, called by them l'Isle Dauphine, as not finding it worth keeping, and transferred

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1669 transferred their principal residence to Surat in India. Soon after, the King, by the patronage of Colbert, granted them the haven of Port Louis, in Bretagne, for their ships; in virtue of which grant, they afterwards established their warehouses, ships, and magazines, at what they named Port L'Orient, near Port Louis. Colbert also obtained for this Company a remission from the King of three millions of livres due to him. He also obtained for them an exemption from all duties on their imported merchandize. Notwithstanding all which, their affairs remained at his death, in the year 1683, in a declining condition.

1670 It was in or about this year, that the wear of the flimsy muslins from India was first introduced into England: before which time our more natural and usual wear was cambricks, Silesia lawns, and such kind of fine flaxen linens, from Flanders and Germany, in return for our woollen manufactures, of various kinds, exported to those countries in very considerable quantities.

In this year an additional act of Parliament, of the twenty-second year of King Charles II. cap. xi. passed for the rebuilding of London, the uniting of sundry parishes, the rebuilding of the cathedral of St. Paul, and of the parochial churches.

Whereby, first, the following streets were directed to be widened, viz. Paternoster-Row, Warwick-Lane, Watling-Street, Candlewick-Street, near the former, Eastcheap, Swithin's-Lane, Little Wood-Street, Milk-Street, Tower-Street, Water-Lane, near the Custom-house, Rood-Lane, St. Mary Hill, Thames-Street, from London-Bridge to Puddle-Dock, Pye-Corner, Threadneedle-Street, and the passage at Holborn-Bridge.

Secondly, The following public buildings were directed to be enlarged, viz. the Royal Exchange, Guildhall, the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey, and the city prisons. Two shillings more per chaldron was to be laid on coals, in all three shillings. One-fourth part of all monies appropriated for the rebuilding of parish churches was to be applied for the rebuilding of St. Paul's cathedral.

The channel of Bridewell-Dock, from the Thames to Holborn-Bridge, since known by the name of Fleet-Ditch, and now no longer in existence, to be made navigable. Also a new Street to be made from the west-end of Threadneedle-Street into Lothbury (this is Prince's-Street).—Two posterns, for foot-passengers, to be made at Ludgate, and the gate to be enlarged.

At this time, King Charles the Second was enabled by two acts of Parliament, (viz. one of the twenty-second year of his reign, cap. vi. and another of the twenty-second and twenty-third, cap. xxiv.) to dispose of or alienate his fee-farm rents; the purchase-money of which was presently squandered away, under pretence of paying the King's debts bearing interest.—These rents were a noble income and resource to the crown; which, surely, no wise King would ever have alienated on any pretence whatever.

☞ The purchasers had very cheap bargains of those rents, though now they sell at very high prices. Thus this improvident Monarch completed what his predecessors had begun, and carried very far, viz. to render themselves absolutely dependent on their Parliaments; which was, and should be, very far from displeasing to all true lovers of England's liberty.

Notwithstanding former prohibitions, the planting of tobacco in England still continued: wherefore an act of Parliament now passed (twenty-second and twenty-third of Charles II. cap. xxvi.) to prevent it; which in its preamble says, “still increased, to the apparent loss of his Majesty's customs, and the discouragements of his plantations in America, and the trade “and navigation of the realm.” The peace-officers were therefore hereby directed to search

for

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1670 for and prevent tobacco growing within their respective bounds, and also to destroy the same, wherever found. With a proviso, however, as formerly, of allowing it to the physic-gardens of both universities, or other private gardens for physic or surgery, so as any such plantation exceed not the compass of half a pole or perch for every such garden.

To this act was added a clause, expressly repealing the word *Ireland*, in an act of the twelfth of this King, cap. xviii. So that now the product of the English plantations brought to Europe must be first landed in England only, before they be re-shipped for other parts.

We have seen, under the year 1667, that till that year there was not the least mention of America in any treaty between England and Spain; the latter, willing to keep up her ancient claims in that country, and the former, determined to keep and improve the establishment she had made there. Spain's great feebleness, however, at length brought her to reasonable conditions. And as the eighth article of the said treaty of 1667 was, by the court of Spain, thought now to be too general, the Spanish ministry earnestly applied to the English court for a more clear and explanatory treaty relating to America; which was accordingly complied with by King Charles of England, upon King Charles II. of Spain's agreeing to recognize the former's right to all the American dominions he was possessed of in this year 1670, when Sir William Godolphin, the English minister at Madrid, concluded the following treaty, viz.

" Articles I. and II. There shall be an universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship in America, as well as in all other parts of the world, between the two nations.

" III. and IV. All enmities, hostilities, &c. shall henceforth cease between the two Kings and their subjects: and, for this end, both sides are to forbear all acts of violence, and to call in all commissions, letters of marque, &c. and to declare them null and void.

" V. Both Kings do hereby renounce all leagues, confederacies, &c. to the prejudice of one another.

" VI. Prisoners on both sides, detained by reason of acts of hostility hitherto committed in America, to be forthwith set at liberty.

" VII. Offences, injuries, and losses, suffered by either party in America, shall be utterly buried in oblivion.

" VIII. The King of Great Britain, his heirs, and successors, shall always possess, in full right of sovereignty and propriety, all the countries, islands, colonies, &c. lying and situate in the West Indies, or in any part of America, which he and his subjects now hold and possess; insomuch, that they neither can nor ought hereafter to be contested, under any pretence whatsoever.

" IX. The subjects, merchants, captains, masters, and mariners, of each ally respectively, shall forbear and abstain from sailing to and trafficking in the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, and in all other places possessed by either party in the West Indies.—But if at any time either of the Kings shall think proper to grant the other's subjects any general or particular leave or privileges to sail to and traffic in any of the places under his obedience, the said traffic and navigation shall be exercised according to the form and effect of the said leave and privileges so granted them; for the security, guaranty, and authority whereof, this present treaty and the ratification of it shall serve.

" X. In case the subjects of either ally, and their ships, whether ships of war or merchant ships, shall at any time be forced, by storm, pursuit of pirates or enemies, or any other accident, to retire and enter into any of the rivers, creeks, bays, havens, roads, and ports belonging to the other in America, for protection and refuge, they shall be received and

" treated

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1670 “ treated there with all manner of humanity, civility, protection, and assistance; shall be allowed to refresh themselves, and, at a common price, to buy provisions and other necessities, for the convenience of their voyage; and shall be permitted to depart without let or molestation.

“ XI. Or if the ships of either party shall run upon sand-banks, or be shipwrecked, within the dominions of the other, or suffer any damage there, the said persons shall by no means be detained prisoners; but, on the contrary, shall have all manner of assistance, and shall have passport for their free and peaceable return to their own country.

“ XII. But yet, in case those ships happen to be three or four together, so as to give just ground of suspicion; in such case they shall, as soon as arrived there, let the governor or chief magistrate of the place know the cause of their coming, and shall tarry no longer there than the said governor or chief magistrate will give them leave, after supplying themselves with provisions, and refitting their ships. And they are ever to abstain from putting any wares or bales of goods on shore, to expose them to sale: neither are they to receive any merchandise on board, nor do any thing that is contrary to this treaty.

“ XIII. and XIV. The present treaty to be inviolably observed by both parties and their subjects. And particular offences shall no way prejudice this treaty: but every one shall answer for what he has done, and be prosecuted for contravening it. Neither shall letters of reprisal, or any other like methods for obtaining reparation be granted, unless justice shall be actually denied, or unreasonable delays be used. In which case, it shall be lawful to have recourse to the ordinary rules of the law of nations, until reparation be made to the person that has been injured.

“ XV. This treaty shall not derogate from any pre-eminence, right, or signiory, which either the one or the other of the allies have in the seas, straits, or fresh-waters of America. And it is always to be understood, that the freedom of navigation ought by no manner of means to be interrupted, when there is nothing committed contrary to the true sense and meaning of these articles.”

By this famous treaty, the pirates or buccaneers, who, for several years, had greatly annoyed Spanish America, were cut off from all future protection from England in any hostile attempts on the Spanish American dominions; and all commissions to such, were called in and annulled: by which a very troublesome thorn was taken out of her foot.

It was on the authority of this treaty, confirmed by subsequent ones, that English ships sailing along, though not landing on the coasts of the Spanish dominions in America, have been formerly so long and so much disturbed by the ships of Spain called *guard de costas*, and which obliged the late King of Great Britain at length to declare war against Spain, in the year 1739, as will be seen under that year: and yet this controversy still remains to this day undecided; even although the last part of the above fifteenth article provides for the freedom of navigation in express terms.

About this time, Sir Josiah Child first published his *Discourses on Trade*; which, he tells us, he first wrote at his country-house, in the sickness year, in 1665; and although written so long ago, yet, taken all together, it is still an excellent book on that subject. One of his greatest and most favourite points therein, was to labour to persuade men how much the low interest of money contributes to the advancement of the commerce and riches of a nation; which he more particularly exemplifies in the *Hollanders*.—Yet, certainly, in some lesser points, he pushes the subject too far; and is for introducing some Dutch customs which would

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1670 would not suit the genius, laws, and constitution of Britain; such as the transferring of all bills of private debts; also Gavel-kind, or the dividing the estate of a father equally to all his children. Such points seeming fitter for a Republic, like Holland, wholly made up of merchants, than for a great Monarchy with an immense fund of land. Yet, upon the whole, his foundations, observations, and informations are just, and very useful.

I. In his preface he asserts, “that our exports of native commodities to Spain and Portugal are more than trebled within less than thirty years; or since 1640.

“II. That in the Russia trade the Hollanders had, in the preceding year, twenty-two sail of great ships, and the English but one.

“III. That in the Greenland whale fishery, the Dutch and Hamburgers had annually four or five hundred sail, and the English but one ship last year, and none in the former one.

“IV. That the Hollanders have the great trade for salt from Portugal and France; and that immense fishing for white herrings upon our own coasts.

“V. In the Eastland, *i. e.* Baltic, the English have not half so much to do as formerly; and the Dutch ten times more than they formerly had. And

“He says, That the Dutch interest of three per cent. and the narrow limited Companies of England, have beaten us out of these and some other trades which he could name.” He means here the Russia, Merchant-adventurers, and Eastland Companies.

“VI. He justly remarks, That, in all probability, the Dutch would have long since engrossed the trade of red herrings, but for two strong reasons, viz.

“First, That the fish for that purpose must be directly brought fresh on shore, as at Yarmouth, which the Dutch cannot do, because the herrings swim on our coasts, and are at too great a distance from theirs.

“Secondly, They must be smoked with wood; which cannot be done on reasonable terms but in a woody country, which Holland is not. And the like may be said of our pilchard trade, which must be cured and pressed upon the land, which the Dutch cannot do.

“VII. Neither can the Dutch gain firm footing in the Newfoundland and New England fisheries, as being managed by our west country ports, properly situated for it.

“VIII. England, says our author, has no share in the trade to China and Japan; to both which the Dutch have a great trade. Since his time we have long had the largest trade to China of any European nation.

“As to our Norway trade, it is in great part lost to the Danes, Holsteiners, &c. by means of some clauses in our Act of Navigation.”

These northern nations by bringing to us their own product in their own proper shipping, which they navigate cheaper than we can do, must ever retain a great share of that trade.

And with respect to our having lost, as he justly observes, a very great part of our former exportations to France, we need only to observe, That, since his time, we have done all that was in our power for retaliating their great imposts on our draperies, chiefly by our laying high duties on their wines, brandies, &c. and by our legislature's rejecting the French bill of commerce in the year 1713.

He says, “That a great part of the plate trade from Cadiz is lost by us to the Dutch.” Had he lived till our time, he would have been louder with regard to the French, in this respect.

What he says of the Dutch having bereaved us of the trade to Scotland and Ireland, is quite reversed in our time. With regard to the former country, by the consolidated union of the two kingdoms; and to the latter, by the greater application of both nations.

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He well observes, " That no trades do so much merit our care as those which employ most shipping; since, beside the profit by the merchandize, the freight is often more in value than the said merchandize, and is all clear profit to the nation: and the ships and sailors are an addition of power and strength to us."

Next, he comes again to the brighter side of our commerce, beside our two before-named fisheries, &c.

" First, In our Turkey, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese trades, we have the natural advantage of our wool.

" Secondly, Our provisions and fuel, in country places, are cheaper than the Dutch have them.

" Thirdly, Our native commodities of lead and tin are great advantages.

" Fourthly, He justly terms our Act of Navigation our Charta Maritima, on account of its many benefits to us; as it compels us to import foreign merchandize in our own shipping, and as it also secures to us the sole trade to our plantations in America.

" Fifthly, He shews the vast increase of England's riches, even in only twenty years space, *i. e.* since the year 1650.

" For, first, says he, we give generally now one third more money with apprentices than we did twenty years before.

" Secondly, Notwithstanding the decay of some, and the loss of other trades; yet, in the gross, we ship off now one third more of our manufactures, and of our tin and lead, than we did twenty years ago.

" Thirdly, New built houses in London yield twice the rent which they did before the conflagration, in the year 1666; and houses, immediately before that fire, generally yielded one-fourth more rent than they did twenty years ago.

" Fourthly, The speedy and costly rebuilding, after that great fire, in London, is a convincing (and to a stranger an amazing) argument of the plenty and late increase of money in England.

" Fifthly, We have now more than double the number of merchants and shipping that we had twenty years ago.

" Sixthly, The course of our trade, from the increase of our money, is strangely altered within these twenty years; most payments from merchants and shopkeepers being now made with ready money; whereas formerly the course of our general trade run at three, six, nine, and eighteen months time."

As to the objection, that all sorts of men complain so much of the scarcity of money, especially in the country; he judiciously answers,

" First, That this humour of complaining proceeds from the frailty of our natures: it being natural for men to complain of the present, and to commend the times past. And I can say with truth, upon my own memory, that men did complain as much of the scarcity of money ever since I knew the world as they do now: nay the very same persons who now complain of this, and commend that time.

" Secondly, This complaint proceeds from many men finding themselves uneasy in matters of their religion, *i. e.* the persecution of the Protestant Dissenters.—It being natural for men, when they are discontented at one thing, to complain of all.

" Thirdly, And more especially, this complaint in the country proceeds from the late practice of bringing up the tax money in waggons to London, which did doubtless cause a scarcity of money in the country."

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In this gentleman's time, the dealings between the country and London were not so great as in our days, wherefore bills of exchange on London could not then so readily be had, on easy terms, as at present; which consideration explains what he seems to have left without illustration.

“ Fourthly, and principally, This seeming scarcity of money proceeds from the trade of banking, which obstructs circulation, advances usury, and renders it so easy, that most men, as soon as they can make up a sum of fifty or one hundred pounds, send it in to the goldsmith: which doth and will occasion, while it lasts, that fatal pressing necessity for money so visible throughout the whole kingdom, both to Prince and people.”

This paragraph, so far as it relates to circulation, merits explication: for the money so put into the goldsmiths hands of London, in those times, was far from circulating, in the same manner as the running cash-notes of the Bank of England, and of some bankers in our days; for in such case, it would undoubtedly have increased the currency; but as the bankers of London, in those times, advanced their money to the crown on the credit of Parliamentary grants, and that to King Charles the Second those advances were always at extravagant interest; the bankers, therefore, in order to be ready to supply the necessities of that improvident Prince, were glad to allow a lesser interest, for a certain time, to people who brought their money to them as already mentioned; which trade certainly hindered the circulation of money, instead of increasing it: but we shall soon see an end put to it, by the shutting up of the Exchequer.

This famous author also insists much on the great advantage the Dutch had over England, in point of commerce, from the lowness of their customs on merchandize. And yet, he subjoins, “ That two per cent. extraordinary on the interest of money is worse than four per cent. extraordinary in customs; because customs run only upon our goods imported or exported, and that but once for all: whereas interest runs as well upon our ships as goods, and must be annually paid on both, so long as they are in being.”

In his said treatise, he remarks, “ how much Ireland has been improved by the late Commonwealth's English soldiers settling on the lands of that kingdom; whereby they were become so considerable as to supply foreign markets, as well as our own plantations in America, with beef, pork, hides, tallow, bread, beer, wood, and corn, at cheaper rates than we can afford to do; to the beating us out of those trades. Whereas formerly, *i. e.* presently after the late Irish war, begun in the year 1640, many men got good estates by transporting of English cattle thither.”

Such are the perpetual fluctuations in commerce; so that the Irish, about these times, poured in their live cattle upon England, till we were obliged, for the pacifying of our landed gentlemen, to enact a total prohibition of them.

We have also seen, in our own times, so great an improvement in those respects, in our northern continent colonies of America, in point of raising flocks of cattle, more especially of hogs, as also in producing corn and pulse, that they in a great measure supply our own sugar colonies therewith, and with timber, pipe staves, and other lumber, as they term it, and also the sugar colonies of other European nations. In times of dearth also, even in Britain and Ireland, those of New York, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, have helped to supply us with corn.

About this time it was, that the Duke of Buckingham sent for the best glass-makers, glass-grinders, and polishers, from Venice; which public-spirited design has since so well succeeded-

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1670 ed, as to be now enabled to send to that very place, and to almost every other part of Europe, and to Asia, Africa, and America, the very finest glass of all sorts that the earth can produce.

With respect to the benefits and advantages accruing to England from its East India Company and trade, Sir Josiah Child (who was an eminent director and promoter of it) in his before-quoted work, supposes it to be far from difficult to evince it to be the most beneficial trade which England at that time carried on: which he lays down in the following position, viz.

I. "It employs from thirty-five to forty sail of the most warlike mercantile ships of the kingdom, with sixty to one hundred mariners in each ship.

II. "It supplies the kingdom constantly and fully with that most material necessary of saltpetre.

III. "It supplies the kingdom, for its consumption, with pepper, indigo, callicoes, and several useful drugs," the China tea trade was not as yet introduced, "to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to one hundred and eighty thousand pounds yearly.

IV. "It also supplies us with materials for carrying on our trade to Turkey, viz. with pepper, cowries, callicoes, and painted stuffs; as also for our trades to France, Spain, Italy, and Guinea: to the amount of two or three hundred thousand pounds yearly. Most of which trades," he asserts, "we could not carry on with any considerable advantage but for those supplies. And those goods exported, do produce, in foreign parts, to be returned to England, six times the treasure in specie, which the Company exports from England to India."

He therefore concludes, "That, although the East India Company's imports greatly exceed its exports of our manufactures, yet, for the above reasons, it is clearly a gainful trade to the nation: he subjoins to this,

"First, That if we had not this trade ourselves, the single article of saltpetre, so absolutely necessary for making of gunpowder, would cost us a vast annual sum to purchase it from the Dutch.

"Secondly, The loss of so many stout ships and mariners would be a great detriment to the nation.

"Thirdly, Were we forced to buy all our pepper, callicoes, &c. from the Dutch, they would make us pay as dear for them as we do for our nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and mace. And if we did not use callicoes, we should fall into the use of foreign linens."

By the immense increase and improvements of Scotch and Irish linens, since this author wrote, this last-named position seems to be frustrated; but the other arguments remain valid even to our present times.

In the ingenious Mr. Pollexfen's Discourse on Trade, published in the year 1696, there is the following remarkable paragraph, relating to our English East India Company, viz. "Till after the year 1670, the importations from the East Indies were chiefly drugs, saltpetre, spices, callicoes, and diamonds: then throwsters, weavers, dyers, &c. were sent to India, by the Company, for teaching the Indians to please the European fancies." And this brought to us such an inundation of wrought silks and stuffs of many various sorts, that our own manufactures were greatly obstructed: wherefore, long after, the legislature found it necessary absolutely to prohibit the wear of them at home. So now they are all re-exported.

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After all that has formerly been said on the following subject, we are nevertheless greatly obliged to Sir Josiah Child in particular, in his aforesaid work, for the first judicious dissertation we have met with, on the difficulties attending the means of discovering the true state of our national balance of trade: wherefore we have thrown this, and the arguments of some other later authors together, on this curious and most interesting enquiry, that the whole may appear in one view.

There are, say they, but three ways or rules of judging whether the balance of trade be for or against us, viz.

First, By discovering the true value of our exports and imports from the Custom House books; and this would, without doubt, be a good rule, were it practicable: yet as there is a difficulty, and even an impossibility, of taking a true account, as well of the quantity as of the value of commodities exported and imported, this rule will by no means effectually serve us.

First, Because many fine goods, as jewels, fine lace, cambrics, rich silks, &c. are imported by stealth.

Secondly, In our remote out-ports and creeks, the same is often true even of more bulky wares.

Thirdly, The true quantities and qualities are not, in many cases, exactly entered; more especially with respect to woollen goods exported; because many traders, to get a great name, and perhaps sometimes for worse reasons, do enter greater quantities than they really export; they paying little or no duty.

Fourthly, As the rates of the customs are in no kind proportionable on exportations; some of our own commodities being rated very low, as our drapery, silk-wares, haberdashery, and iron ware; others high, as lead and tin; and fish, in English ships, nothing at all: and the rates of foreign commodities imported, are yet more unequal: besides that foreign commodities, imported in English ships, should be valued only at prime cost and charges, till on board; and those in foreign ships with the addition of the homeward freight.

Moreover, by accidents in trade, such as losses at sea, bad markets, bankruptcies beyond sea, seizures, &c. the original stock may be lessened, and the value of the commodities imported in return, may be considerably less than the value of the commodities exported, and yet may be the full returns; and so the nation no gainer, though the exports were more in value than the imports. On the other hand, it may chance that the stock exported may meet with a very lucky sale, whereby the returns may be of a much greater value, though really but the bare returns of the exports; and so the nation no loser, but in fact a gainer, although the imports may exceed the exports.

Sir Josiah Child alleges the examples of Ireland, Virginia, and Barbadoes, to shew the great uncertainty, in some cases, of the notion of truly stating the general balance of a nation's commerce: "for, says he, those three countries do, without doubt, export annually a far greater value of the commodities of their native growth, than is imported to them from hence, or from any foreign country, and yet they are not such great gainers, but continue poor." With respect to Virginia and Barbadoes, it may be remarked on this able author, that, even in his time, those plantations, and especially the latter, were growing rich; for even then we find them sending home to their mother country, some of their overgrown planters, to settle with their fortunes among us.

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As to Ireland; it has been entirely the people's own fault in not being rich then, through the laziness and sloth of the poorer sort of people, and the luxury of their landed gentry, who affect to indulge themselves with foreign wines, manufactures, &c. and many of them spend their incomes out of their own country; yet, notwithstanding, Ireland, in our days, is well known to be growing more rich and prosperous than ever before; and has much more commerce and manufactures than formerly, more especially that immensely increased one of the linen and cambric manufacture; giving jealousy not only to Scotland, its great rival therein, but to Holland and Germany, in a very great degree.

Moreover, the rule of judging of the general balance of trade from the nation's exports and imports, is very exceptionable, when applied to particular trades. Seeing it may happen, that although we may really import much more in value from some certain countries than we export thither, yet the trade to those very countries may be such an one, as either, in its own nature, we cannot be without, or else, in its consequences, is really productive of greater profit by the re-exportation of its merchandize first imported thither.

Let us, for instance, suppose, what will readily be granted, that naval stores, Spanish wool, and saltpetre, are three commodities which we cannot be without:

The first, For our whole navigation and commerce.

The second, For our fine woollen cloth trade: and

The third, For gunpowder. Then, we say, that we should be under the necessity of carrying on a trade with the countries which furnish those three commodities, let the balance be ever so much against us. Or, in other words, let our imports from thence ever so much exceed our exports thither.

As to the first, viz. naval stores, the balance is greatly against us; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from whence we have the most of our timber, taking off but very few of our merchandize, in comparison of the quantity we take of their timber, masts, deals, and tar; beside stockfish, &c. and the same may be said of the other countries within the Sound, from whence our other kinds of naval stores come; as hemp, from Livonia and Russia; oak plank, from Prussia, &c. Yet, until we can bring our own North American plantations into a method of supplying us entirely with naval stores, there is no remedy. The same might be said also of the other two commodities, even though the balance should be against us; neither of which, however, is the case.

Secondly, The second rule to judge of the general balance of our trade, is, to observe carefully the course of exchange between us and foreign countries: and if that be generally found against us, that is to say, if it be generally above the intrinsic value or par of the coins of those foreign countries, we certainly lose by the general course of our foreign commerce: or, in other words, they certainly send us more of their merchandize than they take of ours. And certainly, says Sir Josiah Child, when once the exchange comes to be five or six per cent. above the true value or par of foreign monies, our treasure will be carried out, whatever laws we may make to prevent it. On the contrary, we should be gainers, if the exchange were so much in our favour; which is our case with Portugal, and also with some other countries, though perhaps not in quite so great a degree; from whence we actually import much of their coin, by means of the balance being in our favour.

Yet even this rule, drawn from exchanges, though a very plausible one, (and the diligent observance whereof may be very useful and necessary in many respects) is likewise liable to great variations on several accounts, occasioned from the accidents which frequently happen in

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1670 the public concerns of nations, by wars, famines, revolutions, &c. Moreover, there is no established and direct course of exchange with several countries to which we trade: such as Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Turkey, Barbary, Sicily, the Canaries, &c.—For these, and similar reasons, this science of exchanges, though a very ingenious enquiry, and which, when applied to this or that particular country, may often be extremely useful, will not, however, fully answer the character of an adequate rule to judge of the nation's profit or loss by our general trade.

Thirdly, The third, last, and surest rule, to judge of the general balance, *i. e.* of the loss or gain of the trade of any nation, is, by the increase or decrease of its general commerce and shipping. Yet, even then, we must not frame our judgment rashly, or for a few years only: For nations, like private merchants, may make a great stir in shipping, exportations, and importations, and may seem to have a mighty gainful commerce; when, perhaps, in a few years longer, all this seeming gainful business may prove a consuming trade, and a visible decay may soon follow in the whole body-politic. Our ships may lie unemployed;—our sailors may be gone into foreign service;—our manufacturers and artificers out of business;—our goods uncalled for;—our customs falling short;—our poor's rates increased, &c.—These are the sad and sure signs to a nation of a declining commerce. But, on the contrary, if a nation has, for a long series of years, been increasing in all the above particulars; if the number of our merchant ships, and consequently of our mariners, be visibly increased, and still increasing;—if there be a greater general appearance of wealth and splendor than in former times, viz. in plate, jewels, household furniture, equipages, apparel, libraries, paintings, medals, &c. which, instead of being only confined to a few of the great ones, as in old times, are become diffused amongst the middling gentry, and merchants, and even amongst the middling class of traders and manufacturers;—if the prices of lands keep up and increase;—and that there is a greater appearance of money every where than formerly;—then we may undoubtedly pronounce that nation to be in a thriving condition. And that this is the present happy case of Great Britain, and even of Ireland, whilst we are now writing, is what is clearly demonstrable and obvious.

Neither do the complaints of our increasing luxury at all militate against this position; since luxury, more or less, is, and always will be, the concomitant of increasing wealth and commerce. Nor will it be of any solid weight, to object, that some particular branches of trade are decaying,—if we increase at least as much or more in some other branches. If we have, for instance, long since lost the market of France, and perhaps partly of Italy and Turkey, for woollen goods; how much more have we increased in the exportation of them to other parts of Europe; but more especially to our American plantations?—Which, according to Sir Josiah Child, in his Chapter on Plantations, “did, even in the year 1670, employ near “two-thirds of all our English shipping, and thereby gave constant sustenance, it may be, to “two hundred thousand persons here at home.” How greatly are our manufactures of silk, iron, glass, linen, &c. increased of late years; as also of fine toys of gold, silver, steel, and ivory, and also watches, &c. in the memory even of many thousands still living?—Our cities and port towns generally much increased in buildings and shipping; not only in England, but in Scotland and Ireland.

Although we have, in our Introduction, more fully handled, illustrated, and enlarged on this point, relating to the present thriving commercial state of the British Empire, yet we could

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1670 could not avoid making this short application of what authors have said on the balance of trade, and what our daily experience confirms to be our own happy condition.

Although one of Sir Josiah Child's principal aims, in his so-often quoted book, was the pointing out the increasing commerce of Holland; yet, in the close of his Preface, he observes, "That the French and Swedes were as industrious and prospective for the promoting of their commerce as even the Hollanders themselves. For, beside the many impositions of the French on our ships and goods, so high, particularly on our woollen cloths, as fifty or sixty per cent. the Swedes have laid such high impositions on their own merchandize, unless they be carried in Swedish bottoms, as amounts to almost a Navigation Act in Sweden."

We have, at this time, from De Witt's Interest of Holland, a summary account of the shipping employed in their fisheries by the single province of Holland alone, viz.

"The herring and cod fisheries employ above a thousand busses, from twenty-four to thirty lasts each; and above one hundred and seventy smaller ones, that fish at the mouth of the Texel. And that, since the Greenland monopolizing Company was annulled, that whale fishery is increased from one to ten. So, says he, when we consider, that all these fishing vessels are built at home, and the ropes, sails, nets, and casks, made here, as well as the salt furnished from hence, we may easily imagine there must be an incredible number of people who live thereby; especially when we add, that all those people must have food, cloaths, and housing, and that the fish, when caught, is transported by the Hollanders, in their own vessels, throughout the world. And indeed if that be true, which Sir Walter Raleigh affirms (who made diligent enquiry thereinto, in the year 1618," here, we doubt, the English translator of De Witt must be mistaken in the date, "to inform King James of it) that the Hollanders fished on the coasts of Great Britain with no less than three thousand ships and fifty thousand men, and that they employed and set to sea, to transport, and sell the fish so taken, and to make returns thereof, nine thousand ships more, and one hundred and fifty thousand men; and if we hereunto add what he saith further, viz. that twenty busses do, one way or other, maintain eight thousand people; and that the Hollanders had, in all, no less than twenty thousand ships at sea. And, as he also thinks, that their fishing, navigation, and traffic, by sea, with their dependencies since Raleigh's time to the year 1667," when De Witt was revising his said work for its new and compleat publication, "is increased to one third more; we may then easily conclude, that the sea is a special means of Holland's subsistence; seeing Holland, by this means alone, yields, through its own industry, above three hundred thousand lasts of salt fish. And if to this we add the whale fins and whale oil, and our Holland manufactures, with that which our own rivers afford us, it must be confessed, that no country in the world can make so many ships lading of merchandize, by their own industry, as the province of Holland alone can do."

Under the year 1642, we have given Sir Josiah Child's reasons, why the Dutch have never been very successful in the planting and cultivating of foreign colonies. What he says of the French he was certainly mistaken in, viz. "That they are not much to be feared on the account of planting." For, since his time, what fine improvements have they not made on the Isles of Martinico and Gaudaloupe, and their other Caribbee Isles, as well as on the west end of the great Isle of Hispaniola; whereby, in our own days, they have been able to undersell and supplant us in the sugar trade, and have consequently reduced our exports of that commodity to a very low ebb: beside the quantities of indigo, cotton, ginger, and coffee, raised

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1670 raised by them in those islands; and their great improvements in the Isle of Mascareen, by them since named Bourbon, near Madagascar, and in Cayenne, on the coast of Guiana, as well as on the continent of North America, to our great loss and cost. It is indeed allowed, that those improvements were little thought of by the French till the time of Colbert's Ministry; but they have ever since been steadily prosecuted.

What Sir Josiah Child says, in relation to Spain, has hitherto proved true, viz. "That she can never equal England in the improvement of her American plantations.

"I. By reason of the high freight for their shipping, which, he says, is four times that of ours, occasioned chiefly by their high interest of twelve per cent. in Spain.

"II. By the application principally to their mines of gold and silver, by which they lose infinite numbers of people, especially of slaves, neglecting the cultivation of the earth, and the production of commodities which might employ many ships and people." Is it not at least doubtful whether if England had such precious mines, she might not fall too much into the like neglect of agriculture at home.

"III. The multitude of Friars and Nuns in Spain, prohibited from marriage: and the same bad government in America which they have in Europe."

Lastly, With regard to the Portuguese; although he allows that they have been great planters, in the Brasils, and other parts, yet he adds, "That if they do not alter their politics," which he thinks impossible they should do, "they can never bear up with us, and much less prejudice our plantations. As we have already (in my time, continues he) beat their Muscovada and Pancal sugars quite out of England; and their whites we have brought down in all these parts of Europe, in price, from seven and eight pounds per hundred weight, to fifty shillings and three pounds. And we have also much lessened their quantities; for whereas formerly their Brasil fleets brought one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand chests of sugar, they are now reduced to about thirty thousand chests, since the great increase of Barbadoes."

The great decay of England's Newfoundland fishery, (from two hundred and fifty ships, in the year 1605, to eighty, in the year 1670) Sir Josiah Child thinks owing,

First, and principally, To the increasing liberty which is every where more and more used, in Romish countries, as well as in others, of eating flesh in Lent, and on fish days.

Secondly, To the abuse of allowing private boat keepers, who can undoubtedly afford their fish cheaper than the ships from Old England; because the former reside on the place, and are generally old fishers.

Thirdly, The great increase of the French fishery at Placentia there.

And he is of opinion, that the displanting and dispeopling of Newfoundland would be an advantage to our fishing there; because the charges of a government there is a burden on the fishing; and the provisions, cloathing, &c. which the planters, or rather inhabitants, consume, are supplied them from New England and Ireland; and they have their wine, oil, and linen from the salt ships of France and Spain. Besides, if the planters of Newfoundland should be permitted to increase, it would happen to us, in a few years, in that country as it hath done with regard to the fishery at New England, which, many years since, was managed by Old English ships, from our western ports, as the Newfoundland fishery at present chiefly is: but as the plantations in New England increased, that fishery fell solely to the people there.

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Of New England he remarks, that, by means of their cod and mackrel fisheries, that people are more proper for building of ships and for producing of seamen, than our other American colonies: and he adds, that nothing is more prejudicial to any mother country than the increase of shipping in its colonies;—that producing the same commodity as Old England, it is therefore the least profitable to us. Yet he owns, that what they took from England amounted to ten times what we took from them. Of the other continental colonies he says nothing. All which, though true in his time, has since, in several instances, undergone considerable alterations, with respect to our American colonies.

King Charles, in this twenty-second year of his reign, coined what was called crown gold, of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats alloy, into forty-four pounds ten shillings per pound weight, by tale, in pieces of ten, twenty, and forty shillings, and five pounds. And a pound weight of silver, old standard of eleven ounces, two penny-weights fine, and eighteen penny-weights alloy, into sixty-two shillings by tale, viz. into crowns, half crowns, shillings, six-pences, groats, three-pences, two-pences, and pence, fine milled money.

The King's cousin, Prince Rupert, and seventeen other persons of quality and distinction, having, in the year 1669, sent out Captain Newland to Hudson's Bay, where he settled, at Port-Nelson; and Captain Gilham also returning, with some success, in his prospect of a trade with the savages in that Bay; those noble adventurers obtained of King Charles the Second an incorporating charter, dated May the second, 1670, reciting, in substance;

“ That those adventurers had, at their own great cost, undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, in order for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea; and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals, &c. and having already made such discoveries as encouraged them to proceed further in their said design; by means whereof there may probably arise great advantage to us and our kingdoms: and we being desirous to promote all endeavours for the public good;—do, by these presents, grant for us, our heirs, and successors, unto them, and such others as shall be hereafter admitted into the said society,—to be forever one body corporate and politic,—by the name of, The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay,—with perpetual succession,—and to be capable of holding, receiving, and possessing lands, rents, &c.” without limiting the value or extent thereof, “ and to alienate the same at pleasure.”

“ They may also sue and be sued;—have a common seal;—shall have a governor and seven other persons, to be called committees, to be annually elected out of the proprietors; the deputy governor to be elected out of the said seven committees: a governor and any three of the committees for the time being, shall have the direction of the voyages, and the provision of the merchandize and shipping, and of the sales of the returns, as likewise of all other business of this Company: and they shall take the usual oath of fidelity, as shall also all persons admitted to trade as a freeman of this Company, who are to have the sole trade and commerce of and to all the seas, bays, streights, creeks, lakes, rivers, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be,” (the King, uncertain of the latitudes of the places within this Bay, prudently omits the specification of any particular latitudes or longitudes in this charter) “ that lye within the entrance of the streight commonly called Hudson's Streights; together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the said seas, streights,

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1670 “streights, bays, &c. which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State: together with the fishing of all sorts of fish, of whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes in the said seas, bays, &c. together with the royalty of the sea within their limits aforesaid; as also all mines royal of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones; and that the land be from henceforward reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, and to be called Rupert's Land; the Company to be deemed the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of the same Territories:” this is the stile of the Carolina charters.—“ (Saving always the faith, allegiance, and sovereign dominion to us, our heirs, and successors) to be holden as of our manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage.—Yielding and paying yearly to us, our heirs, and successors, for the same, two elks, and two black beavers, whensoever and as often as we, our heirs, and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, &c. hereby granted.”

“The Company may make bye laws, &c. for the good government of their forts, plantations, and factors; and may impose fines, &c. on offenders, (not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom) without accounting to the crown for the same.

“This Company may not only enjoy the whole trade, &c. within the limits aforesaid, but likewise the sole traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes, and seas, into which they shall find entrance or passage, by water or land, out of the territories, limits, and places aforesaid, and to and with all other nations inhabiting any of the coasts adjacent to the said territories and limits aforesaid, which are not already possessed, as aforesaid, by any Christian Potentate,” (this clause alludes to their expectation of finding a passage from thence into the South Seas, and to China and India) “or whereof the sole liberty or privilege of trade and traffic is not granted to any other of our subjects.” This is a saving clause in behalf of our East India Company charter, in case this Company's should chance to find the said supposed passage into the East Indian seas.

“None other than this Company, and their agents and assigns, shall directly visit, haunt, or frequent, traffic, or adventure, by way of merchandize, into the said limits, unless by licence of this Company, on pain of forfeiting ships and merchandize, half to the Crown, and half to the Company.

“Every person, having one hundred pounds stock, is entitled to one vote in general courts of elections.

“The Company may send ships of war, ammunition, &c. and may erect forts in their territories, as well as towns;—may make peace and war with any Prince or people not Christian: also may make reprisals on any others interrupting or wronging them; may seize on and send home all such English or other subjects sailing into Hudson's Bay, without their licence; and their governors, &c. may fine, or otherwise punish offenders, and may administer an oath for the discovery of offenders, &c.

“Lastly, All Admirals, &c. are to be aiding to the Company in the execution of the above powers and privileges.”

This charter is a very ample one: and if our laws and free constitution (and particularly that most excellent statute made in the second session of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, cap. ii. entitled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown) had not limited the prerogative in the case of exclusive charters of privileges, this Company would undoubtedly be absolute in those immense

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1670 territories : but the case, to our great happiness, is now quite otherwise ; and, since that great establishment of our liberties, neither the Hudson's Bay, nor any other Company, not confirmed by act of Parliament, has any exclusive rights at all : wherefore any British subject may as freely sail into Hudson's Bay, fish, and traffic with the native Indians there ; may travel into, and make discoveries therein, either by land or water, as freely as the said Company can do, as will be shewn, has since been practised frequently in our own days.

All the advantage which this Company have over other adventurers thither, is, purely the benefits of their own forts, such as they are, by which their agents can reside in so inhospitable a country during the winter, preparatory to their trading with the savages against the arrival of their ships in the summer ; and that thereby they have not only more safety and protection, but also more experience in trading with the native Indians thereabout, than any private adventurers can have, whose ships cannot, with safety, remain in that vast Bay above a part only of our summer, lest they should be shut in by the ice, which fills the Bay with heaps of it like mountains. And indeed even these advantages alone on the Company's side are so considerable, that they are not likely to be rivalled successfully in haste by any private adventurers.

Their capital, of about one hundred and ten thousand pounds, is confined to a small number of proprietors, who have three or four forts in different parts of Hudson's Bay, in which they have in all about one hundred and twenty persons, who, for nine months of the year, live in a manner shut up within those forts, in low houses, for defending them from the piercing cold, snow, and rains. In summer, they go out and shoot, hunt, and fish, and meet with deer and wild fowl ; and they have some few wild-fruits, as strawberries, dewberries, and gooseberries. From England they send annually three or four ships, laden with coarse woollen goods, guns, powder and shot, spirits, edge-tools, and various other utensils : in return for which, the natives sell them all kinds of furs or peltry, goose-quills, castorum, whale-fins and oil, bed-feathers, &c. and they make handsome annual dividends to their proprietors.

In the second volume of the General Collection of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, octavo, published in 1732, we have a clear deduction of the sole and undoubted right of the crown of Great Britain to Hudson's Bay, made for the use of our plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht ; wherein it is shewn, " That Mr. Bailey, the Company's first governor of " their factories and settlements in that Bay, entertained a friendly correspondence, by letters " and otherwise, with Monsieur Frontenac, then governor of Canada, not in the least complaining, in several years, of any pretended injury done to France by the said Company's " settling a trade, and building of forts, at the bottom of Hudson's Bay ; nor making pretensions to any right of France to that Bay, or to the countries bordering on it, till long after " this time ;" as will be seen in its place.

In a country so inhospitable, its soil will bear no kind of corn ; yet some of its late voyagers relate, that some barley, oats, and peas have been tried with success. Even in the most southerly part of the Bay, in the latitude of but fifty-one degrees, it is excessively cold for about nine months of the year. In so wretched a country, therefore, there can be no plantations properly so called, and much less any towns or villages. Our people must of course be supplied from England with bread, beef, pork, flour, peas, and other necessaries. With the poor savages of the country there can be no other commerce but by barter : thus, for instance, the Company, for one beaver's skin, give half a pound of gunpowder, four pound weight of lead shot, two hatchets, half a pound of glass beads, one pound weight of tobacco, eight small, or six large knives, one large and two small powder horns : for twelve good winter

beaver

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1670 beaver skins, a gun of the best sort ;—for eight ditto, the smallest gun ;—for six ditty, a good laced coat ;—for five ditto, a plain red coat ;—for four ditto, a woman's coat ; and so in proportion for kettles, looking-glasses, combs, &c.

Arthur Dobbs, Esq. afterwards governor of North Carolina, in his account of this country, published in quarto, in the year 1744, gives us the particulars of one sale in the year 1740, wherein were seventeen thousand seven hundred and eighty beaver-skins, and forty-nine thousand six hundred skins of all kinds ; two thousand three hundred and sixty pound-weight of bed-feathers ; one hundred and sixty castorum ; six hundred and ten whale-fins : and one hundred and twenty gallons of whale-oil. And, as he says, there are two sales every year, and that this company reserves three-fifths of their beaver-skins for their second sale, (but no other skins) then the second sale must have twenty-six thousand six hundred and seventy beaver-skins ; and both the sales must have had forty-four thousand four hundred and fifty beaver-skins, &c.

Although the French, at Canada, did not, for several years, pretend to a property in the countries about Hudson's Bay ; yet, in a few years after the company was established, viz. in the year 1674, they began to be jealous, and very troublesome to our people there ; and they built a fort within eight days journey of our settlement on Prince Rupert's River. They also endeavoured, by underselling us in their barter with the Indians, to ruin our trade and interest with those savages : for the nearest parts of Canada are not one hundred and fifty miles distant from Rupert's River.

After the lately planted colony of Carolina had surmounted the usual difficulties and discouragements attending new plantations, it gradually became a very considerable one. Mr. John Lawson, who had been surveyor-general of North Carolina, and who published the History of Carolina, in the year 1718, in quarto, has made some good remarks on the excellence and fertility of its climate, and of its happy situation. He observes, " That the best silver mines of the Spaniards lie directly west from Carolina : and although none of that sort be hitherto discovered in our said province, yet there is still a probability that such hereafter may be found, when the hilly parts westward shall be more frequented and planted. That none of our continent plantations are to be compared to Carolina for affording such vast quantities of naval stores ; such as pitch, tar, turpentine, rosin, masts, yards, planks, boards, timber of many sorts, and fit for many uses, pipe-staves, lumber, hemp, flax, all sorts of English grain, and also Indian corn."—Rice, its grand staple at present, was not then introduced, or at least, perhaps, but just attempted.

" Their stocks of cattle are incredibly large, and feed in their rank savannahs, or meadows, and they need no dry fodder in their mild winters ; an advantage which our more northerly colonies want.—That South Carolina produces considerable quantities of silk. Grapes in plenty, though not so fine as in some parts of Europe, for want of a good and more general cultivation : so that he doubted not but Carolina would in time become a wine country.—That North Carolina is a separate government, and of a smaller compass than the other, partaking more of the nature of its adjoining neighbour Virginia, both as to soil, climate, and produce ; making therein considerable quantities of tobacco, their lands being generally richer than those in Virginia.—In fine, all the experiments that have been made in Carolina have exceeded expectation."—(Which is, perhaps, the only instance relating to any of our new American plantations, whose fertility, &c. were at first greatly exaggerated, by some only through mere sanguine hopes ; by others, perhaps, through artifice.) He says, " it affords

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1670 “fords commodities which other places in the same latitude do not.—It has rich and delightful pastures, fine hills and rivers, and a most wholesome air.—It will,” continues he, “doubtless, in time, increase the number of its productions, and afford us those rich commodities which India, China, the Straits, Turkey, &c. supply us with at present; such as tea, coffee, drugs, of various kinds, dates, almonds, &c.”

This prediction has since, in a great degree, proved true in fact, as we have more fully shewn in the Introduction to this work. And although all that Mr. Lawson has said of the improvements of this excellent province were not completed so early as this year 1670, yet, as many of them were then pretty far advanced, and as we shall scarcely have occasion to treat again of that colony during the remainder of this century, we thought it best to throw all the before-mentioned particular considerations together at this time.

Wheat, this year, at two pounds one shilling and eight-pence per quarter.—*Chronicon Preciosum*.

By an act of Parliament of the twenty-second of King Charles II. of England, *£. s. d.* cap. xiii. it was enacted, That when wheat was not above two pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence per quarter, it should, upon exportation, pay custom and poundage per quarter, viz.

From that price to four pounds per quarter	—	—	—	—	—	0	16	0
Rye, at about two pounds, to pay	—	—	—	—	—	0	8	0
Barley and malt, not above one pound twelve shillings, to pay	—	—	—	—	—	0	16	0
Oats, at sixteen shillings per quarter, to pay	—	—	—	—	—	0	5	4
Peas and beans, at two pounds, to pay	—	—	—	—	—	0	16	0

That statute permits the exportation of any sort of live-cattle but sheep; and also of beef, pork, butter, cheese, &c.

About this time, or perhaps a little later, the linen manufacture began to be encouraged in Ireland. It began among the Scots in the north of Ireland, where it has to this day flourished more than in any other part. It has, especially within the last sixty years, grown to so vast a bulk, as to surprize all men, and to alarm all the linen countries beyond-sea, so as not a little to affect the general balance of trade with those countries.

The vast quantities of linen which England takes of Ireland, enables the latter to pay for almost every kind of our product and manufacture with which we supply them. Before they made much linen cloth in Ireland, the people in the north of Ireland sent their linen yarn to England. Ireland is really a mine of treasure to Great Britain, and is so perhaps in a much greater degree than some of our American plantations; since much of what is gained in Ireland centers at length in Britain. And the ingenious author of a tract, entitled *The Querist*, published some time ago, rightly observes, That every severe step taken by us, with regard to Ireland, has been less injurious to it than advantageous to our foreign rivals.

It is now clearly seen, that the prohibition of live-cattle from Ireland, in order to raise the price of their own lands, was not well judged. Even the restrictive laws relating to the woollen manufactures of Ireland, forced the Irish workmen to settle in France, and thereby laid the foundation for the great woollen manufacture in that kingdom; although, we must confess, this last-named point to be extremely delicate on both sides of the question.

1671 In the year 1671, the English East India Company had the good fortune to bargain with the King of Golconda, for the certain yearly sum of one thousand two hundred and sixty pagodas, a small gold coin of about seven shillings English, to be paid for ever to him, in lieu

of

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1671 of customs till then collected by him at Madras, or Fort St. George; which is said to have since then proved a great benefit to the Company's increasing commerce at that place.

1672 By an act of Parliament, of the twenty-fifth year of King Charles the Second, cap. vi. in the year 1672, a wise regulation was made for the encouragement of the exportation of our own product and manufactures, viz. For taking off Aliens Duty upon all the native Commodities (Coals only excepted) and Manufactures of England exported by Foreigners; thereby putting them on a level with English subjects: whereas, by the eleventh of King Henry VII. cap. xiv. and the tonnage and poundage act of the twelfth, confirmed by one of the thirteenth year of King George II. they were to pay double duties. By this same law, aliens were to pay only the same duty for fish caught by Englishmen, and exported in English shipping, navigated as the Navigation Act directs, as the natives pay.

By an act of Parliament, cap. ix. of this same year, the county palatine of Durham, and also the city of Durham, were, for the first time, empowered to send each two representatives to the English House of Commons. It is somewhat strange and whimsical, that in an enlightened and Protestant age, such a county and city should have so long remained unrepresented in the great council of the nation.

It was in January 1671, (now 1672) that King Charles the Second was so ill advised by Sir Thomas Clifford, for which he was created a peer and Lord High Treasurer, as to shut up the Exchequer; for which he made a declaration in council, that it should be but for one year only. Thus all the money which the London goldsmiths and bankers had lent to the King, at eight per cent. interest, (beside certain considerable advantages, in the manner of paying them the money weekly, as it came into the Exchequer, &c.) was made use of by him for his intended war against Holland.

In giving a brief historical account of the rise of the bankers of London, we have, under the year 1665, related the various ways they had disposing of the cash put into their hands by merchants, widows, orphans, and others; the two latter generally at four per cent. interest, the former without interest, merely as running cash, to be drawn out as it was wanted. The cruel and unjust seizing on this money, and not even paying the bankers so much as the interest due thereon, made a very great clamour amongst the creditors of the said bankers, the whole sum together amounting to one million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred and twenty-six pounds. Several pamphlets, and one octavo book, were published on this melancholy occasion. It was also said, that near ten thousand families were greatly hurt by this measure, and many of them entirely ruined. It was now said, and even published; "That a stop of this kind, which so much lessened the credit of the Exchequer, and the reputation of the crown, could proceed from nothing less than a resolution of the court to borrow no more hereafter, but to take."

The King, in his printed declaration, declared, "That although, contrary to his inclination, he had been obliged to cause a stop to be made, as to the principal money, he would punctually pay it hereafter, and till then, fix per cent. interest for the same: at the same time directing the Treasury to fit out his fleet with that money." His chief purposes for such preparations were, the ruin of the Dutch, the introduction of Popery, and the establishment of despotic power, without the controul of a Parliament. For which ends, he entered into a secret league with France, by means of the interview he had at Dover with his sister the Duchess of Orleans, jointly to attack the Hollanders by sea, whilst France, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Munster, should invade them in different places by land at the

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1672 same time. But as King Charles had already lavished away three million two hundred thousand pounds, viz. two million five hundred thousand pounds given him by Parliament, and seven hundred thousand pounds given him by France, his cabal advised him to this unjust seizure of the bankers money, without which he could not send out his fleet.

As the payments were always wont to come weekly from the Exchequer to the bankers, they were thereby enabled to answer the interest and other demands of their creditors; which now failing, they came in crowds to the bankers, who could neither pay them principal nor interest. But the King's ministers paid no regard to those ruined people's lamentations, and the Exchequer long remained shut, to the great detriment of trade and business. Yet, if possible, to quiet those clamours, the King found himself necessitated to grant them his patent, to pay the said six per cent. interest out of his hereditary excise; but he never paid the principal: for although after some years, the Exchequer was indeed opened, yet it was to no purpose for the bankers principal-money.

That we may here compleat this account of the bankers debt altogether, we shall further observe, that although it was not a Parliamentary debt, the Parliament of the twelfth year of King William, cap. xii. after providing for a large arrear of interest on it, settled an interest of three per cent. on it for the future; but this debt was thereby made redeemable, on paying one moiety of the principal sum, being six hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds; further confirmed by an act of the second and third years of Queen Anne, cap. xv. which moiety was now therefore become the proper debt of the public; and, being reduced from six to five per cent. at Michaelmas 1717, it was finally subscribed into the South Sea capital stock, in the year 1720.

Upon this subject, Sir William Temple, in his Miscellanies, makes the following remark: "The credit of our Exchequer is irrecoverably lost, by the last breach with the bankers.—" "For credit is gained by custom, and seldom recovers a strain. I have heard a great example given of this, that happened upon the late King Charles the First's seizing two hundred thousand pounds in the Mint, in the year 1638," (this compulsory loan we have placed under the year 1640) "which had then the credit of a bank, and for several years had been the Treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from Spain to Flanders: but after this invasion of it, although the King paid back the money in a few months, the Mint has never since recovered its credit among foreign merchants."

Even so late as this time, according to our before-quoted anonymous author, who has so judiciously transmitted the said curious history of the London bankers, the receiving and paying of money from morning till night, in an open shop, was so new, that our author himself seemed to think it a strange sort of a thing, and was by no means a friend to that kind of trade.

Sir Josiah Child also seems to be equally prepossessed against it, and freely attacks the bankers in several parts of his Discourses on Trade. He accuses the bankers of this time, "of being the main cause of keeping the interest of money at least two per cent. higher than otherwise it would be. For," says he, "they give six per cent. to private persons for the money which they lend the King at ten and twelve per cent. and sometimes more." He inveighs against what he calls this innovated practice of bankers, (and, in other parts of his book, he calls it, this new invention of cashiery) as being productive of many evils; which made us suspect that he himself might have been the author of the said small tract on The Mystery of the new-fashioned Goldsmiths, of which we have made good use under the year 1645, &c.

"for

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1672 “ for, by allowing their creditors, at this time, so high an interest as six per cent. whereas,
 “ till the King increased his demands on them, they allowed but four per cent. they make
 “ monied men sit down lazily with so high an interest, and not push into commerce with
 “ their money, as they certainly would do were it at four or three per cent. as in Holland.
 “ This high interest also keeps the price of land so low as fifteen years purchase, which would
 “ otherwise be at twenty years purchase.—It also made money scarce in the country, seeing
 “ that the trade of banking being only in London, it very much drains the ready money from
 “ all other parts of the kingdom.”

Upon the whole, whatever might in those days be said with truth of the practices of bankers, the case is at present quite otherwise; and the dispatch given by our modern London bankers to many merchants and other dealers, is found so convenient, that they are glad to lodge their principal cash with them, to be drawn out from time to time as they want it, without receiving or expecting any interest whatever; and yet, our said bankers generally get great fortunes, by prudently investing a certain proportion of their cash in our national funds, and by some lent for private pledges, discounting bills of exchange, &c. All which, it is hoped, may suffice for a general history of private banking in London, even down to our days.

Although the Greenland, or more properly Spitzbergen, whale fishing, had been early practised by the English, yet it had been laid aside toward the latter end of the reign of King James I. though confessedly beneficial for the employment of great numbers of ships and seamen, and the consumption of much of our provisions, &c. and that, since our leaving it off, we were obliged to pay large sums to the Dutch and to the Hans-towns, for the oil and whale fins which we wanted. Wherefore, an act of Parliament passed, in this twenty-fifth year of King Charles II. cap. vii. For encouraging the Greenland and Eastland Trades; and for the better securing the Plantation Trade: in substance, viz.

“ I. That whereas English harpooners could not now be got, the Act of Navigation was
 “ hereby so far dispensed with, for ten years to come; provided the ship be English built,
 “ and the master and half the crew be English, the other half might be foreigners in the said
 “ fishery.”—This, it is true, produced some private attempts for reviving that fishery; which,
 however, in seven years after, sunk to nothing again, although neither the oil nor the whale-
 bone were to pay any duty: “ but our plantation shipping should pay six shillings for every
 “ ton of oil, and two pounds ten shillings for every ton of whale fins imported in their own
 “ shipping, and half so much if imported in English shipping.—If oil be imported in foreign
 “ shipping the ton of oil shall pay nine pounds, and the ton of fins eighteen pounds.” In
 the first session of the second year of William and Mary, cap. iv. in this year 1690, this act for
 the whale fishing at Greenland was continued for four years longer; but not so much as a single
 ship was fitted out in consequence thereof.

“ II. Ships trading from England to our plantations, and returning back laden with sugars,
 “ tobacco, ginger, indigo, logwood, fustick, cotton, cocoa nuts, &c. and not giving bond
 “ to land them in England, were to pay sundry duties therein named, but needless here to
 “ be specified.”

“ III. For the encouragement of the Eastland trade, it is hereby enacted, that all persons,
 “ natives or foreigners, might, from the first of May 1673, have free liberty to trade into
 “ Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; any thing in the Eastland Company's charter to the con-
 “ trary notwithstanding.

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“Whoever, if an Englishman, shall henceforth desire to be admitted into the fellowship of the said Eastland Company, shall pay forty shillings, and no more.”

These two clauses proved a mortal blow to the Eastland Company: for, in consequence of them, all the north side of the Baltic Sea was laid open to all, and the freedom for trading to the south side of it was reduced to so little as forty shillings. Sir Josiah Child was of opinion, “That the Eastland Company, by excluding others from their trade, not free of their Company, had enabled the Dutch to supply all parts within the Baltic with most of the merchandize usually sent thither, viz. oil, wine, sugar, fruits, &c.—And that the Dutch, who have no Eastland Company, had then ten times the trade thither that we had.—And also, to Russia and Greenland, where we have no companies, and they have none, they have forty times the trade that we have.—Lastly, to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where we have no companies, we have yet left full as much, if not more, trade than the Dutch.”

In this same year 1672, King Charles II. of England, declared war against the Dutch, pursuant to the before-named secret agreement with France; for which his ministers were greatly puzzled to find any just pretext whatsoever.

The French author of Colbert's life alleges, “that by that secret treaty the United Netherlands were to be divided between those two Kings; but that King Charles withdrew from the league, growing at length jealous of the vast success of King Louis, who in forty days time conquered four of the seven provinces, and took forty cities.” Such was the insolence of Louis, and so much was he at a loss for any just reason for invading the Dutch, that in his declaration of war he only said, “That he could not, without the diminution of his glory, any longer dissemble his indignation against the States General.” Without alleging so much as one single fact for the ground of his said invasion,—So much barefaced violence and injustice practised by both those kings, are, however, foreign to our purpose to enlarge on.

It is enough to remark, that D'Etreces, with forty French ships of war, joined the English fleet at Portsmouth, and entertained our King on board his admiral-ship: for, by this time, Colbert had considerably augmented the number and goodness of the French royal navy, though it was not brought to its utmost perfection till six years later. King Charles also, to second the rapid conquests of Louis, sent over the Duke of Monmouth with six thousand English troops, to join the French in the Netherlands.

In this same summer, De Ruyter, with above one hundred Dutch ships of war, attacked the combined fleets of England and France, commanded by the Duke of York, on the coast of Suffolk; and, after a most terrible slaughter of gallant men, from morning till night, and the destruction of several great ships, the Dutch retired to their own coast. In this horrible conflict, the Dutch Admiral Van Ghent, and the French Rear Admiral De la Robiniere were slain: our Admiral, Earl of Sandwich, disdaining to quit his ship when on fire, was blown up in her. What pity so gallant a man did not die in a better cause! In the midst of these distresses, the Orange party in Holland prevailed so far, as to get the Prince, afterwards King William III. of Great Britain, declared Stadtholder, and the two brothers, De Witts, were destroyed.

The Earl of Sandwich, blown up, as we have just related, was succeeded, as President of the Council of Trade, by the Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord Chancellor. The preamble to this new commission, which has never yet been in print that we know of, it having been communicated to the author by a private friend, sets forth, that,

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"Whereas, by the goodness of Almighty God, our dominions have of late years been considerably enlarged, by the occasion of many great colonies and plantations in America and elsewhere : and both our customs and revenues, as well as the trade and wealth of our good subjects at home and abroad, much increased, both by the mutual commerce and traffic between these our kingdoms and our said colonies and plantations.—And whereas, several other colonies and plantations may hereafter accrue to us, and many other improvements may justly be expected, if sufficient care be taken for the encouragement, protection and defence of our said colonies and plantations, and of all our good subjects in their said respective trades and commerce, and a due regulation be made therein. We have thought fit to erect and establish a select council, whose employment shall be, to take care of the welfare of our said colonies and plantations, and also of the trade and navigation of these our kingdoms : and to give us a true and faithful account thereof, from time to time, with their opinions and advice thereupon.—To that end, know ye, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in your abilities, &c. have constituted, &c."—(here the whole board is named)—"to be a standing council to us for all the affairs which do or may any way concern the navigation, commerce, and trade, as well domestic as foreign, of these our kingdoms, (Tangier only excepted) whether immediately held by us, or by any others, in virtue of our charters"—(this clause respects the English incorporated companies)—"already made or granted, or hereafter to be so made or granted.—And for the better assistance of our said council in all their debates and consultations, it shall be lawful for our most dear brother James Duke of York, our High Admiral, our most dear cousin Prince Rupert,"—(and several other great persons therein named)—"to be present at their debates and resolutions, &c."

Yet, in the course of a few years all these fine words came just to nothing, the commissions being entirely dropped ; the luxury of the King, and his schemes for the advancement of popery and lawless power, not permitting him to be long at so much annual expence for so good a purpose. This commission was said to have been principally promoted by the Chancellor Shaftesbury.

In this same year, the Parliament of Scotland legally reduced the interest of money from eight to six per cent.

In this same year 1672, the court of France, or rather Colbert, observing, that all the most considerable European nations trading to the East Indies, saw it extremely needful to have a settlement near the south end of Africa, for the convenience of their ships in those voyages ; they for that end settled on the isle then called Mascareen, or Mascarenhas, which they have since named Bourbon, about three hundred and seventy miles east of the great island of Madagascar. It is about forty leagues in compass. Here their ships meet with proper refreshments, that isle being well watered, and abounding in many sorts of trees, plants, and fruits, with horned cattle, hogs, and goats, (brought originally thither from Europe by the Portuguese,) as well as with wild fowl, tortoises, &c. and of late years yielding coffee.—It is also otherwise very much improved.

Voltaire, though in many things not absolutely to be relied on, yet in these matters may be better listened to, observes, in his Age of Louis the Fourteenth, how greatly he had improved, fortified, and adorned France.—"It was" says he, "wonderful to behold the sea-ports, which before were deserted and in ruins, now surrounded by works, at once both their ornament and defence !—covered also with ships and mariners, and containing already

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1672 “ near sixty large ships of war.—New colonies, under the protection of his flag, were sent from all parts into America, East India, and Africa: a wonderful change this in six years time!—Moreover, every year of Colbert’s ministry, from 1663 to this year 1672, was distinguished by the establishment of some new manufactory, such as fine woollen cloth, silk, and glass, with which till this time Venice had supplied all Europe:—he also procured from England the secret of the stocking frame, of English invention, by which stockings are made ten times quicker than by the knitting needles; the manufacture of carpets also and of fine tapestries were introduced; also wrought iron ware, steel, fine earthen ware, Morocco leather, &c.”

“ Whilst such vast improvements were making at home, Louis, in this summer, kept his court at Utrecht, and his troops were making excursions within one league of Amsterdam itself.—Thus was the greatest mercantile state that ever existed, upon the very brink of utter destruction.—A moment’s diligence would have put that King in possession of Amsterdam. The richest families, and those who were most desirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The ships capable to make this voyage were numbered, and it was found that fifty thousand families might be embarked. The Dutch would no longer have existed but in the most distant part of the East Indies. And these European provinces, which subsist only by their Asian riches, their commerce, and if a Frenchman may say so, by their liberty, would on a sudden have been ruined and depopulated. Amsterdam, the warehouse and magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand people, would have presently become only one vast lake;—and the adjacent lands, which require an immense expence to raise and maintain their banks, would probably at once have wanted both the support of men and money, and would at length have been overwhelmed by the sea, leaving Louis the Fourteenth only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry.

“ Four deputies came to the King’s camp, to implore his clemency for a republic, which, six months before, had thought herself the arbitrator between Kings.—Those suppliants were received with haughtiness, and even with insults and raillery, by Louvois the Minister, and were made to return several times. At length, the King ordered his determination to be declared to them, viz.

“ First, The States to deliver up all they possessed on the other side the Rhine, with Nimègue, and several other towns and forts in the heart of their territories.

“ Secondly, To pay the King twenty millions.

“ Thirdly, That France for the future shall be master of all the great roads of Holland, both by land and water, without paying any toll.

“ Fourthly, That the Catholic religion should be every where restored.

“ Fifthly, That the Republic should annually send an Ambassador Extraordinary to the French court, with a gold medal, whereon should be engraved an acknowledgement,—That they held their liberties of Louis XIV.

“ Sixthly and finally, That they should also make satisfaction to the King of England and the Princes of the Empire, particularly those of Cologne and Munster, by whom Holland still continued to be ravaged.

“ These conditions,” continues Voltaire, “ which approached so near to slavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate cour-

“ age. They determined therefore to die in defence of their liberty. Their hearts and hopes
 “ were all turned upon the Prince of Orange, and their fury against the Grand Pensionary
 “ John De Witt, and his brother Cornelius, both of whom the mob at the Hague now re-
 “ spected, and insulted all their friends. They immediately cut the dykes which kept out the
 “ sea; whereupon the country-houses, which are innumerable round Amsterdam, also the
 “ villages and neighbouring towns, such as Leyden, Delft, &c. were overwhelmed: and yet
 “ the country people did not repine at seeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Am-
 “ sterdam itself appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the sea, surrounded with ships of
 “ war, which now had depth of water sufficient to make them be stationed round the city,
 “ where fresh-water was now sold at six stivers per pint. What will be most wondered at by
 “ posterity is, that Holland, whilst thus overwhelmed on the land, was yet formidable on the
 “ ocean, under De Ruyter; who, with one hundred ships of war, and fifty fire-ships, gave
 “ battle to the united fleets of England and France, at Solebay, and afterwards brought their
 “ East India fleet safe into the Texel; hereby defending and enriching his country on one
 “ side, whilst Louis was destroying it on the other.

“ In brief, the Emperor Leopold, the great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick-William,
 “ the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, all flew to the assistance of the Dutch; and, as
 “ no more conquests could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, Louis found it
 “ best to leave his army, and return home; which army being weakened by the numerous
 “ garrisons of the towns which had submitted to him, was obliged to retreat; and the Prince
 “ of Orange, now Stadtholder, was, by the above-named succours, enabled to recover all
 “ that Louis had conquered. In the midst of those disorders and devastations,” still adds
 “ Voltaire, “ the magistrates of Amsterdam, to their eternal honour, manifested virtues which
 “ are seldom seen but in a republic. For as those people who were possessed of bank-notes,”
 “ (he means bank-credit, or *comptes en banque*) “ ran in crowds to the bank, where it was to be
 “ apprehended they would lay violent hands on the public treasure, every one being eager to
 “ get his money out of the little which they supposed still to remain there, the magistrates
 “ opened the places where the treasure was deposited, and it was found in the same state in
 “ which it had been deposited sixty years previous to this period; and the silver was even still
 “ black, from the effects of the fire by which the old Stadthouse had been consumed long be-
 “ fore. The bank-notes (credit) till now had been constantly negotiated, and this treasure
 “ never touched till this time, when those who insisted on having their money, were paid out
 “ of it.” (This may be true, for ought that was generally known to the contrary, or that
 “ any can, in our days, certainly tell.) “ Such distinguished good-faith, and such great re-
 “ sources, were then so much the more admirable, as Charles the Second, King of England,
 “ to defray the expences of his pleasures, and of this war against the Hollanders, had, just at
 “ that time, become a bankrupt to his subjects,” by shutting up his Exchequer, “ and it
 “ was as dishonourable in this King, thus to violate the public faith, as it was glorious in the
 “ magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it, at a time when a failure might have appeared par-
 “ donable.”

This account of the condition of Holland is so finely told by Voltaire, that, though it may be somewhat prolix, it cannot, we imagine, fail to be entertaining to every curious reader, who has not read his History of the Age of Louis XIV.

Spain having assisted the Dutch in this war with France, as their own Netherlands must inevitably have been lost had the Dutch been ruined, Louis availed himself of that pretext, to
 seize

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1672 Seize on the Franche Compté of Burgundy, and on many places in the Spanish Netherlands; and although, by the succeeding peace of Nimeguen, some of the Netherland towns were restored to Spain, France, nevertheless, has retained the county of Burgundy to this day.

We have seen the three former English African Companies ruined by war, misconduct, and their great struggles with the interlopers. In this year, the fourth and last exclusive company was created, after the third company had surrendered their charter, for the above reasons. To this fourth company the King and the Duke of York subscribed, as well as many persons of rank and quality, and the whole capital of one hundred eleven thousand pounds, was completed in nine months. In this new subscription the late company was allowed thirty-four thousand pounds for their three forts, viz. Cape Coast Castle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort in the river Gambia.

The new company soon improved their trade, and increased their forts; and whereas all former companies were obliged to send to Holland to make up their assortments of goods, they now introduced into England the making of various kinds of woollen goods, &c. not formerly known. They also imported quantities of gold, out of which fifty thousand guineas were first coined in one year, in 1673, so named from the country of Guinea. They also imported red-wood, for dyers; also elephants teeth, wax, honey, &c. And they exported to the value of seventy thousand pounds annually, in English goods, for several years: but, at the revolution, the West India planters joined the interlopers, in asserting, that they were always best served with slaves when the trade was open to all. And the Petition and Declaration of Right, as that act of Parliament is commonly called, in the first year of William and Mary, effectually debarring it and all other pretended exclusive companies, not authorized by Parliament, the trade became open, although that company still persisted in seizing the separate traders; which occasioned much clamour, and no small obstruction to the negro trade. Their great disputes with the separate traders are contained in many large pamphlets; but the subject is long since become so obsolete, that it would tire our readers, to very little purpose, to give a detail of it.

Copper halfpence and farthings were coined in England, by King Charles, in this year 1672, having on one side, *Carolus à Carolo*; and on the reverse, *Britannia*. "There was," says Mr. Tindal, in his Notes on Rapin's History, "another farthing coined of rare copper, having on the reverse, *Quatuor Maria Vendico*; but these were called in, to please the French King."—And this coinage now effectually suppressed the private coins called tokens.

In this same year 1672, the Turks, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, invaded Poland, took the strong fortress of Caminiec, and also brought the Poles so low as to submit to an annual tribute, in order to obtain peace of the Porte; which, however, in the very next year, was renounced, when King John Sobieski gave the Turks a great overthrow; and, in consequence of his victory, made better and more honourable terms of peace for Poland, in the year 1676.

At the very close of this memorable year 1672, Sir Tobias Bridges, with six ships from Barbadoes, took from the Dutch the island of Tobago, in the West Indies, and also St. Eustatius; which last-named isle the Dutch Admiral Evertz retook the same year. On the other hand, the Dutch took St. Helena from England; which isle was soon after recovered by us, in the year 1673, by surprizing the Dutch garrison, at a place where only two persons abreast could climb up the rocks, as were also three rich Dutch India ships; which place is since that time well fortified: and the English colony there, which is said to consist of about two hundred

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1672 dred families, now live in perfect security.—As to the rest of that island, it is an entire steep and barren rock.

1673 The whole business and benefit of the little isle and colony of St. Helena is, to supply fresh provisions and water for, and to be a safe retreat to our homeward-bound East India ships: in return for which, the planters are supplied out of the company's warehouses there, with brandy, wine, arrack, beer, malt, sugar, tea, &c. and also with cloathing from England and India: so that this otherwise barren and rocky spot, is, by its happy situation, of singular benefit to our shipping, and to those also of other nations in amity with us.

The Portuguese discovered St. Helena in the year 1501. when it was quite uninhabited; but they stocked it with hogs, poultry, &c. and also planted it with lemons, oranges, figs, &c. which throve very much, and rendered it an useful refreshing place, where they often left their sick men till their next return; but that nation possessing so many ports afterwards along the south-east coast of Africa, such as Sofala, Mombaza, Melinda, Magadoxa, Mozambique, &c. for refreshing their ships on their East India voyages, they abandoned St. Helena, which lay long after desolate, until the Hollanders settled on it for the same convenience: but finding the Cape of Good Hope still more convenient, they also abandoned St. Helena, about the year 1651: whereupon our East India Company first settled on it; and it now abounds with cattle, poultry, greens, fruits, &c. there being some good spots, here and there, between the rocks, whereon herbage, pasture, &c. are supplied for those ends.

By King Charles the Second's charter to the East India Company, this island, in the year 1661, was confirmed to that company: but the Dutch having, in their war with England, in 1665, seized on it, it was retaken in the second Dutch war, in the year 1672, as we have already seen. The Dutch got possession of it again, and the King's ships having now finally recovered it, in the year 1673, it became vested in the crown: wherefore, in the same year, the King, by his charter, re-granted it to the East India Company for ever, as absolute lords proprietors of it, with all royal mines, &c. in whose possession it remains to this day.

In the summer of the year 1673, there were, in the space of two months, three several and terrible sea-fights between the fleets of England and Holland, though not so bloody as in that of the preceding year. In the last of these engagements, under Prince Rupert, the English lost Sir Edward Spragge; and the French squadron is said to have stood neuter all the latter part of the day. The joint fleet of England and France consisted of one hundred and ten ships; the Dutch of one hundred, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp. Both sides claimed the victory in all the three engagements; and both English and Dutch, by their gallant conduct, merited it. In the month of February, in this year, (N. S.) the Earl of Shaftesbury, then Lord Chancellor, in a speech in the House of Peers, inveighed with much acrimony against the Dutch, whom he called "England's constant foes, both by interest and inclination; wherefore he concluded with elder Cato's words,—"*Delenda est Carthago; i. e. The Dutch must be extirpated.*"

During this short but hot war, the English East India Company was under the necessity of raising no fewer than six thousand men for the security of Bombay against the attempts of the Dutch.

To an octavo English translation, in this same year 1673, of a judicious treatise, entitled, *The Buckler of State and Justice*, published by direction of the court of Spain, in several languages, for exposing the perfidious designs of King Louis of France for universal monarchy, there is annexed a short essay, called, *A free Conference touching the present State of England,*

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1673 England, both at Home and Abroad ; in order to the Designs of France : (said to have been written by the direction of the Earl of Arlington, then going out of favour, and aimed against the Earl of Shaftesbury, then Lord Chancellor, according to *Britannia Languens*, octavo, 1680, p. 41-50.) wherein we are told, “ That not above three years ago, (viz. about the year 1670) “ France was hardly able to send forth twenty ships of war, and now they have sixty large “ ones, ready furnished, and well armed ; and do apply all their industry and pains, in every “ part, to augment the number. Could the ghost of Queen Elizabeth return back into the “ world again, she would justly reproach the ministers of state in England for having aban- “ doned her good maxims, by tamely suffering, before our eyes, a maritime power to increase, “ which she so diligently kept down throughout the whole course of her reign. Whereas “ you” (this conference is supposed to be with a minister of state) “ are so far from opposing “ the growth of this power, that you rather seem to desire England should facilitate the ways “ to make it grow the faster, and to render it yet more formidable than it is, by the acqui- “ sition of the sea-ports ; which, in conclusion, must infallibly bring France to be mistress of “ the commerce of the Indies. All the world knows the vast quantity of money and arms “ which the French have accumulated to that end alone, out of the richest purses of that king- “ dom. Our power and greatness consist principally in the matter of commerce ; I therefore “ conclude, by an unerring consequence, that commerce ought to be the chief object of our “ jealousy, and that we are bound to be as tender of the conservation of this benefit as of the “ apples of our eyes.”—Dismissed or declining statesmen often deliver truths, the reverse of what they had practised when in power. This great truth is, however, of such importance to us, as to merit the being ever uppermost in our thoughts and counsels.

At this time, the manufactured commodities of East India, annually imported into Europe, and more particularly into England, were become so considerable, as to occasion loud complaints against our English East India Company, as destroyers, or at least lesseners of the consumption of our own English manufactures ; whereby also it was observed, that our annual exportation of bullion to India, which formerly did not often exceed forty thousand pounds, was greatly increased. These complaints continued, without intermission, or rather increased, until long after, that the legislature found it necessary to enact a total and absolute prohibition of the wear of all such in England, muslins only excepted. Which two points, viz. the increase of the exportation of bullion, and of the importation of Indian manufactures, supplied the opponents of that company and trade with loud and popular objections against both.

In this same year, a fleet of French ships of war, failed to attack the Dutch forts on the coast of the isle of Ceylon, with a design to possess the cinnamon-trade ; and they actually took the important fort of Trincomale. But a fleet of sixteen large ships from Batavia, with land-forces, arriving, the French fleet retired to Surat, and the Dutch soon recovered it. From Surat the French failed, attacked, and took the fortress of St. Thomas, which the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese a few years before, and was also soon lost again to the Dutch ; and in the end, not a single ship ever returned home to France. This was the last attempt, during the seventeenth century, for disturbing the commerce of the Dutch East India Company.

1674 After the French had been driven from St. Thomas, they retired, in the year 1674, to a place called Pondicherry ; where, by permission of the Viceroy of the King of Visapour, they fortified it, the situation being very proper for the trade of piece-goods, then in great demand in Europe. This place the French have so much improved, that it is, to our days, their capital

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1674 capital residence for all their East India trade. It was, however, taken by the Dutch in the year 1693; but restored to France by the peace of Ryswick, in the year 1697; after which it was still further strengthened and improved, so as to be deemed one of the most considerable places of the Europeans in India, having a large town of many thousands of Indians in it, beside the French company's people and traders; and being lately further enlarged, and the suburbs walled in, it is by some said to be four leagues in circumference, containing one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, Christians, Moors, and Gentoos. Nevertheless it was conquered by England, in the year 1761.

The universal clamour of the people of England, on account of the increasing power of France, so dangerous to us and to all Europe, obliged King Charles the Second, in the beginning of the year 1674, to come into terms of peace, by the mediation of Spain, with the States of Holland, on much the same footing as in that of Breda, in the year 1667; with this advantage, however, on his side, that, by the tenth article, the States agreed to pay our King eight hundred thousand *patacoons* (being near two hundred thousand pounds sterling) toward the expence of this war: which sum came very seasonably to him, who had lavished away, in a shameful manner, the greatest part of the money given by Parliament to support the war.

By the fourth article, it was stipulated, "That all Dutch ships, whether ships of war or others, whether in squadrons or single ships, which shall happen to meet any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the King of Great Britain, whether one or more, carrying that King's flag called the Jack, in any of the Seas from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten, in Norway, shall strike their topsail and take down their flag, in the same manner, and with the like testimony of respect, as has been usually paid at any time or place heretofore, by the Dutch ships, to those of the King or his ancestors.

V. "And whereas the agreement, in the year 1667, for the surrender of the colony of Surinam, by King Charles's governor thereof, to the States General, has occasioned many quarrels and disputes, and has contributed greatly to the misunderstanding lately arisen between the King and the States,—they, the said States General, now stipulate, that those articles shall be fully executed;—and that the King may send commissioners to examine the condition of his subjects remaining there,—and may send thither two or three ships, to bring away his said subjects, with their effects and slaves; and, till then, that they be treated equitably in the sale of their lands, payment of debts, and barter of goods."

Note, That pursuant to the above recited fifth article, one thousand two hundred persons, including negroes, were, in this and the following year, brought from Surinam to Jamaica, and had lands assigned them in St. Elizabeth's precinct there.

It is said, that since the Dutch have possessed that colony, they have rendered it more healthy than before, by draining its marshes and clearing away the woods: so that it is now a noble colony, producing much sugar, being planted above one hundred miles up the river of Surinam (its mouth, in six degrees north latitude) by eight hundred or more families, many of them being French Protestant Refugees: their coffee, too, is said to be better than that of Martinico and Jamaica. It also produces gums, dying woods, cotton, ginger, flax, skins, tobacco, &c. It is the only colony now possessed by the Dutch on the continent of America; being said to be the joint property of their West India Company, the city of Amsterdam, and the Lord of Somersdyk. They have several other towns beside the capital, now named Surinam, as New Zealand, one hundred and twenty miles north west from Surinam; New Middelburg, &c. and have four standing companies of soldiers for their defence.

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1674 One Jeronymo Clifford, who published his hardships, in the year 1710, having had a great plantation there, says, "That Surinam colony is six hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth: that, except some small quantity of sugar made on the barren isle of Caracoa, this is the only colony of the Dutch which produced sugar." Though, since Clifford's time, the isle of St. Eustatia is so far improved as to produce some sugar.

VI. "All lands, islands, towns, forts, &c. taken on both sides, since the commencement of this war, shall be restored, by either party, in the same condition they then were.

IX. "—Within three months after the proclamation of this treaty, the States General agree to send to London a number of commissioners equal to that of the King, to treat of the freedom of navigation and commerce; more especially in the East Indies: and in case they shall not agree within three months, then the disputes shall be referred to the arbitration of the Queen Regent of Spain."

Done at Westminster, the ninth of February (N. S.) 1674.

Another marine treaty was concluded on the first of December, 1674: and,

By an explanatory declaration of both the marine treaties, above-named, and by another, signed by Sir William Temple, on one side, at the Hague, and by the States deputies, on the other, on the thirtieth of December 1675, it is declared, "That the true meaning and intention of the said articles is, and ought to be, that ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of either of the parties, can and might, from the time that the said articles were concluded, not only pass, traffic, and trade, from a neutral port or place, to a place in enmity with the other party, or from a place in enmity to a neutral place, but also from a port or place in enmity, to a port or place in enmity with the other party, whether the said places belong to one and the same Prince or State, or to several Princes and States, with whom the other party is in war. And we declare, that this is the true and genuine sense and meaning of the said articles.—And we do promise, that the said declaration shall be ratified by his said Majesty, and by the said States General."

This declaration has given rise to all the complaints of the Dutch, on account of our making prize of their ships, laden with French property, in the years 1757-8-9; which French property those Dutch ships were intended to convey safe to and from France, and to protect them from our cruizers, &c. which declaration has been construed, in part, in a quite different sense from that of the Dutch, by the British court and law, and seems to require a further explanation by a fresh treaty.

Part of the secret article of the foregoing treaty of peace is as follows, viz.—"Neither of the said parties shall give leave, nor consent, that their subjects or inhabitants shall give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea.—Nor shall furnish nor permit their subjects or inhabitants to furnish any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, money, instruments of war, &c. to the enemies of either party."

In this same year, the old ill-judged affair of prohibiting new buildings in London was once more revived; an order of Council being published for prosecuting all such as had erected houses on new foundations, in the suburbs and vicinity of London: by which, all that was probably intended was to bring some money into the impoverished and bankrupt Exchequer.

So vast was our commerce with Holland at this time, that Consul Ker, in his Remarks on Holland, &c. published in Ker of Kerland's Memoirs, vol. ii. observes, "That, after a great frost, in 1674, when the waters were open, there sailed out of the harbours of Rotterdam three hundred sail of English, Scotch, and Irish ships all at once, with an easterly wind."

The

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1674 The Hollanders' West India Company's exclusive grant now expiring, the States General renewed the same, exclusive of all other Dutch inhabitants, to trade to Africa and the West Indiës, any otherwise than in the name of that Company, whose limits were defined to be from the Tropic of Cancer, to the south latitude of thirty-three degrees, including all the islands within those boundaries, both on or near the African and American coasts.—Provided, however, that if the East India Company shall occupy the islands situated within those limits, between Africa and America, from Ascension southward, before this Company shall so do, then the East India Company shall have an exclusive patent for those islands, &c.

And it seems, the said Dutch West India Company do, to this day, grant licences to private adventurers, to trade within those limits; from which emoluments, it is partly enabled to continue certain slender dividends to their proprietors.

1675 The English House of Commons, being much out of humour with the conduct of their King, Charles the Second, and that of his bad Ministers, acting so much in favour of France, and so diametrically opposite to England's true interests; and observing the immense consumption of French wares of all kinds, in England; and, on the other hand, how little of English merchandize was taken off by France; (now ardently pursuing the improvement of her own woollen, silk, and linen manufactures) that House entered into an examination of the general balance of trade between England and France; and found that England was annually, for some time past, above one million sterling losers by her trade with France. Echard's third volume, Rapin's second volume, and the author of *The Happy future State of England*, are particular in this respect, viz.

		£.	s.	d.
Imported into England from France, annually, about	—	1,500,000	0	0
Exported from England to France, annually, about	—	170,000	0	0
Annual balance against England	— — —	1,330,000	0	0

Beside about six hundred thousand pounds value of French wines, silks, embroideries, and other fripperies, annually run in or smuggled upon us: “so that,” (says the last-named author, very properly) “all our grave laws against sending money, in specie, out of England, when the balance of trade is against us, is but hedging in the cuckow.”

Coffee houses in London were, at this time, much frequented by persons of rank and substance, who, suitable to our native genius, used great freedom therein, with respect to the courts proceedings in these and the like points, so contrary to the voice of the people. Whereupon the King issued a proclamation, in this same year, “for the suppressing of all coffee houses in London,” which also was like hedging in the cuckow, “as being places where the disaffected met, and spread scandalous reports concerning the conduct of his Majesty and his Ministers.” But the dealers in coffee, tea, and chocolate, having hereupon remonstrated to the court, that this proclamation would greatly lessen his Majesty's revenue, the King, a few days after, issued another proclamation for suspending the first. Than both which proclamations, nothing could argue greater guilt nor greater weakness.

The navigation laws being sometimes violated, King Charles, in this same year, issued his proclamation, “for prohibiting the importation into his American plantations of any European merchandize but what should be laden in England; and for putting other branches of those acts into strict execution, relating to America.”

Wheat, in this same year 1675, was so dear as three pounds four shillings and eight-pence per quarter, or eight shillings and one-penny per bushel, according to Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*.

In September, a sudden fire having burned down the greatest part of the town of Northampton, it was, by an act of Parliament of the twenty-seventh year of King Charles the Second, directed to be re-built; and was accordingly so done, in a more beautiful and commodious manner than it had formerly been; as appears by the only public act of this year 1675.

In this same year, a commercial treaty was concluded at Adrianople, between King Charles the Second, of England, (by his ambassador, Sir John Finch) and the Sultan Mahomet the Fourth: whereby "all former treaties, from Queen Elizabeth's time downward, were confirmed: and certain new capitulations were super-added:—such as, freedom for all English subjects to reside in, and trade to Turkey;—to have consuls, of their own proper appointing, in its sea ports;—to enjoy all the particular privileges and immunities which either the French, or the Venetians, or any Christian nation enjoyed, and shall pay no higher duties than they do;—that the Dutch merchants of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Guelderland, trading to Turkey, shall always come thither under the colours of England, and shall pay the dues to the English ambassador and consuls, in the same manner as the English merchants do;—and the merchants of Spain, Portugal, Ancona, Florence, and all sorts of Dutch, shall also come under the flag of England, and pay the same dues as the Dutch before-named. The English merchants and all others, who are now to come under the colours of England, may, with all possible security, trade, sell, and buy all sorts of merchandize, not prohibited; not only in Turkey; but they may likewise trade to Muscovy, by sea," they could so trade by no other sea but the Black Sea, "or land, and may bring their merchandize from thence to Turkey; and the like liberty is now allowed the English with respect to Persia, &c."

The business of the protection of the flag had occasioned much contest between the ambassadors of England and those of France, at the Porte; the latter having also sometimes got it inserted in their treaties and capitulations, that the Dutch, and the other nations before-named, who, as yet, had concluded no commercial treaties with the Ottoman Porte, should come and trade under the flag and protection of France: but now, in this treaty, with our King Charles the Second, that privilege is ascertained to England alone. The case is much altered since the time now under our consideration; the Dutch, particularly, having long since had the privilege of ambassadors and consuls of their own, residing constantly in Turkey.

There are, in this treaty, sixty-seven articles in all; to which, after Sir John Finch's arrival, were added the following explanations, viz:

I. "What duty the English ships paid for their merchandize coming to Scanderoon, and afterwards to Aleppo.

II. "For all merchandize, which the English merchants shall import or export, they shall pay only three per cent. And woollen cloths from London shall pay one hundred and forty-four aspers per piece, whether fine or coarse, of the manufacture of England." Eighty aspers being worth a Spanish piece of eight. "But the woollen cloths of Holland, &c. which are not of the manufacture of England shall hereafter pay the duties as formerly have been customary, &c.

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1675 III. IV. V. VI. and VII. "Contain only certain regulations, concerning causes to be tried, relating to the English, and the anchorage-duty on our ships arriving at Constanti-
nople, Scanderoon, Smyrna, Cyprus, &c. and other matters relating to duties and debts.

VIII. "Two ship-loads of figs and currants are annually allowed to be exported from Smyrna, Salonichi, &c. for the use of the King of Great Britain's kitchen, provided there be no scarcity of those fruits; paying only three per cent. custom for the same." And the ninth article is only a very ambiguous and vague stipulation, concerning the duty on all silk, which the English buy at Smyrna. Vide vol. iii. of the General Collection of Treaties, &c. from p. 282 to p. 309. London, 1732.

The anonymous author of a spirited octavo treatise, intitled, *Britannia Languens*, published in the year 1680, chiefly with a view to evince, that England's national commerce had been for some years in a consumptive way; (though it is certain that Dr. D'Avenant, and several others, fix on that very year 1680, as the summit of our commercial prosperity,) exhibits an account of all the gold and silver coined in England, from the first of October 1599, to November, in this year 1765, being seventy-six years; which he has divided into four periods: shewing how our coinage increased in the three first periods, proportionably to the increase of our trade and navigation; and how much the coinage decreased in the fourth period, taken (he says) from a printed account of the said year 1675, viz.

Coined,	£.	s.	d.
" First period, nineteen years and a half, from October 1599, to March 1619, coined in gold and silver	4,779,314	13	4
" Second period, nineteen years, from March 1619, to March 1638,	6,900,042	11	1
" Third period, nineteen years, from March 1638, to May 1657,	7,733,521	13	4½
" Fourth period, eighteen years and a half, from May 1657, to November 1675	2,238,997	16	0¾

(About one million of which last sum was harp and cross money, and broad gold, &c. re-coined.)

In seventy-six years, total coined in England, is £. 21,651,876 13 10

"So" says this author, "our coinage yearly increased from the first to the second period; and from the second to the third; but annually decreased from the third to the fourth period: and from thence he inferred, that we were decayed and over-balanced in our foreign trade, and that our coin was exported to make good that balance." Which position is certainly over-stretched; for although it may be, and certainly was true, that, in the three first periods, England possessed, almost alone, all the trade of the woollen drapery with the north and west parts of Europe, until between the third and fourth periods, that the Dutch gained much of it from us; and that, towards the close of the fourth period, France also pushed into it; yet it surely by no means follows, that because we did not coin so much between the said third and fourth periods, as formerly, we therefore were losers by the general balance of our annual commerce within that time: it has, however, been already observed, under the year 1664, from Dr. D'Avenant's account, that we were greatly losers in the general balance for the year 1662, too much, if not wholly owing to our immense importations from France: yet, upon this famous topic, we must, after all, agree with Sir Josiah Child, as we have observed under the year 1670, that it is extremely difficult to fix, with precision, the general balance

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1675 lance of a nation's commerce, any other way than by his judicious third position. This indeed is, in good part, confirmed even by the author of *Britannia Languens*; who, however, in p. 157, &c. observes, "that the Dutch, long after they became independant states, were ignorant of our new draperies, viz. of bayes, sayes, &c. which we had learnt from the Flemings, driven out by D'Alva's persecution; and we supplied the Dutch with vast quantities of cloth also, though mostly white, which they died and dressed, and exported to Germany, and many other parts. We had also formerly the sole trade to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Prussia, by our Eastland Company, formerly very flourishing, and called the Royal Company:" (I have not met with this appellation any where else) "our exports to all which northern countries are greatly lessened by the Dutch having set up mighty woollen manufactures, and the Flemings renewed theirs. We had formerly the sole trade of woollen cloathing to France, to the value of six hundred thousand pounds yearly, but now none at all. Also the sole trade to Turkey, though of late the Dutch are become our competitors therein; and the French have been long nibbling at this trade:" (they are now in our days far from being nibblers therein) "and in the Spanish trade both the French and Dutch largely share with us. What is yet more grievous, we import much fine cloth from the Dutch yearly," (this, we have elsewhere observed to be owing to that nation's then better dressing of our fine white cloths, and then returning them to us for the use of our richest people, now long since at an end) "and till of late we imported to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds yearly in stuffs and druggets.

"Formerly" continues our author, "we had the sole trade to Portugal, but now the French and Dutch are our competitors, as they are also to Italy, where we formerly supplied all. The Venetians also supply and vend much cloth there. We kept the monopoly of the woollen manufacture to most parts of the trading world, during all the reign of King James the First, and the greatest part of that of King Charles the First. This was our principal jewel: and as, at the same time, our imports were less than of late, no wonder our coinage was so great."

Thus we receive not a little light into the history of our woollen manufacture from this able author, whose work, though written with some seeming exaggeration here and there, is still worth perusal even at this day.

A judicious and candid reader will easily excuse the repetition; which we cannot avoid, of some points in such subjects as these, coming from different authors.

The Dutch East India Company, at this time, got the town of St. Thomas, on the Coromandel coast, into their hands, by assisting the King of Golconda to recover it from the French, to whom he had given it some years before. The French having then taken it from the Portuguese.

In this same year 1675, the English Parliament granted three hundred thousand pounds for building of twenty large ships of war, viz. one first rate ship of fourteen hundred tons; eight second rate ships, of each eleven hundred tons; and eleven third rates, of each seven hundred tons. Such as know the state of the royal navy in our days, know that ships of the above-named rates are several hundred tons larger than these were; and also that they could not now be built for considerably more than the above sum. At the same time the Parliament resolved, for the future to apply the tonnage and poundage duty absolutely for the benefit of the navy-royal; which was no small mortification to the King, who was further displeased at their refus-

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1675 ing him money to take off the anticipations on his own proper revenues : and it was, on that occasion, openly observed, “ that the Parliament or the Public was in no wise obliged to pay “ the King’s private debts, since that would prove a very dangerous precedent hereafter.”

This was a wise and gallant step towards our present most happy parliamentary constitution, when every sum granted by our Parliaments is appropriated specifically ; or else, in certain extraordinary cases, is granted upon account, *i. e.* to be accounted for by the crown officers in the succeeding session of Parliament.

1676 It was in or about the year 1676, that the printing of calicoes was first set on foot in London. As was also first brought into use from Holland to London, the weaver’s loom engine, then called the Dutch Loom Engine. Thus all nations mutually gain the benefit from each other of new inventions and improvements ; none of which can, for any length of time, be absolutely engrossed by any particular first discoverer.

In a manuscript account of Newfoundland, in the author’s possession, written in the year 1677, we find, that in the preceding year 1676, there went thither from England one hundred and two ships, for the cod fishery there ; each ship having twenty guns, and carrying eighteen boats, and for each boat five men ; in all, nine thousand one hundred and eighty men. Their convoy was two ships of war. And the total value of the fish and oil they made there, in that year, was computed at three hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred pounds. How great a nursery then is this fishery for English sailors, and how beneficial for the employment of ship-building, &c. ?

In October 1676, King Charles II. of England, granted his fourth charter to the East India Company, confirming all his former ones, notwithstanding any mis-user, non-user, or abuser, whatsoever of their former rights, liberties, &c. by the company or their servants. What induced the company to obtain this charter was, a great clamour raised against them at this time, on account of their many exclusive privileges, and their enemies went so far as to publish their opinions that their charters were actually void—“ because,” said they, “ the “ crown could not legally grant exclusive privileges and powers, without the concurrence of “ Parliament.” This was boldly said for those times ; previous to the ever famous act of the first year of William and Mary, called the Petition of Rights. The company’s enemies also alleged, “ That their bond debts amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, and as they “ dom had much above that sum in value at any one time, both in their factories in India, “ and upon the seas ; they thence inferred that they traded wholly with their creditors money, “ of which they made forty per cent, whilst they allowed their bond creditors but six per cent.” —(This last point, of itself, surely could be no just ground for clamour.) “ So that should “ their factories and goods be destroyed by war, &c. how could they secure and main- “ tain the present nominal value of their capital stock, and, at the same time, fully satisfy “ their creditors.”—This objection holds equally true against all trading companies, and private traders also.

That Company, having now made a considerable profit by their trade, did, in a general court, decree, that the said profits, instead of making a dividend thereof to their proprietors) should be added to their principal or capital stock, so as just to double the same : for whereas, their whole capital was, till now, only three hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-one pounds five shillings, every share of fifty pounds was now made one hundred, whereby their new capital was made up to seven hundred and thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-two pounds ten shillings.

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In this same year, a great part of the wealthy and extensive burgh of Southwark was destroyed by a sudden fire. Their houses having then been built of timber, lath, and plaister, the legislature thereupon appointed commissioners, by an act of the twenty-ninth of King Charles II. cap. iv. for rebuilding the same; which was done all of brick walls, in a more substantial, regular, and beautiful manner than before; as it still appears at this day, from London Bridge-foot up to St. Margaret's Hill, and beyond it.

In this year, the famous Sir William Petty first wrote his treatise of Political Arithmetic. Perhaps all his computations and inferences are not quite unexceptionable, as partly observed in our preface, yet, as he was well versed in the theory of commerce, we may safely avail ourselves of some of his useful remarks on its increase in England, from the year 1636 to the year 1676, viz.

"That in the said forty years space, the taxes and public levies in our three kingdoms have been much greater than at any time before, and yet the said kingdoms have gradually increased in wealth and strength within that space.

I. "With respect to housing; the streets of London shew it to be double the value of what it was forty years before. And they have also increased therein at Newcastle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portsmouth, and Cowes.—In Ireland also, at Dublin, Kinsale, Coleraine, and Londonderry.

II. "With respect to shipping; the navy royal is now triple or quadruple of what it was forty years ago, and before the Sovereign was built. The" (coal) "shipping of Newcastle is now about eighty thousand tons; and could not then be above a quarter of that quantity.

"First, Because London is doubled in people.

"Secondly, Because the use of coals is at least doubled; they being heretofore seldom used in chambers, as they now are,—nor were there so many bricks burnt with them as of late,—nor did the country on both sides the Thames make use of them as now.

"Above forty thousand ton of shipping are employed in the Guinea and American trade; which trade in those days was inconsiderable. The quantity of wines imported was not then near so great as now. And, in short, the customs did not then yield one third of the present value.

III. "The number and splendour of coaches, equipages, and household-furniture, have much increased since that period.

IV. "The postage of letters is increased from one to twenty."—This surely is exaggerated.

V. "And his Majesty's revenue is now trebled.

VI. "Upon calling in the money at the restoration, which had been coined during the usurpation, it amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, or one-seventh part of the whole cash of the nation, or five million six hundred thousand pounds, or, allowing for hoarded money, to six millions."

In this same year, the Duke of York, who was on all occasions earnest for the promotion of commerce, and the Lord Berkeley, &c. fitted out a ship, commanded by Captain Wood, for an attempt, once more, to find a north-east passage to India, accompanied with a ship of the King's. They were encouraged to this attempt, after it had been so long despaired of, by several new reports and reasonings, some of which seem not to have been very well grounded. As,

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1676 I. On the coast of Corea, near Japan, whales had been found with English and Dutch harpoons sticking in them.—This is no infallible proof that ships could get thither by a north-east passage, although whales might.

II. That, twenty years before, some Dutchmen had sailed within one degree of the north pole, and found it temperate weather there: and that therefore William Barents, the Dutch navigator, who wintered at Nova Zembla in the year 1596, should have sailed further to the north before turning eastward, in which case, said they, he would not have found so much obstruction from the ice.

III. That two Dutch ships had lately sailed three hundred leagues to the eastward of Nova Zembla, but their East India Company had stifled that design as against their interest:—and such like other airy reports. But this attempt proved very unfortunate. They doubled the North Cape, and came among much ice and drift wood, in seventy-six degrees of north latitude, steering to the coast of Nova Zembla, where the King's ship struck upon the rocks, and was soon beat to pieces; and Captain Wood returned home with an opinion, “that such a passage was utterly impracticable, and that Nova Zembla is a part of the continent of Greenland.”

N. B. Not many years ago, in the present eighteenth century, it was reported, that certain Russians from their province of Siberia, eastward of Nova Zembla, had attempted to discover North America, and pretended to have, in part, succeeded; although there never was any clear or authentic account thereof published by the authority of the Russian court. And even if they should actually find a way through that icy ocean of Tartary to Japan, China, and North America, it could be of no service to the rest of Europe, who can attempt no other way thither but either by Waygatz Streights, or else round the north end of Nova Zembla, or, lastly, round by the north side of Spitzbergen: all which have been unsuccessfully attempted by able and experienced pilots of different times and nations; by reason of the huge mountains of ice obstructing all passage, and which probably will remain so to the end of time. It may even be thought doubtful whether that supposed discovery could be made of any great advantage to Russia itself, considering the great land carriage from Siberia to Archangel, or to Petersburg, through such a miserable country.

1677 The people and Parliament of England, being justly alarmed at the great progress of the French King's conquests in the Spanish Netherlands; the House of Commons addressed their King to form alliances in order to secure the said Spanish Netherlands; in the preservation of which, they tell him, in the beginning of this year 1677, both his and their interests are so highly concerned: they addressed him twice on this same account. And although his secret engagements with the French King, for the worst of purposes, viz. to establish an absolute power over his people, and the popish religion, were too strong to incline him seriously to break with him, yet the cries of his people made him, in part, outwardly comply with those repeated addresses: and the Parliament now granted him five hundred and eighty-four thousand pounds, for the building of thirty ships of war, in order to provide for the nation's safety, which, says Rapin, was all that King Charles had as yet obliged himself to. In the mean time, whilst he was plunged in pleasures, and remained quite unconcerned, Louis, who knew our King's heart and indolence, took the cities of Valenciennes and Cambray, also St. Omer, after the Prince of Orange, who had marched to its relief, was defeated at Montcassel, by the Duke of Orleans; by which events, the rest of the Spanish Netherlands were left open on all sides. They again address him to enter into an offensive alliance with the Dutch, and to de-

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clare war against France, which he flatly refused; and therefore adjourned them till winter, and afterwards till April 1678, having first met them on the twenty-eighth of January, in hopes of calming them by the information, that he had made a barely defensive alliance with the Dutch; of which speech we shall treat more at large hereafter.

In February 1677, (N. S.) King Charles concluded a treaty of commerce with France, the substance whereof follows.—General Collection of Treaties, vol. i. p. 170-176.

Articles I. and II. “Both nations may reciprocally traffic to all countries with whom they shall respectively be at peace: and in case that one of the contracting parties shall be at war with another nation, that shall not hinder the other party from trading to that other country with the same merchandize as they might do in time of peace; contraband goods excepted.

III. “Which contraband merchandize is defined to be all implements of war; and also saltpetre, horses, and their harness.

IV. “But not only every thing for the support and convenience of life, but gold and silver, coined and uncoined, are declared not to be contraband; but also,” (which was still more favourable to France) “hemp, flax, pitch, cordage, sails, anchors, masts, boards, and wood wrought of all sorts of trees, and that serve for building of ships, or the repair of them, shall remain free; in such sort, that the subjects of France may not only transport the same from any neutral place to any other neutral place, or even to any place at enmity with the King of Great Britain; or from a place that is an enemy to a place that is neutral; or, lastly, from a place belonging to the enemies of the said King, to another also belonging to his enemies, whether those ports be under the obedience of one prince or state, or of several, with one or all of which the King of Great Britain may be at war. And the like on the side of the Most Christian King: excepting, however, towns actually besieged or invested.

V. “French ships coming into the ports of Great Britain, and intending to go thence elsewhere, shall be detained no longer than to exhibit their passports. And if the said French ships be met in open sea by British ships of war, the latter, keeping at a distance, may send their shallop on board such French ships, and put only two or three men on board, to the end, that the master or owner may exhibit to them his passport; after which, they shall freely proceed on their voyage: And the same for the subjects of the King of Great Britain.

VI. “French ships, passing to a country at enmity with Great Britain, meeting with a British ship of war in her passage; and, in like manner, the ships of British subjects meeting a French ship of war, when they are going to a place at enmity with France, it will not be enough to shew their passports, but also their authentic certificates; to the end it may be known whether there are any contraband goods therein, &c.

VII. “Yet if there should be found any such therein, consigned to an enemy’s port, the searchers are not to go under-deck, nor to open or break into any chests, bales, casks, &c. nor to take any thing out of the ship, till brought into port, and a just inventory be taken in the presence of the custom-house officers:—Much less shall the goods be sold or bartered, till after a fair trial, and a sentence pronounced for confiscation; in which confiscation, the hulk of the vessel, and the lawful merchandize found therein, shall not be comprized.

VIII. “French

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VIII. "French merchandize, found in ships of the enemies of Great Britain, shall be liable to forfeiture, though not contraband. And, on the contrary, the merchandize of the enemies of the King of Great Britain are not to be forfeited, if found in French ships, although the said merchandize make up the best part of the lading of such ships; but still with an exception of contraband goods, which, when taken, are to be disposed of as in the preceding article. In like sort, British merchandize, found in the ships of the enemies of France, shall be liable to confiscation, though not contraband; and, on the contrary, the merchandize of the enemies of France shall not be confiscated if found in British ships, although they be the greatest part of the lading; contraband goods still excepted.—And, in order to prevent a new war, that may happen from injuring the subjects of that crown that shall be at peace, it is agreed, that the ships of the new enemies, laden with merchandize belonging to the crown that shall be at peace, shall not be forfeited, if laden therewith before the end of the term of six weeks after the declaration of the war, between the Soundings and the Naze of Norway; two months between the Soundings and Tangier; two months and a half in the Mediterranean; and eight months in all other parts of the world. In like sort, French goods taken in the ships of the new enemies of Great Britain, shall not be confiscated under this pretence, but restored to the owners; unless they had been put on board after the end of the terms above-noted. However, contraband goods must not be carried into the enemy's ports. And, reciprocally, British effects, found in ships of the new enemies of France, shall not be forfeited under that pretence, but shall be forthwith restored to the owners, unless put on board after the end of the terms before specified: contraband goods, as before, excepted.

IX. X. "Ships of war shall do no injury to merchant ships: and the commanders of privateers shall, for this end, give security to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, or thirty-three thousand livres.

XI. XII. "Both Kings agree to do justice in respect to prizes: and when their ministers complain of unjust sentences pronounced concerning prizes, a re-examination thereof shall be had within one month, and a fresh sentence shall be pronounced in three months after.

XIII. "When a suit is commenced between the captors of a prize and the re-claimers, if sentence be pronounced in favour of the re-claimers, it shall be immediately put in execution, upon giving security, although an appeal (to an higher court) be made: but this shall not be done against the re-claimers.

XIV. XV. "Captors of prizes shall be severely punished, who treat the masters, &c. of those prizes with any kind of cruelty: as shall those also be, who shall take commissions from the enemies of either King, in order to take prizes from his subjects."

The perusal of this treaty of commerce, and of that with the Dutch, under the year 1608, together with other subsequent ones, sufficiently indicates the importance of them; as well as the expedience of commanders in the royal navy, as well as those of merchant ships, and of higher people also, being well acquainted with such treaties; which we have abridged as much as possible, consistent with retaining the entire sense and import of every article thereof. Yet, after all, we must here specially remark, that the transcribing of many old treaties of this kind, does but swell our work, without much instructing our reader; when, perhaps, the very latest treaty with a nation, as France, for instance, with whom we have had frequent wars, shall, in most cases, essentially repeal all preceding ones: which we here mention, to

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1677 prevent an objection which some might start to our not transcribing, as Savary, Postlethwayte, &c. have done, all those obsolete treaties, without propriety or judgment.

In this same year, in England, a new Royal Fishery Company was incorporated, at the head of which was the King's brother, the Duke of York: the Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer; and many other lords, gentlemen, and merchants. It had the pompous title of the Company of the Royal Fishery of England. The King bestowed all the privileges thereon which former companies had enjoyed; beside the granting them a perpetuity, with power to purchase lands, and also twenty pounds to be paid them annually for every dogger or buss they should build and send out for seven years to come; to be paid them out of the customs of the port of London. At first there was paid in a stock of ten thousand nine hundred and eighty pounds, and afterwards one thousand six hundred pounds more. This small capital was very soon exhausted, in the purchasing and fitting out of busses, which were only seven in number; of which number the French took several, with all their lading, &c.—and being run considerably in debt, they found themselves obliged to dispose of their remaining busses and stores, in the year 1680.

However, in the year 1638, Sir Edward Abney and others joined in a new subscription, under the privileges and immunities of the said company's charter. But this attempt also came soon after to nothing. It being perseverance alone that is ever likely to bring a general fishery, in England, to a state of perfection; in which case much time and patience will be required, and many losses and disappointments must be submitted to, which seems not to be the case of all, or of any of our former attempts, in England, for the establishing a general fishery.

There having been many doubts and objections started, about this time, against the East India Company of England, and particularly a famous printed answer in the year 1676, from a Barrister in the Temple, to a Country Gentleman's supposed Letter to him on this Subject; dissuading him from longer trusting his children's fortunes in East India bonds, because as they were not an exclusive company by act of Parliament, they could not legally act as such, and were therefore liable to be over-turned or annihilated, &c.—a very judicious answer came out to this, in the year 1677, entitled, *The East India Trade a most profitable Trade to this Kingdom; and best secured and improved in a Company, and a Joint-stock: represented in a Letter, written upon the occasion of Two Letters, lately published, insinuating the contrary.*—Possibly by Sir Josiah Child.

His general positions are,

- I. "That the East India trade takes off a considerable quantity of our native commodities and manufactures.
- II. "It supplies us, cheaply, with the most necessary commodities for our own consumption.
- III. "It brings us some commodities for our further manufacture.
- IV. "It furnishes us with large quantities of goods for foreign markets.
- V. "It employs a great number of English shipping.
- VI. "It occasions the building of more ships of burden and force, fit for warlike services and defence of the kingdom, than any other trade whatever.
- VII. "It brings in a considerable revenue to the King's custom's, and the greatest addition to the kingdom's stock."

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Thus evinced.

I. “ It employs, in a direct course, to and from India, thirty to thirty-five great ships, from three hundred to six hundred tons burthen; and in seven years past there have been built, new from the stocks, twenty-six to twenty-eight ships, from three hundred and fifty to six hundred tons each: whereby there is a very large addition of strength for defence of the kingdom, as those ships, equipped in a warlike manner, will carry from forty to sixty, and seventy guns each.

II. “ The exports of the Company in one year, (viz. part of 1674 and 1675) may be about four hundred and thirty thousand pounds, whereof about three hundred and twenty thousand pounds in bullion, and about one hundred and ten thousand pounds value in cloth and other goods.

III. “ That the returns from India, for that adventure, are callico, pepper, saltpetre, indigo, silk, raw and wrought, drugs, &c. which, on sale in England, produce at least eight hundred and sixty thousand pounds, and often as much more.

IV. “ The amount of customs, freight, and all other charges, of officers, warehouses, carts, lighters, porters, &c. is altogether as much the kingdom's stock, as the clear profit added to the company's stock is.

“ So that there is, in a plain and direct way, added to the stock of the kingdom, by the company's trade, in one year, if no accident intervene, four hundred and thirty thousand pounds, deducting, however, about sixty thousand pounds, being the charges in India for the maintenance of factors, factories, forts, garrisons, negotiations with Princes, &c.

V. “ The private trade allowed by the company to owners of ships, commanders, and seamen, as well as to their factors, &c. for diamonds, pearls, musk, ambergris, &c. for which there may be annually exported, in goods, about forty, or fifty thousand pounds, and in bullion from eighty to one hundred thousand pounds, yields, at home, in returns, two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand pounds. So here is one hundred and thirty thousand pounds further addition to the stock of the kingdom. Both together making five hundred thousand pounds annually added to the nation's stock, by the East India commerce, beside all the consequences depending further thereupon, which come next to be considered.

For illustration hereof, let it be observed, with regard to the state of our East India trade, in the consequences depending thereupon, viz.

I. “ In reference to the exports; principally of so great a quantity of gold and silver; what is very obvious, is, that if, in any foreign trade, one hundred thousand pounds exported in bullion, brings back as much merchandize as, being re-exported to other foreign parts, brings home two hundred, or two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, that must be a gainful commerce to the nation.

II. “ The goods annually exported, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand pounds, consist of sixty, or seventy thousand pounds in English goods, as drapery, tin, and lead, and the rest is in foreign commodities. Our lead, it is true, might be taken off by other European nations; although we had no trade to India ourselves, but the sale of the drapery and tin, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, (which now gains fifty thousand pounds to the nation) would not be taken off at all; for no other nation carries English cloth to India, and for tin, there are great quantities of it in some parts of India.

III. There

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III. " There may be annually consumed in England, near to the value of two hundred, two hundred and thirty, or two hundred and forty thousand pounds in India goods, viz. about the value of six thousand pounds in pepper, thirty thousand pounds in saltpetre, thirty thousand pounds in silks, raw and manufactured; one hundred and sixty thousand pounds in calicoes; and about ten to fifteen thousand pounds in indigo and other drugs." As yet there is no mention of tea, nor coffee; the former, because the company had not, till after this time, settled a trade to China; and the latter was hitherto solely supplied by the Turkey Company. " All the rest of the returns above-mentioned, amounting to six hundred and thirty thousand pounds value, are transported to foreign markets, as is also most part of the private trade. The pepper, I reckon at eight-pence per pound weight, so necessary a spice for all people, which formerly cost us three shillings and four-pence per pound, being no-where to be had but in India; and were we obliged to have it from the Dutch, they would probably raise it as high as they do their other spices: yet, supposing it so low as sixteen-pence per pound, it would be a further annual expence of six thousand pounds to the nation.

" Saltpetre is of that absolute necessity, that without it we should be like the Israelites under the bondage of the Philistines, without the means of defending ourselves. Possibly, even if we had no Indian trade, we might, in time of peace, purchase it, though it would cost us double what it now does. But, in case of war, where could we have sufficient: not surely from our enemies. Or, would our gentlemen, citizens, and farmers, be willing to have their cellars and rooms dug up, (as in King Charles the First's reign) and be deprived of freedom in their own houses, exposed and laid open to saltpetre men: which method would be besides, by no means equal to the affording us the necessary supplies.

" Raw silk we might possibly be supplied with from other parts, though not so cheap as from India. And India wrought silks serve us instead of so much Italian and French silks, which would cost us almost treble the price of Indian silks; to the kingdom's loss of above twenty thousand pounds yearly.

" Calicoes serve instead of the like quantity of French, Dutch, and Flemish linen, which would cost thrice as much: hereby two or three hundred thousand pounds is yearly saved to the nation. And if the linen manufacture were settled in Ireland so as to supply England, our calicoes might be transported to foreign markets." This is now, in our time, happily verified and effected.

" Indigo is necessary for dying and perfecting of our own manufactures. And the other drugs, &c. brought from India, are inconsiderable.

IV. " The value of six hundred and thirty thousand pounds in India goods of the company's, and two hundred thousand pounds value of private traders, are transported yearly to France, Holland, Spain, Italy, Turkey, &c. whereby those trades are the better carried on by the English, to a further advantage of the kingdom; and cannot be calculated to yield less than ten per cent. clear profit; being eighty-three thousand pounds yearly: yet, as some part may be exported by strangers,—I shall estimate the net profit at only sixty thousand pounds, being so much further addition to the nation's stock.

" And here, by the way, it may be observed, that the kingdom has a greater advantage when the trade is carried on by the English merchant, than when it is carried on by strangers, as all the profits arising by the trade of the one is brought back to England; whereas the profits of the other remain abroad. This I remark in order to rectify the mis-

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1677 “ take of some, who say, it is all one to the kingdom, so the trade be carried on, whether it
 “ be by the English or by strangers: as also to evince, that it is the nation’s interest to en-
 “ courage the King’s subjects in their trade, preferably to strangers.

V. “ The said India goods are exported in English shipping, whereby much employment
 “ is given to our own ships,” (and mariners) “ the very freight of which, being about five
 “ thousand tons, cannot amount to less than twenty thousand pounds, being so much fur-
 “ ther addition to the kingdom’s stock.

VI. “ From all which considerations there will arise a full and clear answer to the objection:
 “ made against this trade, because of the quantities of gold and silver exported to India.—
 “ and thus the sending out of our treasure increaseth it: whereas to coop it up would render
 “ it wholly usefess. Had we all the gold and silver in the world, if it were absolutely kept
 “ and confined within this kingdom, it would neither enlarge our trade, nor render us more
 “ formidable in strength and power.

“ If some other foreign trades do waste and consume our treasure,—let us find out expedi-
 “ ents to prevent it. But, in the mean time, it would be destructive to stop the current of
 “ our real supplies of it, by breaking in upon, or obstructing the course of the East India
 “ trade, by which, if the kingdom had not been supplied, all its treasure might, ere this,
 “ have been exhausted.

Next, That the East India trade cannot so well be secured and improved, for the benefit
 and advantage of the kingdom, in any other way, as by a company in a joint-stock; let it be
 considered,

First, “ No other nation trades thither otherwise than by a joint-stock, except the Portu-
 “ guese, who are now almost beaten out of the trade.

Secondly, “ It is well known, that presents are to be made to Kings, Princes, and Gover-
 “ nors of India, for obtaining licence to traffic there:—and there is also a necessity of hiring
 “ some great house, for securing their persons and goods there, at each respective place.

Thirdly, “ Our company has been at vast charges and hazards for obtaining freedom of
 “ trade, and many great privileges and immunities, both from the Great Mogul, and very
 “ many other Kings, Princes, and Governors; and likewise for the security of their factors,
 “ estates, and trade; also to purchase, build, and maintain great houses and store houses in
 “ all the places of their residences, called factories; and in some places, as at Fort St. George,
 “ Bombay, and St. Helena, to make considerable fortifications, and to keep large garrisons.

“ If therefore this trade should be left entirely open, so as every one might trade thither as
 “ he pleased, would not all the before-named privileges and immunities purchased at great ex-
 “ pence by our company, be either lost, or else rendered void and insignificant: and when
 “ every man minds only his own particular concern, the national honour and interest would
 “ decline.—Would not the Kings and Governors in India, and the European nations, our
 “ competitors there, take all opportunities to make their advantages, and to put hardships
 “ and injuries upon the English, wanting united counsels and strength to right themselves.
 “ Would not every one strive to supplant each other, and thereby give a handle to the Indians
 “ to raise the prices of Indian commodities, and lower the prices of English goods: of which
 “ there hath already been too sad experience in three or four years of open trade, from the
 “ year 1653 to 1657; in which time the English began to lose their ancient honour and
 “ esteem. And many indignities and wrongs were put upon them by the Kings and Gover-
 “ nors there, forcing the English to sell their goods, and to take others, at such prices as

“ they

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1677 “ they pleaded. English commanders have been put to death, and their ships and goods seized without means of redress. Private traders, by outvying and underselling one another in those four years, brought the trade to be often a losing one, and at best but seldom a saving one. It was from the consideration of these and many other disorders in the open trade, that, in the year 1657, it was agreed to lay aside all private trade, and to open books for subscribing to a new joint stock.

“ In or about the year 1665, the company took a perfect account and balance of all their stock, adventures, and debts; when it appeared, That the stock was really worth one hundred and thirty per cent.; though such were then the humours and fancies of people, that it was actually sold at about seventy per cent. Yet, since then, the value of the stock has advanced to two hundred and forty-five per cent.

“ From this short view of things,” says our author, “ I leave it to the consideration of all judicious persons, whether it be not inconsistent with the kingdom’s interest, and irrational and unjust, to lay open the East India trade. Inconsistent with the public interest, to part with or hazard the loss of all those places of strength, and those privileges the company enjoys, but which cannot be maintained in an open trade.—Irrational, to make a second trial, after so many inconveniencies experienced by the first.—And unjust, to deprive the present subscribers in the East India stock of their future advantages, who have run so many hazards, and been at such vast expences for promoting and securing the trade.

“ With respect to what the Barrister’s letter alleges, viz. That the East India trade should be managed by what is called a Regulated Company, as our Turkey trade is; it certainly cannot be so well secured and improved for the kingdom’s advantage by a regulated as by a joint stock company; for the following reasons;—

First, “ Almost every place in India is under a distinct Rajah or King: and considering that other European nations are still watching all opportunities of instilling into those Rajahs or Kings contemptuous thoughts of the English, for their own ends; this renders it absolutely necessary to have frequent applications to and treaties with those Kings, and that the English should appear to them with some port and grandeur, as being able to carry on a considerable trade with them, and to force them to a performance of their treaties and agreements. The state of affairs in Turkey is far otherwise, where there is but one Prince, with absolute dominion: so that, by one ambassador at court, and two or three consuls at residences of commerce, to hold correspondence with him, all matters for the security of the trade may be transacted.

“ All which being duly premised, all well wishers to England, it is presumed, would desire to have the forts, factories, and privileges in India, which, by the present joint stock of the East India Company have been obtained, purchased and settled at the expence of perhaps three hundred thousand pounds, (and whereof the proprietors of the said joint stock are at present the owners and possessors) to be maintained and preserved to our nation; as also, that the said places of strength, houses, and privileges, being justly the property of the said joint stock, they ought not to be divested thereof, without an equitable compensation,—even as much as if it were within the kingdom of England. And that the succeeding trade to India should both give such compensation, and maintain the growing charge.—And as the present design of some is, that the now joint stock should cease and determine, after getting in what goods and debts they have abroad, and that the trade, for the future, should be carried on by particular persons, according as every one should think good to
“ adventure,

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1677 “adventure, without limitation, either in quantity, quality, or in the prices of goods sent out or returned home: yet, that there should be a company legally established, to be empowered to raise impositions on the trade, for the maintaining of the said forts, factories, and privileges, for the equal benefit of all English people trading to India.—Also to make treaties with Kings and governors in India, as formerly. And also, out of such impositions, to allot a proportion, probably not less than ten thousand pounds per annum, for the loan of the said places and privileges; and the rest of the money to be employed for the charge of the future government, and for treaties, &c. upon the plan of the Turkey Company.

“Now, let it be considered, how insufficient this proposed method is for securing this trade to the English nation, in comparison of the present one, wherein there is a fund of at least a million sterling, constantly engaged for the necessary defence of the trade. And it will surely be found difficult to know what proportion to lay, by way of imposition, as depending arbitrarily on the humour of particular persons, whether they will trade or not, and for what value: so that there will be a certain expence, and an uncertain revenue. And it may frequently happen, that the former may be the greater, and the latter the least: and this too, perhaps, in a time of war, when, there being little trade, there will be little to be raised by way of impositions; because, when hazards are great, few will care to adventure; whereby all may fall into the enemy’s hands.

“The Gentleman Barrister insinuates, in the close of his late letter, That the East India trade might be so managed, under a regulation, that five times the trade might be gained, and the prices of our own manufactures of cloth, &c. advanced by the multitude and freedom of buyers; and the prices of goods imported, much lessened to the English, and much more trade gained with India commodities to other parts of the world.”

“But I am of a contrary opinion.

“For, first, How probable is it, that private traders, in a regulated company, should gain so much as, and far less, five times more than a joint-stock company?—Those supposed trades to be gained are chiefly the trades to China and Japan; where our trade, once well settled, might take off more of our woollen manufactures, and might return gold, silver, and copper, in some measure to supply the trade to other parts of India, without exporting so much treasure from Europe. But those trades are not so easily gained as some may fancy;” (this shews we had as yet no trade with China) “and least of all by the stocks of private persons: as the present East India Company, even with so great a joint-stock, have in vain made frequent trials to gain those trades. Yet, with China, the company, after many attempts and expences, are in hopes to succeed; but with respect to Japan, only one undertaking for the gaining the trade to it proved ineffectual, with the loss of no less than fifty thousand pounds; which great sum would have undone private adventurers.

“As to what our Barrister suggests, That a regulated company would advance the price of our manufactures, by the multitude and freedom of buyers, and also lessen the price of goods imported, to the English, &c. upon a due and serious examination, it will be found, according to the true maxims of trade, and dictates of reason, to be quite otherwise.—For, who is there, that hath in any competent degree studied and considered trade in reference to the kingdom’s interest, but knows, that all buying and selling at home, from one to another, is but a mere changing of hands; neither adding to, nor diminishing, the nation’s stock or wealth. It is dear selling, or rather the selling of great quantities of our native

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“ commodities and manufactures in foreign parts, and our cheap purchasing of commodities in foreign countries, whereby our kingdom is enriched.—For, if we do but consider the consequence of this Barrister’s position, it will clearly appear, that particular Englishmen, traders to India, vying with one another in the buying of cloth, &c. in England, may, for a year or two, raise the prices in England; and, on the other hand, they may lower the prices, and undersell one another, to get off their goods in India, and make returns; some, perhaps, selling cheaper than the prime cost, whilst others may not be able to put off their goods; and so, perhaps, let their ships return dead-freighted, &c.—What probability is there, then, of their continuing to send any thereafter, or that the exportation of our English manufactures should increase?—Whereas the present joint-stock company have so well managed their trade, that from one hundred to four hundred cloths, at most, formerly exported, they now annually export four thousand whole broad-cloths, and upwards.

“ And, with respect to goods imported from India, the multitude of buyers in India raising the prices there, and of sellers in England lessening the prices here, cannot but be very contrary to the kingdom’s interest.—Because, not above one fourth part of the India goods imported are consumed in England, the other three-fourths being exported to foreign parts. Now, if the prices of what is consumed in England be lowered, the like must inevitably follow for the other three-fourths exported: so that the nation really loses by the cheap selling of India commodities in England. And our real interest is, to buy cheap in India, and sell dear in Europe.

“ With respect to building ships of great burthen, so much for the public interest, it cannot be imagined that private persons can effect the same in proportion to what the joint-stock company has done.

“ The joint-stock company is moreover far more national, with respect to the number of persons who have benefit thereby, than possibly it could be under a regulation.—For then, none could trade to India but merchants who understand trade, and only such as have great estates, and are able to stay two years, at least, out of their money: so that the trade would be confined into a few hands, one hundred, or one hundred and fifty, at most. Whereas in the joint-stock, noblemen, clergymen, gentlemen, widows, orphans, shopkeepers, and all others, may have stocks there, and reap equal benefit thereby.

“ There are, at this day, about six hundred persons who appear on the company’s books to be interested in the East India stock; and, under them, it may be, many more.

This author alleges, “ That the true ground of the present company’s many enemies, proceeds from their not having subscribed at the beginning, nor yet afterwards, when the books were laid open, but are since filled with envy at the company’s prosperity,” &c.

But be the causes of such discontents against that company what they might, this advocate for them has said so much in favour of an exclusive joint-stock company to the East Indies, as seems not easy to be refuted. We are moreover indebted to this able author’s twenty-seven quarto pages, for several very important-historical facts, which otherwise we should not, perhaps, have so well known at this distance of time: which may well apologize for the length of what we may fairly denominate a complete system of the then East India Company’s trade and conduct, and also of the general theory of the commerce to India, which may be said to be suitable to all times and seasons. And we cannot but remark, that, as far as we are able to judge, whatever has since this time been written and published, even down to our own days, on the East India trade, contains nothing materially new, or which may not be found

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1677 to be comprehended in this very dissertation ; although all that has been since that time published for and against the said trade, and also against an exclusive joint-stock, would, to our certain knowledge, fill up a large folio, were they all put together.

In this same year, the Lady Mary, daughter of James Duke of York, was married to William Prince of Orange, afterwards King William the Third of England : her portion being forty thousand pounds sterling.

1678 The former law made in England for burying in woollen, in the eighteenth of Charles, cap. iv. not being well observed, an act of Parliament, of this thirtieth year of that King, cap. iii. repealed it ; and enacted a register to be kept in every parish, by the incumbent, or his substitute, that every thing about the corps of the deceased was made of sheeps-wool ; of which an affidavit shall be made by the relation of the deceased, and lodged with the incumbent, under the penalty of five pounds ; a moiety whereof to go to the poor of the parish, the other to the informer. Nevertheless, such still is the vanity of many of the rich and great, that they continue to pay the penalty, rather than not adorn their deceased friends bodies with fine linen, lace, &c. though so contrary to our true national interest.

The immense importation into England of French wares, of various kinds, gave just umbrage to all wise people, as occasioning a vast annual loss in point of the general balance of of England's trade ; some say, to at least one million sterling, others, to considerably more : because, whilst we were wantonly and without measure importing and using the product and manufactures of France, the wiser French ministry were, from time to time, laying heavier duties upon the English manufactures and product ; so as thereby gradually to drive out of France the consumption of almost all English merchandize, and likewise of all other foreign commodities, by their tariffs of the years 1664, 1667, &c. Hereby the English foreign trade in general languished, rents fell, and all ranks began sensibly to feel its bad effects. Yet they at first imputed this misfortune to a wrong cause, which made the merchants and traders petition the Parliament against the East India and Levant Companies. In conclusion, they discovered the true cause ; whereupon they made such earnest application to the Parliament, as influenced the House of Commons to come to a vote, " That the trade with France was detrimental to the kingdom."

The English were also at this time so justly incensed against the French King's invasions and encroachments, from time to time, on the Spanish Netherlands, and indeed, as far as he could, on all his other neighbours, that the Parliament, in the beginning of this year 1678, passed an act, in the thirtieth Charles II. cap. i. " For raising money by a poll, &c. to enable his Majesty to enter into an actual war against the French King ; and for prohibiting, for three years to come, and to the end of the subsequent session of Parliament, the importation into England of all French commodities whatever." It was indeed more than time for England to interpose, and save the almost expiring liberties of Europe ; whilst, at the same time, she put some stop to an inundation of French wines, brandies, silks, linen, paper, salt, and an innumerable variety of frippery, millinery and haberdashery wares, toys, &c. Which prohibition, and that of the wear of East India manufactures, brought the general balance greatly in our favour in the course of twenty years. This law was passed much against King Charles's inclination, who was a constant pensioner of France, and a determined foe equally to the religion and liberties of his own kingdom. But the ferment of the people of England was at this time so great, by the discovery of the Popish Plot, &c. that he was obliged to comply.

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The authors of this time say, that, until after this prohibition, the annual exports of England, on an average, did not exceed three millions sterling; but that, in about twenty years after, the exports had gradually increased to near seven millions yearly. Which vast increase was principally occasioned by the great increase and exportation of our own woollen, silk, linen, iron, and other manufactures, since the prohibition of commerce with France; and partly also to the prohibition, some years after enacted, of the wear in England of East India manufactures; and likewise, in part, to the enlarged demand from our own American colonies of all sorts of manufactures and necessaries.

The Popish Plot, and the French encroachments in the Netherlands, had created such a violent ferment, as obliged King Charles to enter into a perpetual defensive alliance with the Dutch, for their mutual preservation and guarantee; concluded on the third of March, 1678, new stile.

And in July was concluded an alliance between those two potentates, for compelling the French King, in consequence of a treaty at this time held at Nimeguen, between them, the Emperor, and Spain, to restore to Spain the towns and forts of Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guislain, Binch, and the duchy of Limburg, &c. As also all that has been taken from the Emperor and empire; to restore also Lorraine to the Duke of that name. The King of Great Britain, for those ends, stipulated to furnish one-third more of naval force than the States-General, and the States to furnish one-third more of land-forces in the Netherlands than King Charles.

In August was concluded a treaty at Nimeguen, between France and the States-General, under the King of Great Britain's mediation; concerning which all that is needful to be recited is as follows:

“ Article VIII. The town and chatellanie of Maestricht shall be restored to the States-General of the United Provinces.

“ XIII. The States-General engage to guarantee the present peace and engagements which Spain is now making with France. And, by a separate article, France was to restore to the Prince of Orange his principality of that name, and his other dominions in France.”

On the same day was also concluded at Nimeguen, a treaty of commerce, navigation, and marine, between France and the States-General, in substance as follows:

“ Article VII. The subjects on both sides shall pay no higher duties than the natives in general.

“ IX. No refuge shall be given in the ports of either party to such as shall have taken any prizes from the other party; but, if driven thither by stress of weather, they shall depart as soon as possible.

“ XI. The laden ships of either party, driven by storm, or otherwise, into any port of the other party, shall not be compellable to unlade or to sell their said merchandize there.

“ XIII. XIV. XV. The ships of either party may freely traffic with the enemies of either of them; excepting with contraband merchandize, defined to be all implements of war, saltpetre, horses, and their harnesses.

“ XVI. XVII. But the following shall not be deemed contraband goods, viz. corn and grain, beans, oil, wine, salt, and other things for the sustenance of life; all which may be freely carried to an enemy, unless to a place invested or besieged. And such ships designed for an enemy's port, and putting into any of the ports of either party, shall only be obliged to shew their passports, without being searched or detained.”

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1678 The following articles, viz. XX. XXI. XXII. are the same as in the commercial treaty of the year 1677, between England and France, relating to merchant ships at sea by ships of war of the other party, and wherein contraband goods may be found.

“ XXX. Either party may build, buy, or freight, in each others dominions, any number of ships of war, or for merchandize, and also such ammunition as they shall want.

“ XXXI. Ships of either party, driven on the coasts of the other party, shall be treated with justice and humanity.

“ XXXII. May countenance no pirates, nor the exiles of each others dominions.

“ XXXIII. XXXIV. Merchants may make use of such advocates in each others country as they shall think fit; and may keep their books of accounts in what language they shall think best: and may also settle consuls therein.

“ XXXV. Neither party shall suffer any ships of war of another power to come and make prize, within their ports, havens, or rivers, upon one anothers subjects.

“ XXXVIII. This treaty shall be in force for twenty-five years to come.”

A separate article relates to the fifty sols per ton upon strangers ships sailing out of the ports of France, viz. That this duty shall not derogate from the equality which, in other respects, is by the above-named seventh article of this treaty established on both sides. But that Dutch ships shall pay the said fifty sols per ton, as other nations do: but this subsidy shall be only paid by Dutch ships at going out of the French ports, but not at their coming in. And if laden with salt, they shall pay but half that duty. And the States may, if they please, lay a similar proportional imposition on French ships going out of their ports.

On the seventeenth of September, peace was signed at Nimeguen, between Louis XIV. of France and Charles II. of Spain.—But the stipulations in favour of Spain fell much short of those which had been agreed upon in the before-named treaty between King Charles the Second of England, and the States-General: for, only Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Oudenarde, St. Guislain, and the duchy of Limburg, were restored to Spain, together with Ghent and its citadel; and, in Catalonia, the city of Puicerda. On the other hand, Spain was obliged to yield up to France, Valenciennes, Cambray, Condé, Bouchain, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Peperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bayvay, and Maubeuge, with their dependencies; also the county of Burgundy, with the city of Bezançon. Thus, declining Spain, by every treaty with France since 1659, was compelled to cede to her many noble and strong cities, and extensive territories; being deserted by King Charles of England, whose highest interest and glory it would have been to have supported Spain against the greatly increasing power of France.

Soon after this unhappy peace, Louis, taking advantage of the very feeble state of Spain, seized on the strong city of Luxemburg; beside his continually harrassing the remainder of the Spanish Netherlands, by pretended re-unions, contributions, &c.

With respect to the peace at Nimeguen, between the Emperor and Empire and France, it was not formally signed till the third of February, 1679, new stile. Yet, as it was still a part of the same treaty of Nimeguen continued, we here give its substance briefly, as under the above year 1678.

“ Article II. The peace of Munster, or Westphalia, in the year 1648, is declared to be the basis of this treaty.

“ IV. and V. France yields up Philipsburg to the Empire; and the Emperor Leopold yields up Friburg to France.

“ XII.

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1680 tions against this company, by the Turkey Company, in the year 1681, before the privy council, make the sum divided amount to two hundred and sixty thousand pounds in 1680, which they allege, not to have been all merely from their profits, but partly out of their principal. See more of this subject under the year following. "And upon an exact enquiry it will be found, that this stock is so engrossed, that about ten or twelve men have the absolute management; and that about forty persons divide the major part of the gains, which this last year has been to some one man twenty thousand pounds; to others ten thousand pounds apiece."

The Turkey Company also preferred their usual complaint against their importing of raw silk: so, between those two, the India Company was neither to import raw nor wrought silks; yet the grand committee for trade, to whom that house referred it, did nothing material at that time.

N. B. We have shewn, under the year 1676, that its capital stock, by doubling, was then made up to seven hundred and thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-two pounds ten shillings. Thus we may see how hard it is to come at the naked truth in disputes of any kind, and most of all where property or interest is affected.

This same year, 1680, gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania, in North America, in north latitude between the beginning of forty to forty-three degrees. That country, till now, was mostly a part of Virginia, and another part of it was part of New York colony. Sir William Penn, an admiral, had obtained a promise from King Charles the Second of a grant of this country; but he dying soon after, his son, Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time, (his charter being dated on the twenty-eighth of February, 1680)-which he designed for a retreat or asylum for the people of his religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts, &c. Mr. Penn, therefore, carried with him a large embarkation of those quakers, afterwards from time to time, joined by many more from Britain and Ireland.

At his first arrival there, he found many English families in it, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations, which highly merit to be known by all persons who would apply to colonization. The true wisdom, as well as equity of his unlimited toleration of all religious persuasions, as well as his kind, just, and prudent treatment of the native Indians; also his laws, policy, and government, so endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread the fame of his whole œconomy, that, although so lately planted, it is thought, at this day, to have more white people in it than any other colony on all the continent of British America, New England alone excepted.

Mr. Penn, who was a favourite of the Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second, two years after, viz. in the year 1682, had a grant from his Royal Highness of the town and tract of Newcastle, and the two lower counties on the great river Delaware, part of his province of New York: these are now called the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, and are no inconsiderable addition to his province of Pennsylvania. Mr. Penn's beautiful and superb plan of his capital city of Philadelphia, still strictly followed to this day, and drawing constantly nearer to perfection, may serve for a pattern to the richest country on earth.

At that city, for, it truly merits that appellation, they constantly build and employ many good ships; those of even five hundred tons may lye close to their fine quay; with which they trade to our sugar colonies with their corn, peas, flour, biscuit, beef, pork, fish, pipe staves, peltry,

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1680 peltry, lumber, horses, &c. in exchange for sugar, rum, molasses, ginger, pimento, and foreign silver, &c. So greatly does this colony increase in people, that it is thought already nearly to equal New England, and that it will very soon surpass it. It seems the landed gentlemen of many parts of Ireland, and particularly in the north of it, had raised their rents so high, that many of the tenants threw up their farms and withdrew to Pennsylvania; so that in and about the year 1729, some thousands of them went thither, beside the English, Welch, and Scots who went thither then and since, and also many German Protestants; all of whom are generally well settled, and are much employed in raising of hemp and flax, and other new materials for our British manufactures, as drugs for dyers, &c. iron, and copper. They even carry their corn, fish, pipe-staves, &c. as far as Italy, and returning to Britain, they there load woollen, silk, and linen, for cloathing, household furniture, hardware, and every thing else that is wanted for that colony. They get silver also by their clandestine trade with the Spanish main: and their logwood trade, which they import into England, helps to pay for what they bring back.—Thus the great evil of persecution and restraint, for innocent conscientious opinions, has, once more, proved the accidental occasion of peopling and improving one of the finest provinces of British America.

Tangier being, in this year, besieged by the King of Morocco, King Charles II. sent a message to the House of Commons, to recommend its preservation, and its importance to the English commerce in the Mediterranean; and that the two millions already expended on it would be entirely thrown away unless speedy and effectual supplies were granted for its relief. But the Commons, in an address to the King, instead of granting this, represented, among other things, “that Tangier had been several times under the command of Popish governors, and its garrison, in a great degree, made up of Popish officers and soldiers, as also that the money given for it had been misapplied; wherefore they could not grant a supply for Tangier, unless they might be assured, that thereby they did not augment the strength of their Popish adversaries.” Thus the jealousy entertained by the Parliament and the nation, that the King intended this place for a curb on their religion and liberties, prevented its being duly supplied, and occasioned, as we shall see, its being abandoned soon after by that King.

1681 At a Parliament at Oxford, which sat but seven days, and was the last of King Charles the Second's reign, the House of Commons first resolved to print their votes, which has been continued ever since, and very much to the benefit and satisfaction of the public, and particularly beneficial in commercial matters.

As far back as the year 1670, the English Levant or Turkey Company began to complain of the East India Company, upon account of the great quantities of raw silk they imported from India, which had formerly been solely imported from Turkey. And in the year 1681, the Turkey Company complained thereof formally to the King's council; whereupon a hearing ensued. The substance of the company's allegations, and the East India Company's answers, being printed this year, are as follow, viz.

I. “The Turkey Company have, for near an hundred years past, exported thither great quantities of woollen manufactures, and other English wares, to the great enriching of the nation; and do now more especially carry out thither to the value of about five hundred thousand pounds yearly: in return for which, the goods imported are raw silks, gauls, grogram yarn, drugs, cotton, &c. all which, being manufactured in England, afford bread to the poor of the kingdom.

I. "On the other hand," say they, "the East India Company export immense quantities of gold and silver, with an inconsiderable quantity of cloth.—In return for which, their chiefest commodities are calicoes, pepper, wrought silks, and a deceitful sort of raw silk.—That the calicoes and wrought silks, being wrought in India, are an evident damage to the poor of England, and the raw silks are an infallible destruction to the Turkey trade; for, as Turkey does not yield a sufficient quantity of other merchandize, to return for one-fourth part of our manufactures carried thither, the remaining three-fourths is wholly poised by raw silk; which, if supplied by that of East India, the most considerable part of the Turkey importations, and consequently the cloth trade of England must fail.

II. "The constitution of the Turkey Company, as being a regulated one, and not driven by a joint-stock, is open and comprehensive, admitting any that are bred merchants; the sons and apprentices of freemen challenge their freedom by seven years service, and others are admitted to be free for twenty-five pounds, if under twenty-seven years of age; and, if above that age, for fifty pounds. Each Freeman to trade for as much as he is able. By which open trading, the Company is increased from seventy persons, who forty years ago wholly drove the trade, to at least five hundred traders.

II. "On the other hand, the East India Company's trade is managed by an exclusive joint-stock;—which stock is so engrossed, that about twelve persons have the absolute management of the whole trade;—and about forty persons divide the major part of the gains;—and do also appropriate to themselves a greater profit in a separate trade, as in musk, ambergris, &c. and, till of late, in diamonds also:—neither can they breed up any persons, under the notion of an East India merchant, because any one may purchase a share of their trade and joint-stock, who is master of money.

III. "The Turkey Company's stock is really greater than their trade will bear, under their present discouragements and checks from the East India Company; and if any damage befalls this stock, every particular member bears the loss of his own adventure, with no damage to the public.

III. "On the other hand, the East India Company having a fixed joint-stock of but about three hundred and seventy thousand pounds," (I know not well how to reconcile this with the order of the East India Company's general court, in the year 1676, whereby they doubled their capital stock, as before-exhibited; unless they, since that year, reversed or postponed that resolution by a subsequent one, which we have not met with as yet) "they find it more for their advantage to trade with money at interest than to enlarge their stock; they have therefore borrowed at least six hundred and fifty thousand pounds on their common seal, at the inconsiderable interest of three or four per cent. thereby trading with the treasure of the nation, and dividing to themselves what sums they please, not only out of profit," (this article is but the literal echo of Mr. Pollexfen's speech in Parliament the preceding year) "but also out of the principal; as last year, when they divided two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, though at the same time they owed above six hundred thousand pounds at interest."

One George White, a writer against this company, in this same year, says, "That in the compass of five years, (*i. e.* from 1676 to 1681) they divided seven hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and forty-seven pounds, and, in two months afterwards, they doubled their stock: this" says he, "was, in all, one million one hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and forty-seven pounds, produced from a capital of three hundred and seventy thousand

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1681 “ thousand pounds only ; by which extravagant dividends, together with above three hundred
 “ thousand pounds for money borrowed at interest, with presents to courtiers, and their quar-
 “ rel with the Mogul, they were brought into great difficulties ; so that they, in a short time,
 “ were forced to stop payment for some months, yet they recovered a little again : although
 “ by seizing many of the Mogul’s ships trading to Arabia, Persia, &c. that quarrel cost the
 “ company, in all, about eight hundred thousand pounds.

“ Upon the whole, it is humbly hoped, for the relief of the now languishing, though most
 “ useful and necessary Turkey trade, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to permit to the
 “ Turkey Company the exercise of trade in the Red Sea, and all other the dominions of the
 “ Grand Signior,” (*i. e.* Arabia and part of Africa) “ according to the large extent of their
 “ charter, and access thereunto by the most convenient passages,”—*i. e.* round by the Cape
 of Good Hope.

“ More reasons against the management of the East India trade, under the present joint-
 “ stock.

I. “ The continuance of the stock, which has now lasted twenty-four years,” *i. e.* from
 1657, “ is against their first proposal in their preamble ; whereby it is agreed, that, at seven
 “ years end, the stock should be balanced and divided, and a new subscription made : and that
 “ any persons, at the said seven years end, might go out or come in, upon a valuation then
 “ to be made known :—though no such thing be hitherto done.

II. “ They have sent over to India, throwsters, weavers, and dyers ; and have actually set
 “ up there a manufacture of silk ; which not only by instructing the Indians in these manu-
 “ factures, but by importing them, so made, into England, is an unspeakable impoverishment
 “ of the working people of this kingdom.

III. “ Although many of the first subscribers have died off, yet there is no liberty for young
 “ merchants to come in on a new subscription.

IV. “ The so long continuance of the stock is also a reason that its whole management is
 “ fallen into so few hands.

V. “ They export great quantities of bullion, and a small quantity of cloth.

VI. “ Of the five hundred and fifty who are members of this company, not above one-fifth
 “ of them are merchants ;—and as these last are always of the committee, hence it comes to
 “ pass that many of the choicest goods are sent home on their private account, but seldom on
 “ account of the joint-stock.

VII. and VIII. “ As their present stock is too scanty, so new subscriptions for two or
 “ three millions, would bring in more merchants, as well as more money to be employed,
 “ and also more ships and mariners. At present they trade not all to Persia, Japan, Arra-
 “ chan, Acheen, Sumatra, Pegu, Madagascar, and many other parts within the limits of
 “ their charter ; although such parts, if traded to, would not only take off much of our
 “ English commodities, but likewise by trading there, from one port to another, would
 “ vend a large proportion of Indian commodities, and the profit and bullion arising there-
 “ by, would, in a great measure, if not totally, prevent the exportation of bullion out of
 “ England.

IX. “ Lastly, the lenders of so large a dead stock as above, (six hundred thousand pounds)
 “ at so low interest as three per cent.—do clearly venture the hazard of their principal, merely
 “ for that low interest : whilst the company makes fifty per cent. of it without any hazard at
 “ all. Those lenders, (in case of whatever losses, captures, &c.) having only the company’s

1081 “ common seal to depend on, which, in such case, is no security at all : for no one member
 “ is obliged to make satisfaction ; as has been evident by several late examples of the like na-
 “ ture.”

The East India Company's answer before the Privy Council :—

I. “ Articles 1, 2, 3. The cloth exported by the East India Company is finer and more
 “ valuable than what is exported by the Turkey Company. And, if we are rightly informed,
 “ the medium of cloths exported by that company, in the last three years, is only about nine-
 “ teen thousand cloths yearly ; a greater quantity than which, in value at least, the East India
 “ Company may probably ship out this year, if their factory at Amoy, in China, be not sur-
 “ prized by the Tartars, of which there was a doubtful report last year. Yet it is admitted, that
 “ before the East India Company had any entrance into the trade of China and Japan, the
 “ Turkey Company's exportation of cloth did much exceed that of the East India Com-
 “ pany.—4. We also say, that it will be found, by the entries at the custom-house, that the
 “ Turkey Company do sent out yearly, beside their cloth, great quantities of pieces of eight
 “ from England, for the purchase of their raw silk in Turkey, as well as great quantities of
 “ the like species of bullion from France, Spain, and Italy, which otherwise would come for
 “ England.

II. “ Concerning the comparison they make between the constitution of the Turkey and
 “ East India companies ; we say, there hath been so much printed in most European lan-
 “ guages, and so many consultations and debates, in the great councils of Europe, concern-
 “ ing joint-stocks for the East Indies ;—and that in all of them the result hath been for a
 “ joint-stock, Portugal excepted ; that we think it would be impertinent to trouble your lord-
 “ ships with a long discourse concerning it.

But briefly,

1. “ It cannot be denied, by any reasonable man, that a joint-stock is capable of a far
 “ greater extension, as to the number of traders and largeness of stock, than any regulated
 “ company can be. Because, in a joint-stock, noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows,
 “ orphans, and all other subjects, may be traders, and employ their stocks therein : whereas,
 “ in a regulated company, such as the Turkey Company is, none can be traders, but such as
 “ they call legitimate, or bred merchants.

2. “ The consequence whereof is, that, if the trade for India was laid open, the ad-
 “ venturers would be fewer, by three quarters, than they now are ; because those only who
 “ have skill, would run away with the trade, as, in fact, they did, between the years 1655
 “ and 1657.

3, 4. “ The number of the present East India adventurers is, at this time, above six hun-
 “ dred. And, with respect to the indulged or private trade, every adventurer hath as full a
 “ liberty, in proportion to his stock, as the governor, deputy, or any of the committees,
 “ the same being not to exceed one-fifth part of his stock ;—and even that has been gradually
 “ reduced every year, though *per saltum* it cannot be done. It not being the work of a year,
 “ nor even of an age or two, to build up an East India trade to perfection, though it may be
 “ destroyed in a day.—Which truth is most eminently visible in the proceedings of the court
 “ of France, these last fourteen years : that King, in the constitution of his East India Com-
 “ pany, spared no cost to obtain the best advice in Europe, by immense rewards, premiums,
 “ &c.—And yet we see that company makes very little of it.—And even our own company,
 “ although they had formerly a stock of one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling,
 “ advanced

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1681 “ advanced no further in profits, but twelve and an half per cent. in fifteen years ; *i. e.* from
 “ 1617 to 1632.

5. “ Although, instead of eighty votes alleged to be now possessed by some one single person in the choice of the committees, we know of no one that has sixty votes ; yet it is most
 “ reasonable, (and has ever been practised both in ours and in the Royal African Company,
 “ and every other joint-stock) that each adventurer should vote according to his stock. Even
 “ since this complaint, which was first started about nine years ago, there have been more
 “ great ships built by the company than were in thirty years before ; and also more woollen
 “ manufactures exported. And the Dutch East India stock, which was at five hundred and
 “ eighty per cent. when ours was but at sixty per cent. has since stood still, or rather since
 “ declined, whilst ours has advanced, so as almost to equalize them in the value of their stock :
 “ and his Majesty’s customs are also more than doubled, from our East India trade. The
 “ company has also made many generous, chargeable, and successful attempts for obtaining
 “ of a trade to the north east parts of India, viz. to Siam, Cochin China, China, and Japan.

III. “ 1. Our East India stock now in trade is, at least, one million seven hundred thousand pounds clear of all our debts.

“ 2. Our debt at interest is about five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and has been reduced from six to three per cent. and such is the company’s credit in the world, that they
 “ cannot persuade their creditors to take their money.

“ 3. And your lordships, in the House of Peers, did formerly resolve, that the abatement
 “ of interest tended to the increase of trade and the advancement of the value of lands of
 “ England.

“ With respect to the Turkey Company’s objections against the East India Company’s importations of

“ I. Raw silk.

“ II. Plain wrought silk ; and,

“ III. Wrought silks mixed with gold and silver ; we say,

“ 1. As for raw silk, it is so essential for the good of the kingdom, that it may well hold
 “ comparison with our sheeps wool and cotton wool.

“ 2. Since our company’s importation thereof, our silk manufactures have increased from
 “ one to four.

“ 3. With respect to the quality of our India raw silk, it is the same as with all other commodities on earth, viz. various, *i. e.* good, bad, and indifferent.

“ 4. Plain wrought silks from India are known to be the strongest and most durable, as well
 “ as the cheapest that comes from any part of the world, and are generally re-exported from
 “ England to foreign parts.

“ 5. Wrought India silks, flowered and striped, do, we confess, a little impede the growth
 “ of our own silk manufactures ; but not to that degree, in any measure, as the raw silk imported from India doth advance it.

“ 6. If they could be effectually forbidden from all parts, the East India Company would
 “ be glad to further an act of Parliament for that purpose, and also for the suppressing of
 “ French silks so much in wear in England, though against a law in being.

“ 7. Wrought India silks, mixed with gold and silver, are not imported by our company,
 “ but by the company’s mere permission ; because if we should not permit them, they would

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1681 “ come in, as much as now, by stealth,—and without paying the King’s custom.” The wear of all which manufactures has since been effectually prohibited.

“ 8. With respect to our company’s sending to India, throwsters, weavers, and dyers, the whole is a mistake, excepting only as to one or two dyers, usually sent to Bengal, and to no other part of India; and this for the nation’s as well as the company’s advantage, especially as to plain black silks, generally exported again.

“ 9. The company, with respect to the Turkey Company’s request to destroy what is esteemed by all foreigners to be the glory of the trade of England; (*i. e.* by extending the Turkey Company’s trade to the Red Sea, &c.) cannot help admiring at the confidence of the proposers.

“ Last! Our East India Company can prevent none, by their charter, from buying their stock, provided they will pay five pounds for their admission.

“ With relation to what the Turkey Company adds, in the second part of their allegations, concerning a valuation of their stock every seven years; our East India Company aver, that, pursuant to a general court, in the year 1664, their stock was valued, at the end of the first seven years, at one hundred and thirty per cent.—and within a year and a quarter after there was fifty per cent. divided, and a second valuation was afterwards made in the same manner.

“ The Turkey Company’s other objections are indeed so trifling and inconclusive, that the East India Company gives them short answers, appealing, at the same time, to their lordships for their weight, &c.”

By our thus exhibiting the allegations of these two rival companies, we learn a great deal of their history: and, although both sides may have somewhat exaggerated in their own favour, it is nevertheless very easy for the reader to determine the truth in all the material points in question between them. The East India Company, amongst their other allegations, made great complaints against the interloping ships for the last three years; and that as they were at one hundred thousand pounds annual expence for forts, soldiers, &c. it would be impossible to carry on a profitable commerce, if interlopers be tolerated. The Turkey Company’s above allegations and remonstrances proved, in the end, unsuccessful; yet the interlopers went on with their voyages to India; one of whom, however, named Captain Thomas Sande, going out with a cargo of fifty thousand pounds value, was, at the company’s request, stopped by the King from going out; and, after a long and curious trial, a decision was made, by the Chief Justice Jeffreys, in favour of the company: so that the ship and cargo was sold off to the proprietor’s great loss: notwithstanding which, the interlopers continued their voyages to India, being therein encouraged by the opinions of some of our greatest lawyers, who freely declared, that the King could not legally obstruct them, by any charter whatever granted to the company, unless their exclusive powers had the sanction of an act of Parliament. Nevertheless, King Charles sent out one of his ships of war to India, for the protection of the company from interlopers and pirates.

At this time, the French King, Lewis the Fourteenth, was in great power and glory. The Emperor Leopold had, in the preceding year, represented to the German dyet his infringements of the treaty of Nimwegen.

First, By maintaining troops in the empire, and retaining of forts, which he ought before have evacuated in consequence of that treaty.

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1681 Secondly, By exactions and contributions, and various other encroachments and violences against the imperial cities of Alsace, &c. But, instead of obtaining redress, he, in the following year, 1681, by treachery and surprize, seized on the rich and very important Imperial and Protestant city of Strasburg, on pretence of finding in the archives of Metz, that all Alsace and Lorraine, all Luxemburg, except its capital, many lordships and villages in Germany, Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Liege, did belong to him, as dependencies on the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; or else of other places yielded to him by the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen. Under such-like pretences, he erected courts or commissions of re-union in Alsace and the Netherlands, for places which, time out of mind, had been subject to other sovereigns, now, merely by the terror of his great power, citing the King of Spain himself and the Electors Palatine and Treves, to appear at those courts to pay him homage. He had already the prefecture of ten free cities in Alsace, who, as Voltaire owns, durst no longer talk of liberty.

“ Strasburg was mistress of the Rhine, says that Frenchman, by means of its bridges, and of itself formed a powerful republic, famous for its arsenal, which contained nine hundred pieces of cannon. Louvois, the French prime minister, corrupted the magistrates to sell their own dear liberty and religion and those of the innocent burghers, whose prayers and tears availed not with their corrupted magistrates, who suffered the French troops, on the thirtieth of September, to enter the city. In the Spanish Netherlands, Louis seized on the town of Alost and its territory, on the sole bare-faced pretence, that his ministers had forgot to insert it in the conditions of the peace of Nimeguen.”

Voltaire, if altogether to be credited, “ described his power to be such at this time, that all Europe, though greatly alarmed at his tyrannical proceedings, was afraid of seeming to oppose him,—he having then sixty thousand sailors; which, he says, was more than England and Holland possessed together at this time, with upwards of one hundred ships of the line, several of which carried one hundred-guns, and some more. At this period also, he constructed or fortified the famous ports of Toulon and Brest, at an immense expence; and Rochefort also, in spite of nature, was made a place of trade and naval force.” He even makes Louis the inventor of bomb-ketches: “ for intending this same year to bombard Algiers with his fleet, he had no idea how it was possible to fix mortar pieces in ships, for the throwing of bomb shells, or any where else but on solid ground. So one Renaud invented vessels without decks, having a false deck in their holds, upon which hollow places were made for the mortar pieces, with which he demolished part of Algiers. This, says Voltaire, being discovered to other nations, became afterwards terrible to France, where it was first invented.”

So much had Colbert, the late prime minister of France, applied himself to the improvement of the naval affairs and commerce of France, that the author of Colbert's life says, that, in this year, the town of St. Malo alone set forth in one month sixty-five well rigged ships for the Newfoundland fishery, beside the ships employed to the Levant, to Spain, and to the West Indies, and also ten ships now on the stocks.

Puffendorf observes, that at this time, the French King's revenue was computed at one hundred and fifty millions of livres: whereas, he observes, that in the last age it did not amount to above nine or ten millions; in Henry the Fourth's time, to sixteen millions! and in the year 1639, to seventy-seven millions. Which vast difference is, in part, to be ascribed to the different value of money since those times, and partly also to the great taxes imposed

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1681 on the subjects: but, without question, the chief reason is, that France, since those times, has found out new ways to draw money out of other countries.

One Andrew Yarranton now published two volumes in quarto, entitled, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land*: amongst other points, he shews, "that tin plates," *i. e.* iron plates tinned over, "were made in England through his means; he having been employed "by some gentlemen to go to Bohemia, where he learned the manner of making them. "When he returned home, he set proper persons at work, who made better ones than any "he had seen abroad, the metal being better and the plates more pliable. But a patent being "obtained by some great man at court (who had found out the scheme) for the sole making "of them, that manufacture was consequently dropped by his employers, who had with so "much charge made the discovery."

That manufacture remained for many years unpractised in England, so that amongst the projects called bubbles of the year 1720, we shall see, this was made one of them: yet since the last named year the making of tinned plates is brought to greater perfection in England than in any other part of the world.

The Protestants in France, being daily more and more persecuted by their most Christian Monarch, King Charles the Second of England was now advised by his council, to issue a proclamation or order of council, promising to those of our religion who should withdraw from France, ample privileges in England; in consequence of which considerable numbers of them came hither, even before the final revocation of the famous edict of Nantes, in the year 1685.

So great was the strength and power of the Dutch in the East Indies, at this time, that Sir William Temple, who was well acquainted with their affairs, observes, "that, beside the "establishment or conquests of their company there, they have, in a manner, erected another "subordinate commonwealth in those parts; where, upon occasion, they have armed forty- "five ships of war and thirty thousand landmen, by the modestest computation." *Miscellanæ*, second edition, 1681.

1682 After the English Hudson's Bay Company had, with much labour and charge in factories and settlements, established their trade with the natives; the French, from Canada, in the year 1682, whilst our company were building a fort at Port Nelson, in the south part of that bay, came privately and suddenly, with two ships, into the river of Port Nelson, and surprized our company's men, dispossessing them of that settlement, and carrying them prisoners to Canada. This was the first time that any French vessel had ever sailed into Hudson's Bay. But this, being a piratical expedition, was disowned by the French King, who promised satisfaction to our company; though whether any adequate satisfaction was really made, does not appear.

Our company there also erected a fort at Charlton isle, whither all the peltry, &c. was to be brought from the other factories, for lading the ships from England. On Albany river and on Hay's island were forts and factories also settled: and the company sent urgent instructions to their governors, by all means to endeavour to save the great expence they were put to in transporting annual supplies of provisions from England; by their trying to raise corn, &c. in that country. But this was soon found to be impracticable, by reason of the intenseness of the cold and long winters there, which soon destroys almost every thing sowed or planted in it.

They

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1682 They had, by this time, five settlements there, viz. that on Albany River, Hay's Island, Rupert's River, Port Nelson, and New Severn.

In this year the English East India Company lost one of the best factories which they had ever possessed in all India; occasioned by a quarrel between the old King of Bantam and his son. It was unfortunate, though certainly most equitable, for our company to take part with the father; as the Dutch Company, on the contrary, supported the son, and sent their forces to his assistance from Batavia; by which measure the old King was vanquished, and shut up in prison. In return for their friendship, the young King gave the Dutch possession of the castle of Bantam, which commanded both the town and port; who, thereupon, drove out the English Company's factors and servants, and have ever since possessed that place to this day.— This is our company's account of that affair; concerning which they had many disputes and conferences with the agents of the Dutch Company; and the latter published a pamphlet at London, in the year 1688, for their vindication: the substance whereof is, That it was not the Dutch; but the young King, who drove the English from Bantam.

On the other side, our company made it but too plainly evident, that the young King was purely the Dutch Company's instrument for that violence, which enabled them to engross the entire commerce of Bantam: for which end, and at the same time, they got him to expel from thence all the other European nations, viz. the French, Danes, and Portuguese, as likewise the subjects of the Mogul, and of all other Indian nations; although none of these had been parties in the quarrel between father and son. Our company alleged, moreover, that the Dutch had formerly practised the like in a similar case at Macassar; and were now actually doing the same in a dispute between two Rajahs, or Princes, on the Malabar coast. It would be almost endless, and also to very little purpose, to enlarge on the complaints of our company against the Dutch, for injuries done them in India; or the Dutch Company's vindication, in answer to those complaints; and their accusations, in their turn, of wrongs done them by the English Company.

The Dutch, by obtaining the command of Bantam, became entire masters of the west end of the great isle of Java, as Batavia had long before given them a large dominion on the north side of the said island: yet, beside the King of Materan, on the south side of Java, there are still several other lesser sovereigns remaining unsubdued by the Dutch Company:

In the same year 1682, the English East India Company first began to fortify at Bencoolen, in the great island of Sumatra. By which important settlement they have preserved to England the pepper trade, which otherwise would have been lost to our company after their being driven from Bantam. This fort cost our company for completing it, in about ten years time, no smaller a sum than two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

1683 It was in or about the year 1683, that the useful conveyance of letters and parcels by the *Penny-Post* was first set up in London and its suburbs, by a private undertaker, named Murray, an upholsterer by trade; who afterwards assigned the same to one Dockwra, who carried it on successfully for a number of years; until the government laid claim to that project, as connected and partly interfering with the general letter or post-office, which was a part of the crown revenue: it was therefore annexed to that revenue; in lieu of which Mr. Dockwra had a yearly pension of two hundred pounds settled on him for life. But the first mention we find of this revenue in the Statute-book was not till the year 1711, as will be seen under that year. It was in the year 1683, that most authors reckon the French monarchy to have been in its meridian of power and glory. For, in this year,

683 The produce of the several branches of their revenue was reckoned annually *Liures.*
to amount to — — — — — 215,566,663

And, in the opinion of many who have made strict enquiry into her revenue since that period, she seems to have gradually sunk in this respect; so that, according to a well written piece, in English, published in the year 1742, entitled, An Enquiry into the Revenue and Trade of France, the annual revenue thereof, in the year 1733, did not amount to more than — — — 140,278,473

Difference between the years 1683 and 1733. — — — 75,288,160

This is indeed a very great difference; and yet much of it may be accounted for from various causes; and more especially,

· First, From the unbounded ambition of Louis XIV. in draining his kingdom of men and money, for carrying on his conquests; it being the opinion of some, that ever since his invasion of Holland, in the year 1672, his revenue gradually sunk, and the price of French lands sunk with it.

Secondly, From his, soon after this time, expelling a vast number of his most industrious Protestant subjects; who, beside the wealth of many of them, carried along with them their arts and industry; by which they taught the nations, who wisely as well as piously received them, almost all kinds of French manufactures: hence it was, that France soon began to feel a great abatement of her exports of manufactures, both to England and Holland.

1. With respect to England, France formerly supplied her with manufactured silks of all sorts, to the value, in sterling money, of about — — — £. 600,000
But now none at all.

2. With linen, sail-cloth, and canvas, to about seven hundred thousand pounds. But since the high duties were laid on French goods, amounting to a prohibition, these are partly manufactured at home, and partly imported from Holland, Germany, and Russia, and more lately from Scotland and Ireland, who take off our own goods, &c. in return. Deducting therefore about two hundred thousand pounds for French cambricks, which, in time of peace, are said to come by way of Dunkirk, &c. the clear annual loss to France in this article will be — — — 500,000

3. In beaver-hats, in glass, watches, and clocks — — — 220,000
Since entirely our own manufactures, of which we also export a great quantity.

4. In paper of all kinds, of which we now make much at home, and the rest we take of Holland and Genoa — — — — — 90,000

5. In iron ware, which we formerly had from Auvergne, but now make better and cheaper at Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. and of which also we export immense quantities to our plantations, as well as to various parts of Europe — — — 40,000

6. In shalloons, tammies, &c. from Picardy and Champagne, now made better at home, of which also much is exported: — — — — — 150,000

7. In French wines, instead of which we now take them of Portugal, in return for our own manufactures — — — — — 200,000

8. In French brandies, two thousand tons; (which is less than formerly; owing to the great improvement of our own distillery, and to the much increased trade for plantation rum) at forty pounds per ton — — — — — 80,000

Total loss, per annum, to France, by England's so greatly improving her manufactures, and turning her imports into more profitable channels — — — — — 1,880,000

With

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1683

Brought over £. 1,880,000

With respect to the Dutch, they had formerly but few, and mostly inconsiderable manufactures of their own: they contented themselves principally with being the common carriers of the manufactures of France, and other parts of Europe, from one country to another, beside their immense fishery: but now they make vast quantities of rich silks and velvets; beside their woollen, linen, and paper manufactures, &c. So that, according to Mr. Burriſh's Account of the Dutch Trade, they do not, in our times, take off above half the quantity from France they formerly did, or about

	—	—	—	—	—	600,000
2. In hats, most of their finer ones coming from England, they have abated about						217,000
3. The like in glass, clocks, watches, and household furniture, chiefly, of late years from England, saved about	—	—	—	—	—	160,000
4. The like of fringes, gloves, and paper	—	—	—	—	—	260,000
5. Linen, canvas, and sail-cloth	—	—	—	—	—	165,000
6. Saffron, soap, woad, honey, and woollen-yarn, abated about	—	—	—	—	—	300,000

Total of the former Dutch imports lessened yearly — 1,702,000

Total decrease of English and Dutch imports from France yearly, since about the year 1683 — — — — — 3,582,000

If so great a loss could be exactly ascertained, which is not here pretended to, though probably near the mark, and considering also all the other conduct of Louis XIV. we are not much to be surprized at the decrease of the French revenues; even after allowing much for the late great increase of the commerce of the French American colonies, and also of their territory, by the addition of Lorraine.

In this year, the Lady Anne, daughter of the Duke of York, was married to Prince George of Denmark; her portion being forty thousand pounds sterling.

The English interlopers to East India becoming so very numerous, our East India Company found means, in this same year 1683, to obtain a new charter from King Charles the Second, being his fifth charter to them: by which all former charters were confirmed, and they were hereby empowered to seize on the ships and merchandize of the said interlopers; with the forfeiture of one half to the King, and the other half to the company, who were also empowered to raise, train, and muster, such military forces as they should judge requisite; and at their forts, factories, &c. to exercise the martial law. Moreover, for redressing the injuries and wrongs committed on the high-seas, or to be committed there within their limits, a court of judicature might be erected by the company, to consist of one civilian and two merchants; who were to determine all cases of forfeitures and seizures, of ships and goods, within their said limits; and all maritime and mercantile bargains, policies of insurance, bills, bonds, contracts, charter-parties, wages of mariners, trespasses on the high-seas, &c.

Yet the people of the isle of St. Helena being, in this same year, in a state of rebellion and insurrection, and the company being hereby enabled to reduce them to obedience, by executing certain persons who tumultuously refused to pay certain taxes, which those people alleged to be contrary to their contract with the company, when they first went to settle there, a great clamour was raised by their widows and relations; whose case being laid before the House of Commons two years after, viz. in the year 1685, that House voted, what the company had

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1683 thereby done to be arbitrary and illegal, which created the company many enemies. Their stock, however, in this year 1683, was sold, or jobbed, from three hundred and sixty to five hundred per cent.

In the same year 1683, the army of the Turks, instigated by Louis the Fourteenth of France, and by the Hungarian malecontents, and encouraged by the feebleness of the Emperor Leopold, made their way through Hungary, and sat down before Vienna, with one hundred and fifty thousand men. The taking of this city would have opened a way for the Turks and French to conquer a great part, if not the whole of Germany. The apprehension of such an event, made almost all Europe tremble, and England in particular, whilst her monarch cared for nothing but his pleasures and arbitrary power. Providence, however, frustrated those great enterprizes, by the marching of the army of John Sobieski, King of Poland, to join the Duke of Lorraine with the Imperial army: in consequence of which the siege of Vienna was raised, and the Turks forced precipitately to retreat through Hungary, thereby losing all that they had before conquered in that kingdom.

Soon after this event, the Imperialists got possession of all Transylvania, as the Venetians did of all the Morea, and the city and territory of Athens, as also the isle of Scio; which, however, they again lost in the year following. This island, could they have held it, would, in some measure, have cut off the maritime communication of the Turks with their territories in the Archipelago, Asia, and Egypt. Thus the Ottoman power now received a considerable check, which, for two centuries past, had gradually extended their boundaries as far as, and in some parts further, than the Roman empire had done, in its meridian glory, northward, eastward, and southward; but the Turks have never yet been able to get ground westward, notwithstanding all their bold efforts not only against the eastern shores of Italy, but also by this, and the preceding renowned siege of Vienna.

In this year, Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, a physician, and one Robert Murray, both great projectors, made a mighty stir with their scheme, For a bank for circulating bills of credit on merchandize to be pawned therein, and for lending money to the industrious poor on pawns, at six per cent. interest:—But it came to nothing.

In this same year, King Charles sent Lord Dartmouth, attended by that able man, Mr. Pepys, secretary of the Admiralty, with twenty ships of war, utterly to demolish the town, castle, and mole of Tangier, and to choke up its harbour. It was said to have been strong when the Portuguese delivered it up to England, in the year 1662; but it was so greatly improved in strength by King Charles, as to be deemed almost impregnable. He, for the security of its haven and our shipping, constructed a superb mole, the extremities whereof are said to have run out six hundred yards into the sea; and its stones were so strongly cemented together, as if it had been one entire rock; so that they were forced to drill it in many parts, and blow it up piece-meal, by which it took up six months in effecting its entire demolition.—The mole had been made extremely commodious for our shipping and commerce, by reason of its situation on the African side of the Strait's mouth.

1684 In April 1684, the Lord Dartmouth returned to England, with the garrison, artillery, and stores. “Hereby,” says Rapin, “the King was freed from a considerable annual expence; and the garrison, mostly consisting of Popish officers and soldiers, served to augment the King’s forces at home, thereby keeping in awe those who were impatient of the yoke.”—As several towns on the same shore are still held by Spain and Portugal, Tangier would probably, at this day, have been less an object of jealousy to the other European powers than

Gibraltar

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1684. Gibraltar is on the opposite shore : but, whether its harbour and situation on the south shore, where the current is said to run much stronger into the Streights than on the opposite shore, would have in all respects equally answered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not presume to determine.—Yet we imagine it will scarcely be denied, that our retaining it, along with Gibraltar, would have been a considerable additional security to our commerce ; and possibly also an augmentation of our naval power and influence, by keeping constantly a squadron of ships in so secure a port. Leaving this point, however, for statesmen to determine, we shall only add what some historians further relate, viz. That the rubbish of the demolished mole, and of the walls of the town being thrown into the harbour, has so effectually choked it up, that it can never hereafter be a commodious port ; which, however, is at least doubtful till a trial shall be attempted.

Mr. Burchett, in his Naval History, relates, “ that, by our King’s direction, there were “ buried amongst the ruins a considerable number of milled crown pieces of his majesty’s “ coin ; which, possibly, many centuries hence, may declare to succeeding ages, that the place “ was once a member of the British empire.” And, let us just subjoin, who can tell but that hereafter it may be judged the interest of the British empire to re-assume its right to that port ? More especially, if what is said by some be true, that the foundations of its demolished mole, as well as of its walls, remain entire ; and that it is very possible for its haven to be entirely cleared of the rubbish. Professor Oakley, in his Account of South-west Barbary, “ thinks it would be an enterprize worth attempting, and easily to be effected, to recover the “ said place again. For,” says he, “ if two thousand men were to go with three men of war “ and two bomb-ketches, they might make themselves masters of it in twenty-four hours “ time : for, upon the heaving of a score of bombs, not one soul of the Moors would stay “ within the town, and then the soldiers might land at pleasure, who would have nothing “ else to do but to plant their guns on the walls, and by night to empty a few places of the “ ditches that are filled.”

The French hitherto mismanaged their East India Company : for, although they preserved the figure of a great society, yet they were found to be little better than bankrupt in this year 1684 ; when, upon a full state of their circumstances, it plainly appeared, they had actually run out half their capital, or about three hundred thousand pounds sterling. Whereupon it was now resolved to put that company upon a new bottom, laying aside the method of chambers of directors in the sea ports, which had been set up in imitation of the Dutch company, and to place its entire management in twelve directors, residing at Paris, with proper salaries. This company had, in the year 1670, surrendered their property of the isle of Madagascar ; and their King, in the year 1685, in confirming their new constitution, left them at liberty either to resume the Madagascar colony, or to leave it in his hands, and they chose the latter.

There were several causes of the Company’s misfortunes ; as, their war with Holland, from 1672 to 1678, the mercenary management of their servants in India, and especially their intermeddling so boldly, agreeable to the genius of their nation, in the affairs of the kingdom of Siam : whereby the King of Siam was murdered in his palace, and the French garrison totally destroyed, after they had been at the expence of sending thither a squadron of ships, with land forces, for making that King, like their own, more absolute than the people liked him to be, and flattered themselves with converting all Siam to their Christian religion. This was the
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1684 state of that company when Pont Chartrain succeeded Colbert, as prime minister. He was far from being a friend to this company, as will briefly appear hereafter.

In this thirty-sixth year of King Charles II. and in the year 1648, we have the Lord Chief Justice Pollexfen's argument, as so termed, in a printed case brought by the East India Company against Thomas Sands, an interloper; who had fitted out a ship for India, without being licensed by that Company.

First, Sands, in his defence, pleaded a statute of the eighteenth of King Edward III. cap. iii. whereby it is enacted, "That the seas shall be open for all merchants to pass with their merchandize wherever they please."

Secondly, "The statute of twenty-first of King James, cap. iii. declaring all monopolies to be against the common law."

Thirdly, "That the grant of any sole trade whatever is contrary to Magna Charta," (ninth of King Henry III. cap. xxx.) "and to divers other ancient statutes, as the twenty-fifth of King Edward III. cap. ii.—the second of King Richard II. cap. i.—and the eleventh of that King, cap. vii. both which enact: that all letters patent and commands, to the contrary of the freedom of commerce, shall be void."—Then he proceeds to shew, "that an East India Company is a true monopoly, as described by our law books; and is not like the Turkey, Russia, and Hamburg companies, where there is no joint-stock, but every member uses his own trade, buys and sells his own commodities, and has his own servants and factors. These companies only order what ships shall go, but leave to every member to send his merchandize at his own will and pleasure; and no man is refused to be free of their companies that has a mind, paying some small sum for his freedom.—But this Body-Politic, the Invisible Corporation, trades perhaps for a million sterling yearly. Their last three sales that they made came to one million eight hundred thousand pounds, and nobody hath these commodities but they. No man can vote in their company unless he has five hundred pounds stock, which costs above one thousand five hundred pounds to be bought."

In short, his lordship laboured, not unsuccessfully, to prove the company to be a true monopoly, and Sands to be innocent, as the company was not established by any act of Parliament. Yet the King's prohibition for the ship not to sail, obliged Sands, after a year's suspense, to sell off his ship and cargo, with great loss. The ships and goods of some other interlopers, as they were then stiled, were likewise seized and confiscated in the following reign, in the years 1686 and 1687: but they took out no licence from the company. All which was decided against the spirit and maxims of our common law, purely for supporting a lawless prerogative in the crown; which, under a better monarch, six years after this time, was agreed to be legally disclaimed.

About this time, according to Dr. D'Avenant's Essay upon Ways and Means of supplying the War, London 1695, the Poor Rate, or the expence of maintaining the poor of England, came to about six hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds yearly: and, England being certainly richer than it was then, it is the general opinion, that, in our days, it costs the nation about two millions of money. And it is much to be feared, with our author, "that, as this money is managed in most places, instead of relieving such as are truly poor and impotent, which the law designs, it serves only to nourish and continue vice and sloth in the nation." Such a patriot-spirit may, it is to be hoped, some time or other, start up in the great council of the nation, as shall be able to devise an effectual means of obviating the too just objections against the present legal methods of providing for our poor, so as to save the nation the greatest
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1684 part of the expence, and at the same time find useful employment for the greatest part of the said poor, now maintained in sloth at the public expence.

Louis XIV. of France, in the plenitude of his power and glory, delighted, even somewhat before this time, to exert his insolent superiority, by heaping public disgrace on feeble states. Of this we have a pregnant instance with respect to his treatment of the now much decayed republic of Genoa. He pretended, in the year 1682, that the republic had held certain secret practices with the Spanish governor of Milan, of which he accused and admonished them by his Ambassador St. Olon.

First, It seems the Duke of Mantua had made a treaty with Louis, to take all the salt he used in his country from France. St. Olon demanded of Genoa not only a free passage for the said salt through their territories, but also leave to erect magazines thereof at Savona.

Secondly, He demanded, that the republic should pay to the heirs of the Count de Lavagne, formerly a rebel Genoese, who were then settled in France, the amount of the effects which that Count's rebellion had made to be forfeited to the state.

Both these modest demands were justly looked on with indignation by the Genoese, more especially that of the salt, as interfering with their own commerce. The French author of the History of Genoa, nevertheless adds,—“ that although this demand might indeed seem somewhat uncommon, yet the republic on this occasion ought to have yielded in favour of a prince now looked upon by all the world as the arbiter of the fate of Europe.”

There was yet a third instance of insolence, which exceeded both the former, viz. Louis's declaration,—that in case Genoa should send to sea the four new gallies they had just built, he would construe it as an hostility against himself, and would in that case seize on all their ships and effects wherever they could be found. In short, Spain having broke with France in the year 1684, and the Genoese having refused to comply with the above-named arbitrary demands, and putting themselves under the protection of Spain, Louis determined to bring down their pride, as he termed it, by bombarding their stately capital city, and laying it almost entirely in ashes, with his bombs and cannon, and thereby also destroying multitudes of her citizens. Not content with this cruel proof of his power and resentment, he obliged the re-
1685 public, by a treaty, in the year 1685, to send the reigning Doge, or head of their state, to come in his ducal robes to Versailles, with four of the principal senators, there solemnly to ask pardon of the Grand Monarch, in the most abject manner. They were thereby also bound to disarm their new gallies, and to reduce their naval force to its former state, viz. of six gallies only :—so low was this state now fallen, whose naval power had formerly been the terror of all the states on both sides the Mediterranean. They were moreover obliged to discharge all the Spanish troops quartered on their territories, to renounce the league with Spain, made since 1683, and finally, to pay one hundred thousand crowns to the heirs of their above-mentioned rebel subject, &c. After their humble compliance with these and such-like moderate articles, this god-like monarch condescended to permit this miserably shattered people to exist as a free state.

The unparalleled article of obliging the reigning Duke or Doge of Genoa, who represents the majesty of the republic, to leave the seat of sovereignty, and in his robes of state to abase himself before the Grand Monarch, occasioned a well known witty reply of that Doge to a question of a French courtier, who asking him, “ which was the greatest rarity of all the fine things he had seen at Paris?” which after his humiliation, Louis had commanded to be
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1685 shewn to him, facetiously replied, " that he thought himself the greatest rarity he had seen at " Paris."

"We are now come to the famous Revocation of what was before deemed the perpetual and irrevocable Edict of Nantes : by which edict the Protestants in France enjoyed the free and public toleration and exercise of their religious mode of worship, and of their faith, doctrine, and discipline. A revocation which, on one hand, proved very lamentable to many hundred thousands of honest and innocent people in that kingdom ; more especially to such as, by age and infirmities of body, were disabled from seeking an asylum elsewhere : but which, on the other hand, was productive of much good to almost all the Protestant countries of Europe ; but more especially to the commerce of Holland and England, whilst it greatly disturbed that of France, and deprived her of great sums of money carried away by those refugees into other countries.

It is neither our province nor intent to describe Louis the Fourteenth's motives for setting on foot a cruel persecution of so many of his best and most industrious subjects ; of which so much has been written and published in most European languages ; our proper province being purely to shew its very considerable influence on the commerce and manufactures of the other nations of Europe.

The people whom Louis thus violently forced out of his kingdom were, generally throughout all France, the best merchants, manufacturers, and artificers, of that kingdom. There are very various accounts of the total number of them : those who reckon up all who retired from France some time before, as well as immediately upon, and also some years after, this revocation, got so high as one million of men, women, and children. This possibly may be an exaggerated calculation. Others, as the supposed illustrious and royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg*, reckoning only those who withdrew immediately upon the said revocation, make their number somewhat more than three hundred thousand persons :—" carrying with them their industry and their skill in manufacture to those places of refuge.—" Those," says he, " who had most money, retired into England and Holland : but the most industrious part of them settled in Brandenburg ; whither they brought all sorts of manufactures which we before wanted, by erecting fabrics of cloth, serges, stuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, stockings, hats ; and also the dying of all sorts of colours.—They were in number about twenty thousand at first ; but they soon multiplied : and soon also made ample returns to their generous benefactor the Elector Frederic William. Berlin," adds the supposed royal historian, " now had goldsmiths, jewellers, watchmakers, and carvers ; and such as were settled in the open country planted tobacco, and variety of fruits and pulse. That great Elector allowed the refugees an annual pension of forty thousand crowns, which to this day." Others make the total number of refugees to be eight hundred thousand. A part of the suburbs of London, says Voltaire, in his *Age of Louis the Fourteenth*, (meaning Spitalfields) was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk. For other arts, some thousands of them helped to people the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. Others of them carried to England the art of making crystal in perfection, which for that same reason, was about this same time, lost in France. He says, in vol. i. that " only six hundred thousand fled from the persecution of Louis ; carrying with them their riches, their industry, and implacable hatred against their King. And wherever they settled, they became an addition to the enemies of France, and greatly inflamed those powers already inclined to war."

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1685 It may seem somewhat strange, that more of them did not settle in England, considering the general liberty of this free nation; yet, through the too general and impolitic averfion of the English to all strangers, even though suffering for the Protestant religion, and their monopolizing corporation cities and towns; and, on the other hand, the great immunities, &c. allowed them in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Prussia; we are not to wonder that not above fifty thousand of them did actually settle in England; where, instead of doing us hurt, they have proved a great and manifest blessing, by improving some of our ancient arts and manufactures, and likewise by introducing various new ones. Others, however, think, that, in all, there were settled in Great Britain and Ireland, at least seventy thousand of those refugees.

France, by its profitable commerce with England, &c. having acquired great riches in the times preceding this revocation; did not immediately feel the bad effects of driving out so many industrious merchants, manufacturers, and artificers; yet, in process of time, she found her manufactures and inland trade greatly decayed in consequence of it. The English people, assisted by those refugees, having established several French manufactures and fabrics never before made in England; and which we shall never more take from France, as we have, in most cases, excelled our teachers in them. But as many of those refugees were eminent merchants and manufacturers, and did undoubtedly bring along with them much money and effects, I have seen a computation at the lowest supposition of only fifty thousand of those people coming to Great Britain, and that, one with another, they brought sixty pounds each in money or effects; so that they added three millions sterling, to the wealth of Britain.

The author of the history of the Edict of Nantes, printed at Delft, in the year 1695, takes special notice of the great number of civil officers who had been in the French King's service; so considerable as to fill all the courts of Europe with them. That, moreover, so many of the young noblesse, trained up for the army, withdrew at the same time, as to form whole companies of soldiers in the Dutch and Brandenburg service. In England, even in King James the Second's reign, large collections were made for the refugees; who, at the revolution, by King William's accession to the throne, had fifteen thousand pounds yearly each settled on such as either were persons of quality, or were, through age, &c. unable to support themselves. To the French refugees England owes the improvement of several of its manufactures of slight woollen stuffs, of silk, linen, paper, glass, hats, (the two last since brought to the utmost perfection by us.) The silks called alamodes and lustrings were entirely owing to them; also brocades, sattins, black and coloured mantuas; black paduasoyes, ducapes, watered tabbies, black velvets; also watches, cutlery ware, clocks, jacks, locks, surgeons instruments, hardware, toys, &c.

The two first Kings of Prussia caused collections to be made for them throughout their dominions; they also settled stipends on their clergy, built them churches, granted them immunities from taxes and offices: so wise were those Princes, as actually to have placed their agents on the confines of France, for conducting those refugees to Brandenburg, bearing their expences all the way. They also settled great numbers of them in their new kingdom of Prussia, which was then but thin of people; there they had lands assigned them, gratis and tax free, as also in Brandenburg: in Berlin they have since built many new streets, and, as above, greatly improved the whole country, by manufacture, arts, agriculture, &c. Those Kings divided them into colonies, and appointed them magistrates of their own.

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The great Elector Frederic William allowed them a yearly pension of forty thousand crowns: he brought in the use of post houses, till then unknown in Germany. The streets of his towns were paved, and enlightened by lanthorns; for till then the courtiers were obliged to go in filks to Potsdam, when the court resided there, because of the heaps of dirt in the streets.

“ Nothing,” (says Monsieur Huet, said to have been the author of certain Memoirs of the Dutch Commerce) “ has increased the inhabitants as well as manufactures of Holland so much as the French Protestant Refugees, who were almost all of them merchants and artisans.” And even this French and Popish Bishop adds, that “ whenever trade is clogged or constrained in any country, it will retire to other countries where it can have more safety.” The author of *The History of the Edict of Nantes*, also observes, “ that the liberality of the States General of the United Netherlands to those innocent refugees was so great, that it can scarcely be too amply described. They settled a fund for an incredible number of pensions to military officers, gentlemen, and ministers; and for supplies to virgins and ladies of quality. Great sums also were raised for supporting their poor, for whom liberal collections were made in all their towns and villages: and the Prince and Princess of Orange were bright examples for that charity, both before and after they became monarchs of Britain. The Prince of East Friesland also testified his zeal for their relief.”

Voltaire, in the second volume of his age of Louis the Fourteenth, chap. ii. says, “ that near fifty thousand families left France in the space of three years, and were afterwards followed by others; who introduced their arts, manufactures, and riches among strangers: that almost all the north part of Germany (a country hitherto rude and void of industry) received a new face from the multitude of refugees translated thither: peopling entire cities, where fluffs, lace, hats, stockings, formerly imported from France, were now made.”

Neither were the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland less kind and bountiful to such of those good people who took shelter amongst them; by supplying them with every necessary, and even by settling pensions on them. In a few months after this revocation, the city of Geneva doubled her inhabitants: yet, lest France should resent it, the magistrates were obliged to send them away again. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel received them in great numbers, and was extremely kind to them. Even the Lutheran Princes received them kindly, and erected churches, schools, and hospitals for them; particularly the Princes of Lunenburg, the free cities of Germany, the Margrave of Bareith, &c. They, in short, freed themselves throughout every other part of Europe, where any degree of freedom or toleration of private judgment, in matters of religion, was allowed, as in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Russia. Some even wandered as far as our American colonies: and wherever they were received they became a substantial blessing to their benefactors, by improving their trade and manufactures: moreover, many of them having been eminent merchants, such of those who fixed in England and Holland, settled correspondencies all over the world, greatly to the increase of commerce.

On this interesting subject, we can scarcely judge it a digression, in joining with Pensionary De Witt, in his, so often quoted, *Interest of Holland*, in behalf of the freedom of toleration of religion, “ as being highly conducive to the increase of commerce;—to the preserving our people at home,—and the alluring of strangers to come and settle with us. For,” adds he, “ all civilized people must be supposed to pitch upon some outward service of God as the best, and to be averse from all other forms: and such persons will abhor even to travel, and
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1685 “ much more to reside in countries where they are not permitted to serve God outwardly, “ after the manner they like best. Yet the clergy, almost every where but in Holland, having “ a settled livelihood, which depends not on the political welfare of the land, do, through “ human frailty, teach and preach up all that can have a tendency to their own credit, profit, “ and ease, even though it be to the ruin of their own country.” He then goes on to shew how they persecute dissenters from them, *ad id theologico*, as he phrases it: “ whereas,” adds he, “ all Christian clergymen ought to rest satisfied, according to their master’s doctrine, with “ enlightening and persuasion alone, and should be far from compulsion, either by spiritual “ or bodily punishments. How prejudicial such coercive practices are, especially in rich trad- “ ing cities, Lubeck, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle may instruct us; where both the rulers “ and subjects of those lately so famous cities, have, since the reformation, lost most of their “ wealth, chiefly by such compulsion in religion: many of their inhabitants being driven out, “ and strangers likewise discouraged from coming to reside in them in consequence of it.

In this first year of King James the Second, an act of Parliament, cap. iv. granted to him new duties on tobacco and sugar: and this, we must observe, was the first time that tobacco and sugar, of our own colonies, were particularly taxed by name: there being, till now, only twelve-pence per pound, or five per cent. laid on them under the general name of poundage, as on all other imported goods. But, since this time, those two most valuable commodities have proved very considerable aids to the nation, in its revenue:

French merchandize being prohibited to be imported into England, in the year 1678, as we have seen, for three years to come, and to the end of the next session of Parliament, and there having been no Parliament during the remainder of King Charles the Second’s reign; King James the Second, in the very beginning of his reign, having great occasion for the friendship of the French King, for enabling him to accomplish the two grand points he had in view, viz. the establishing of Popery and of despotic power in England, got an act of Parliament passed, cap. vi. absolutely to repeal the said prohibition. Whereupon ensued an inundation of French commodities, to the value of above four millions sterling, within the compass of less than three years time; whereby all the evils formerly complained of were renewed; so that the nation would have been soon beggared, had it not been for the happy revolution, in the year 1688; when all commerce with France was effectually barred.

The first volume of the authentic treatise, entitled, *The British Merchant*, p. 319, gives it us from the Custom-house books, that the linen alone imported in the year 1686, was valued at no less than three hundred and ninety-eight thousand six hundred and eleven pounds fourteen shillings and ten pence, beside clandestine importations thereof. And at a medium of three years, viz. in the years 1686-7-8, there were annually imported from France, viz. wines, eighteen thousand one hundred and fifty tons; brandy, four thousand tons.

And *ibid.* p. 325-6, at a medium of three years, annually, in value imported from France,

	£.	s.	d.
Linens, — — — —	700,000	0	0
Lustrings and alamodes, — — — —	212,500	0	0
Other silk fabrics — — — —	500,000	0	0
Paper — — — —	50,000	0	0
Total,	1,462,500	0	0

AN HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEDUCTION

Such, however, were the kind returns of Louis, to our then King, that but two years after this, viz. in the year 1687, he prohibited the importation of most of our woollen manufactures into France. Yet so violently bent was James on pursuing the two grand points above-named, that, though naturally inclinable to favour commerce, yet he sacrificed the great interests of his kingdom rather than give them up.

By an act of Parliament of the fifteenth of King Charles the Second, cap. xiv. the revenue of the General Post-office, (and afterwards also twenty-four thousand pounds yearly out of the hereditary excise) was settled on the Duke of York and his heirs male. In this first year of the last-named Prince's reign, by the name of King James the Second, his obsequious Parliament enacted, cap. xii. that both those revenues shall hereafter be to him, his heirs, and successors, one entire and indefeasible estate in fee-simple. So that the said Post-office revenue was made the King of Great Britain's private estate for ever, and therefore is never to be accounted for by him to Parliament, as all public revenues are. It was now estimated at sixty-five thousand pounds per annum.

For the encouraging of ship-building, greatly decayed in Newcastle, Hull, Yarmouth, Ipswich, and other ports of England on the eastern coasts, occasioned chiefly by the employing so many foreign built ships in the coal trade, (this is far from being so in our days) and other inland or coasting trades; there was a duty of five shillings per ton laid on all such shipping, in this first year of King James the Second, by act of Parliament, cap. xviii. one half thereof to be for the use of the chest at Chatham, and the other to the corporation of Trinity-house, towards the relief of wounded and decayed seamen, their widows and children.

The western suburbs of London continually increasing, more especially in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, on a parcel of ground called Kemps-field, whereon towards the latter part of the reign of King Charles the Second, several new streets were erected; the inhabitants had, in this year 1685, obtained an act of Parliament, cap. xx. to enable them to erect the same into a distinct parish by the name of St. Anne's within the liberty of Westminster, and to tax themselves for finishing their new church of that name.

And in the same year another act of Parliament, (the last act passed in King James's reign, cap. xxii.) erects another parish in the said suburbs, to be called St. James's, in the liberty of Westminster; till now part of the afore said parish of St. Martin in the Fields. It appears by that act, that the Earl of St. Alban's (Henry Jermyn, then deceased) and the other inhabitants of the new streets called Jermyn Street, &c. in a place formerly called St. James's Fields, had been at the expence of above seven thousand pounds for erecting their new church and laying out their church yard, but not having yet finished the said church, nor a mansion-house for its minister, &c. they were hereby enabled so to do by a rate on the inhabitants. It appears by this act, that several parts of this new parish were not then built up into streets, which, however, are so in our days.

At this time, and particularly in this same year 1685, there was not a little written both in England and Holland, on the subject of making sea water fresh. Proposals were made and patents granted for the same, as being of so great a benefit for sailors on long voyages. Yet even to this day, notwithstanding various later proposals, there has been no effectual progress made therein; though, from some successive discoveries, this project rather offers hopes of future success.

In this first year of King James the Second's reign he coined gold of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats alloy, into forty-four pounds ten shillings by tale, per pound of gold, viz. into
pieces

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1685 pieces of ten, twenty, and forty shillings, and five pound pieces; and his silver coins contained in a pound weight of the old standard, into sixty-two shillings by tale, viz. crowns, half crowns, shillings, six-pences, groats, two-pences, and pence. The standards the same as in our days.

Pope Innocent XI. being loaded with so vast a debt to his subjects, as forty millions of Roman crowns, (which at five shillings and six-pence sterling each, made eleven millions sterling) he possibly took the following reduction scheme from what had been done by the States of Holland thirty years before, viz. in the year 1655, as we have shewn under that year; and as in Britain has been often done since, and particularly the first time in the year 1716.

For that Pope finding that, in the year 1685, his said great debt, with an interest of only four per cent. thereon, had risen in current price to be worth one hundred and twenty-two per cent. he first, warily, provided a ready cash of three or four millions of crowns; and thereupon issued a declaration, that such as would for the future be satisfied with an interest of three per cent. instead of four, should declare their consent by a limited time; and that such as chose rather to be paid off their principal debt, might come and receive it. This option made all the creditors accept of the proposals of continuing at three per cent. by payments of half per cent. every two months, rather than take their principal money. And it seems though the interest was thus reduced, the principal, in a very short time after, rose at market to one hundred and twelve per cent. Vide Bishop Burnet's Letters and Travels, and also (from him) Paterson's Wednesday's Club in Friday Street.

This is the second instance of the good success of a National Sinking Fund, in Europe.

In France an exclusive company being established for a trade to the river of Senegal, on the west coast of Africa, for gum, gold dust, slaves, leather, wax, &c. from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1679; they were further confirmed, in 1681, by the name of the Royal Senegal Company.

But, in the year 1685, the French King's declaration taking notice that the said Senegal Company possessed an exclusive trade for an extent of above fifteen hundred leagues of coast, and thereby excluded all his other subjects from trading in the above commodities, as also in negro slaves for the use of the French West India colonies: (this last was the true secret) he now establishes a Guinea Company, for twenty years, for negroes, gold dust, &c. exclusive of all others, from the river Serra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope; leaving to the before-named Senegal Company all the coast from Cape Blanco to Serra Leone.

On this occasion, it will be no digression to remark, the great alteration which the transplantation of animals, as well as of vegetables, makes, by the difference of climate, air, latitude, &c. The Portuguese settled in Angola, &c. on the African coast, in a few generations gradually contract the complexion of the natives, even their woolly hair, thick lips, and flat noses: and negroes born in Europe become gradually more light coloured. Our English mastiff dogs are known to degenerate on the continent. Spanish horses do the same in the Spanish West Indies; yet in Chili alone they are said to meliorate the breed. By transplanting the vines on the banks of the Rhine, the rich wine of the Canaries was first produced: some say also, that from the said vine, transplanted a second time to the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, has been produced that most delicious Cape wine; though others think it sprung from a Burgundy vine. The China oranges, which are sent in such immense quantities from Portugal all over Europe, came originally from a China plant, and have since been transplanted,

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1685 transplanted, and prosper in Spain and Italy. And the same may be observed of many other fruits, plants, and vegetables, which, through the advantages of commerce and navigation, all the countries of Europe now enjoy, though unknown to older times.

Although the English East India Company's affairs were said at this time to have been so prosperous, that its profits in nine years time, viz. from 1675 to 1685, amounted to nine hundred and sixty-three thousand six hundred and thirty-nine pounds; yet, as all things on earth are unstable, a reverse of fortune happened at this very period.

It seems the Indians had killed some of this company's people at Hughley, in the Bay of Bengal, and that thereupon their governors commenced war against the Mogul.

The company alleged, that the proper origin of this war was the false reports, industriously spread by the interlopers, against them;—such as, that the company was fallen under the displeasure of our King;—that our nation at home was under great disturbances;—and that they themselves (the interlopers) were the true company. They also had corrupted many of the company's servants, whereby a revolt had been occasioned at Bombay, and also at St. Helena, where they set up for themselves. The company further urged, that this dividing the English interest in India, not only made the Mogul's governors and rajas break through all their ancient engagements and stipulations with the company, and thereby deprive them of many valuable privileges in India, but even extorted great sums of money from both parties. For the company alleged, that the interlopers submitted to any impositions, so as they might carry on the trade; they having, moreover, formerly given a handle to the Dutch to expel the company from Bantam, in the year 1682.

All which considerations being laid before King James the Second, and it being apprehended, that, unless some effectual care was speedily taken, the whole English interest in India would be utterly lost; a ship of war was immediately dispatched to India, with orders to seize on all interlopers, and therewith a proclamation from the King for all his subjects in India to repair to the company's forts and factories, and to submit to their jurisdiction. At the same time, the company sent out several warlike ships for the said purpose.

Lastly, For corroborating the whole, on the twelfth of April 1686, that King granted them a new charter, being their sixth since the restoration; wherein he recites, at large, the five preceding charters, and subjoins, “ That, whereas several persons, in contempt of those
“ charters, have, of late years, presumed, without licence from the company, to send out
“ ships and to trade within their limits, to the company's great damage and the destruction
“ of that trade;—he, well weighing how highly it imports the honour and welfare of the
“ realm to redress such disorders, and to improve that trade to the utmost: and being fully
“ satisfied, that the same cannot be maintained and carried on to national advantage, but by
“ one general joint stock; and that a loose and general trade will be the ruin of the whole:
“ being also satisfied, that the said trade had been managed by the said company to the honour
“ and profit of this nation: And being desirous to encourage the company in their difficult
“ and hazardous trade and adventures to those remote parts. He ratified all the preceding
“ charters, in their favour, for ever; and in their fullest extent, notwithstanding any non-
“ user, misuser, or abuser: and further grants to the company, and their respective presidents,
“ agents, chiefs, and councils in India, or to any three of them, (whereof such president,
“ agent, or chief, to be one) power to administer to all persons, employed by the company,
“ the oath taken by every freeman of the company, and such other lawful oaths as their Court
“ of Directors shall appoint. The use of the marshal law shall extend to the isle of St. He-
“ lena,

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1685 "Iena, and to the company's fort of Pryaman, on the west coast of Sumatra, as well as to their other limits.

"And, further, understanding, that many of the native princes and governors of India, &c. taking opportunity from the divisions, distractions, or rebellions amongst the English, occasioned by the late licentious trading of interlopers," (this was the first time that the word interlopers was used in a royal charter) "have of late violated many of the company's privileges; surprized their servants, ships, and goods; besieged their factories; invaded their liberties; and have, many other ways, without just cause, abused their chiefs and factors, to the nation's dishonour; for all which the company intends to demand satisfaction, in a peaceable way; and, if not obtained that way, to use force of arms, wherein they will have occasion to use their ships in a warlike manner. Wherefore the King hereby grants full power to the company to appoint admirals, vice admirals, rear admirals, captains, &c. from time to time, who may raise and muster seamen and soldiers, on board their ships, as shall be directed by the company, or by their captain-general in India, who may seize on and compel all English interlopers to submit; and may take their ships and goods: also to make war on such Indian Princes as may hurt the company. And in time of open hostility with any Indian nation, &c. they may, on the other side the Cape of Good Hope, use the martial law on-board their ships, as well as on land: reserving, however, liberty to the King, at pleasure, to revoke this grant of martial law in their ships. The company may also coin in their forts any species of money usually coined by the princes of those countries only; so as it be agreeable to the standards of those princes, in weight and fineness; and that they do not coin any European money;—and that all such money, so to be coined by them, and not otherwise, shall be current in any city, town, port, or place, within the company's limits."

1686 In consequence of the great power given to the company by this charter, they proceeded rigorously against the interlopers; who, on the other hand, by their abettors and agents, did not fail to raise a great clamour against the company, who, however, continued in the exercise of those powers till after the accession of King William to the throne.

As Jamaica was hitherto principally inhabited by the military men, and their offspring, who had possessed it ever since it was taken in the year 1656, those people, as generally disliking agriculture, betook themselves to cruising at sea against the Spaniards, on the American seas, even after peace had been concluded between England and Spain, in America; and, allured by the wealth acquired thereby, they continued that illegal practice throughout all the reign of King Charles the Second, and to this time, and got the appellation of the Buccaneers of Jamaica; some of whose bold exploits against the Spanish towns and ports in Mexico, &c. would pass for mere romances, had they not been too well known by both nations.

In this same year 1686, the French, though at peace with England in Europe, marched from Canada, over land, and surprized four of the Hudson's Bay Company's forts; so that there only remained to us the fort at Port Nelson: and this is the first time the French found the way over land, from Canada to that Bay.

In November, this same year, the Kings of England and France concluded a treaty of peace and neutrality for America; (vide vol. i. p. 246, of A General Collection of Treaties, second edition, 1732,) whereby,

Articles I. and II. "It was agreed, that there should be between them a firm peace, as well in South as in North America, in both continent and islands, by sea and land: and that

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“ that no ships of either nation shall be permitted to invade or attack the dominions of the other in America.

III. “ Nor shall any soldiers, or armed men, living either in the English or French American islands and colonies, commit any act of hostility or damage to either party; nor shall they give any assistance or supplies of men or victuals to the wild Indians, with whom either King shall have war.

IV. V. “ Both Kings shall retain and possess all the dominions and prerogatives they now enjoy in America. And therefore the subjects, inhabitants, commanders, and mariners of each King, respectively, shall absolutely abstain from trading to, or fishing in all or any of the places so possessed, or which shall be possessed by the other; either in their havens, bays, creeks, roads, or other places. And ships or vessels found so trading or fishing as aforesaid, shall be confiscated with their loadings:—Always provided, that the freedom of navigation be in no manner disturbed, where nothing is committed against the genuine sense of this treaty.

VI. “ Ships of war, as well as merchant ships, being forced through stress of weather, or pursued by pirates and enemies, or through any other urgent necessity, to take shelter into any of the rivers, creeks, havens, ports, &c. belonging to the other in America, shall be treated kindly, protected, and supplied with refreshments and all things needful, at reasonable rates; and may depart whither and when they shall please. Provided they do not break bulk, nor sell any of their loadings, nor receive any merchandize on board, nor employ themselves in fishing; under the forfeiture of ships and goods. But before they enter such ports, they shall, at coming in, hang out the flag of their nation, and shall also give notice of their so coming in, by firing a cannon thrice, or, if they have no cannon, a musket thrice: otherwise they shall forfeit as above.

VII. “ Ships of either nation, stranded or shipwrecked, shall have friendly assistance and relief.

VIII. “ But if three or four ships together be driven into the ports of either nation, so as to give just ground of suspicion; they shall stay no longer than the governor or other magistrate of such port will allow them, after supplying them with necessaries as above.

IX. “ The King of Great Britain’s subjects, of the island of St. Christopher, may fetch salt from the salt ponds there. As, on the other hand, the French subjects of St. Christopher’s may enter into the rivers of the great road, to provide themselves with water. But both these mutual permissions must only be done in the day time. And they shall on both sides hang out their flags and fire a cannon thrice, &c. as in the sixth article.” St. Christopher’s (as we have already seen) was equally divided between England and France.

X. “ Neither nation shall harbour the barbarous or wild inhabitants or slaves, or the goods which they may have taken from the subjects of the other nation; nor shall they protect them.

XI. “ The governors, officers, and subjects of either nation shall not molest nor disturb the subjects of the other, in settling their respective colonies, and in their commerce and navigation.

XII. XIII. “ The ships of war and privateers of either nation shall be strictly enjoined not to injure the other, as shall also their privileged companies: otherwise they shall be punished.”

“ ed,

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1686 “ ed, and also satisfy for all damages.—For which end, they shall be obliged, before they receive their commissions, to give security to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling, or thirteen thousand livres : and if any such ship has above one hundred and fifty men, then for two thousand pounds sterling, or twenty-six thousand livres : on pain of forfeiting their commissions.—Also the ship shall be liable to make satisfaction for injuries and damages done by her.

XIV. “ The governors and officers of either nation shall be strictly enjoined to give no assistance nor protection to any pirates, of what nation soever they may be : and shall also punish, as pirates, all such as shall fit out any ship without lawful commission and authority.

XV. “ No subjects of either King shall take a commission or letters of mart for privateering in America, from any prince or state with which the other is at war ; otherwise he shall be punished as a pirate.

XVI. “ The French King’s subjects shall have liberty to fish for turtles in the island of Cayaman.”—A small island west of Jamaica.

The other four articles are of no importance, being only the usual forms of provisos, in case of a rupture between the two nations, or of complaints of differences arising on either side in America.

It is easy to see, by this remarkable treaty, how egregiously the French King imposed on his dupe, King James. For,

First, The American isles belonging to France, were then much more feeble than ours ; and as the Buccaneers from Jamaica might possibly have made very free with them, James hereby gave them entirely up as pirates.

Secondly, The *uti possidetis*, hereby stipulated, secured to France the possession of some of her colonies, to which England, till now, had strong pretensions.—And,

Thirdly, It may be said, that, by this pacification, France had an advantageous respite for the improving of both her island and continent colonies in America, and of which she made a very good use to our cost.

Fourthly, Here is no mention of the four forts taken from our company in Hudson’s Bay ; not known in England when this treaty was concluded.

We must, however, on the other hand, observe, that by these treaties of peace and neutrality, for America :

First, Between Spain and Holland, in 1648.

Secondly, Between Portugal and Holland, in 1661.

Thirdly, Between England and Spain, in 1670. And,

Fourthly, The last named treaty between England and France ; the possessions of these several potentates, in America, were ascertained, and the freedom of commerce in those seas was more firmly established than had hitherto been effected.

The Dutch being, in this year 1686, at war with the Algerines, the latter were shamefully encouraged therein by King James II. of England, who, for some time, permitted them the use of his ports, and to sell their prizes in England ; whereby they had opportunities, as observed by Burchett, in his Naval History, to go out as they pleased, and to cruise against the Hollanders, from whom, in the space of six months, the Algerines took, in or near the Channel, above thirty rich merchant ships.

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According to Sir William Petty's fourth Essay on Political Arithmetic, licensed in the year 1686, and printed in the year 1687, the proportion of the eight under-named cities, as to their number of inhabitants, is as follows, viz.

London,	-	-	-	-	696,000
Paris,	-	-	-	-	488,000*
Amsterdam	-	-	-	-	187,000*
Venice,	-	-	-	-	134,000*
Rome,	-	-	-	-	125,000
Dublin,	-	-	-	-	69,000
Rouen	-	-	-	-	66,000*
Bristol	-	-	-	-	48,000*

N. B. He makes the medium of the annual burials at London to be twenty-three thousand two hundred and twelve, which number multiplied by thirty, as one person out of every thirty is generally supposed to die in London in a year, gives six hundred and ninety-six thousand three hundred and sixty.

This humour of magnifying London, and of lessening Paris and other foreign cities, was probably pleasing to the King; but, I conceive, was far from being just. And with respect to London's medium of burials, surely the bills of mortality in our time must be egregiously erroneous, if, after so many thousand houses have been added to London, it does not, perhaps, much exceed that number. This, therefore, could answer no good end, and was only deceiving ourselves. Possibly every one of the said cities marked thus * are considerably under computed, but more especially Paris and Amsterdam; which surely could answer no wise or solid purpose.

1687 In the year 1687, King James II. of England, appointed commissioners to treat with those appointed by the French King, for the restitution of the English forts taken the preceding year in Hudson's Bay. Those commissioners reported to King James, that they had clearly made out his absolute right to the whole bay and freight of Hudson, and to the lands adjoining, as well as to the forts taken by France, and the sole trade to all parts within the said freight and bay. Whereupon our said King declared, that he would insist on full restitution, and on satisfaction to the company, whose loss, by the invasion of the French in the preceding year, amounted to one hundred and eight thousand five hundred and fourteen pounds nineteen shillings and eight pence, as was afterwards set forth by the company in their petition to Queen Anne, in the year 1712, though never paid to this day.* The result of this patched up treaty with France was, that Louis agreed to restore those forts to the company: yet being sure of our King, he retained Fort Charles in his hands; according to Roger Coke, in his last page of the Detection of the Court and State of England.

In this same year 1687, the Dutch East India ships imported from the isle of Ceylon, one hundred and seventy thousand pounds weight of cinnamon: which, though less in quantity than in some years before, does, nevertheless, demonstrate the great importance of that island to the company.

We may here, once more remark, that persecution, and the dread of the prevalence of Popery, did, in this reign, as well as towards the close of the last, drive numbers of Protestant Dissenters to settle in New England, New York, &c. which brought a considerable accession of strength and improvement to those colonies.

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Pont-Chartrain, the French Prime Minister, being an enemy to their East India Company, it is no wonder that they did not prosper. Their importing immense quantities of white cottons, and causing them to be painted in France, in the manner of the Indies, drew the enmity of the French manufacturers upon them, the sale of the company's cottons and silks being excessively injurious to them: so that Pont-Chartrain procured an edict of this year 1687, against the unlimited importation thereof; in consequence of which, that company declined more and more: and the war of the grand alliance against France also depressed that company much; which, in fact, was never able to succeed to any great purpose, till after the peace of Utrecht: in the mean time, having no ability themselves to carry on an extensive trade, they were constrained to let out their privileges to some private merchants of St. Maloes, who got rich by a trade in which the company could not prosper: and thus it remained till the regency of the Duke of Orleans, in the minority of Louis XV. and the year 1719.

1688

The gradual increase of England's foreign commerce and home manufactures, the improvement of her lands and mines at home, and of her foreign colonies and plantations, had occasioned great wealth to be accumulated in the space of about one hundred and fifty years past; the nation not having been engaged much or long in foreign wars, and those too mostly or principally naval ones, which had not caused much of our treasure to be carried from us, any more than did our own civil wars. From these, and similar considerations, some authors, who wrote soon after this time, have been of opinion, that the English nation was now in its zenith of commercial prosperity: yet, since that period, notwithstanding our many and very expensive foreign land wars, the great consumers of treasure, we are very much increased in commercial, as well as in royal shipping;—in our manufactures and foreign plantations, and in almost every part of our general commerce, both foreign and domestic. Nevertheless, it must needs be acknowledged, that about this same year 1688, we were arrived at a very great degree of prosperity in all the before mentioned respects; for the proof and illustration of which, the following brief memoirs of several very able authors will afford us considerable light, viz.

I. We have an eminent instance of the increase of England's commerce and shipping, in only twenty-two years space, from D'Avenant's Discourses on the public Revenue and Trade of England, and also from Colliber's History of English Naval Affairs, printed in octavo, second edition, in the year 1739, if the computations be absolutely exact, “that the tonnage of the merchant ships of England, in this year 1688, was near double to the tonnage of the year 1666.

“Also that the tonnage of the navy royal, which, in the year 1660, was only sixty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-four tons, was, in this year 1688, increased to one hundred and one thousand, and thirty-two tons.”

II. D'Avenant further acquaints us, in part ii. of his said Discourses, octavo, 1698, p. 42, with what he must have been perfectly well versed in, as he was Inspector General of the Customs, “that in the year 1666, the farm of the customs of England was but three hundred and ninety thousand pounds yearly. Yet, from Michaelmas 1671 to Michaelmas 1688, being seventeen years, the customs yielded net to the crown, nine million four hundred and forty-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds, which, at a medium, was per annum, five hundred and fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two pounds.”

III. The same able author gives us also a view of the gradual increase of the general rents of England, occasioned principally by the increase of our commerce, and in part also by the

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1688 great improvements made in lands, by inclosing, manuring, and taking in of waste grounds, and meliorating of what was poor and barren, viz.

“ The general rental of England, for lands, houses, and mines, before we became considerable in trade, viz. about the year 1600, did not exceed, per annum - - - - - 6,000,000
 “ Which general rental we take now (*i. e.* in the year 1698) to be - - - - - 14,000,000
 “ Moreover, in the year 1600, the said six millions, at twelve years purchase, (the common price of lands at that period) was worth but - - - - - 72,000,000
 “ But the lands, &c. of England, at the rental of fourteen millions, and worth eighteen years purchase, in the year 1688, amounted to - - - - - 252,000,000
 How amazing is this alteration, in the space of less than one century.

So prosperous was the Dutch East India Company at this time, according to Consul Ker's Remarks on Holland, published at Amsterdam, in this same year 1688, and since in English, in Ker of Kerland's Memoirs, “ that they were said to have thirty thousand men in constant pay, and above two hundred capital ships, beside sloops, ketches, and yachts.”

The same author, treating of the city and republic of Hamburg, observes, “ That its then greatness and vast commerce were partly occasioned by the residence of our English Company of Merchant Adventurers; but still much more by the Netherland Protestants, who, in the Duke D'Alva's time forsook the Low Countries and settled here; and by the Protestants turned out of Cologne and other parts of Germany; even although Hamburg be forced to keep six or seven thousand men in pay, to guard against the continual alarms of the King of Denmark, or other neighbours; besides two or three ships of war to guard their merchant ships from pirates; yet their wealth and trade increase daily.—And it is believed, that, small and great, there are belonging to this commonwealth,” (*i. e.* Hamburg) “ five thousand sail of ships.—This author must surely be, in some degree, mistaken, even although he should include in this computation, all the hoys, lighters, &c. employed in carrying goods up and down the river Elbe, &c.

He adds, “ That after Amsterdam, Genoa, and Venice, the bank of Hamburg is reckoned the chief in credit: but in trade the said city is accounted the third in Europe, and comes next to London and Amsterdam, she being now become the magazine of Germany, and of the Baltic and Northern Seas.—Hamburg gives great privileges to the Jews, and to all strangers whatever: but more especially to the before-named English Company of Merchant-Adventurers; to whom they allow a large building, where they have a church, and wherein the deputy-governor, secretary, ministers, and other officers of the company live, to whom the magistrates make an annual present of wine, beer, sheep, salmon, and sturgeon, in their seasons.”—Yet he acknowledges their bigotry, in not permitting the Calvinists to have a public church within their city, who are forced to go out of the gates to Altena, a fine village, a quarter of an hour's walk from Hamburg, belonging to the King of Denmark: who, though a Lutheran prince, has the wisdom to allow the Calvinists a public church there: which conduct of the Hamburgers may possibly hereafter turn to their great prejudice. He also observes, that the city of Lubeck has been guilty of the same bigotry; which city is at present much fallen from its pristine splendour and commerce, having been in old times so powerful, as to wage war against Denmark and Sweden, and to conquer several of their places and islands, &c. But here our author should have observed, that generally those

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1688 “ conquests were made by Lubeck only as the head, but in the name, and by the aids of the other cities of the Hanseatic League.

We have elsewhere traced the rise, prosperity, and declension of that city, and shall therefore now only observe, with this author, that their bigotry to Lutheranism made their magistrates, through the persuasion of their clergy, banish the Papists, Calvinists, Jews, and other dissenters, from their city and territory, to the almost entire ruin of their commerce. He says, “ That in his time,” in the year 1688, “ they had not above two hundred ships, nor any other territory but the city itself, and a small town named Travemund, at the mouth of the river Trave, eight miles below Lubeck; rest of their ancient territory being long since in the hands of the Danes and Swedes:” the former from Holstein, the latter from Wismar, “ by whom the burghers,” says he, “ are kept in such continual alarm, as to be quite tired out with keeping guard and paying taxes: yet,” says he, “ they still maintained fifteen hundred soldiers in pay; and, beside them, four hundred of their burghers, in two companies, are obliged to watch daily.”

To this once-glorious city, we, in England, ought to acknowledge ourselves beholden for some of our earliest improvements in ship-building and commerce, and for our first water-conduits in London, Bristol, Exeter, &c. taken from their models: the Lubeckers having considerably preceded us in respect of many advantageous improvements, the natural effects of an earlier extended commerce; though now it be only the skeleton of its ancient commerce and grandeur.

The Spaniards conquests of Mexico and Peru, where such immense treasures were more easily to be had, induced them gradually to neglect the noble and extensive island of Hispaniola; although it is said there are still mines of gold and silver, as well as of copper, therein, which were formerly worked to very great profit: but as they are said to have destroyed so many as three millions of the natives of that island, who, whilst they were permitted to enjoy their possessions, were very serviceable to the Spaniards, in fishing for them, and in tilling their lands, &c. so that they were then in greater affluence there than they have been since; the greatest part of the country being depopulated, they have, in consequence of such a cruel diminution of inhabitants, been rendered unable to work their mines: this, it is said, makes them carefully conceal their having any, lest foreigners should be allured to invade them.— They have still, however, plenty of sugar, cocoa, cotton, ginger, indigo, coffee, tobacco, wax, honey, ambergris, salt, drugs, and dying-woods.

In this feeble state, a company of pirates, usually then called buccaneers, settled themselves on the north-west part of Hispaniola, till then solely possessed by Spain, and seized on the port and town of Petit-Guaves — After some years nestling there, they applied to King William of England for his protection, promising submission and allegiance to the crown of England: but that King being in alliance with Spain against France, disregarded their application. Whereupon those buccaneers applied to the French court, which readily took them under its protection, and supplied them with proper assistance. From this obscure and singular beginning, has gradually grown up the present powerful French colony in our days, possessed of the best part of the great island of Hispaniola, where they have excellent sugar-works, coffee, ginger, cotton, indigo, and all the other productions of the West Indies; whilst the Spaniards, on the other parts of that island, proved rather useful than hurtful to them, by supplying them with cattle, &c. in return for the French East India merchandize, and with their own manufactures and product; with which also the French there supply ships from the continent of

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1688. Terra Firma and New Spain, &c. coming to St. Domingo, where is fixed the last appeal, or *dernier resort*, in all suits at law for Spanish America, which therefore draws thither many people. This has proved an unlucky incident for England's neighbouring isles; and so much the rather, as the feeble state of Spain obliged that crown, at the treaty of Ryswick, in the year 1697, to yield up to France, for ever, that noble part of Hispaniola, of which they had, till then, violently possessed themselves.

Consul Ker, in his before-mentioned Remarks on Germany, in the year 1688, observes, "That persecution has undone the famous imperial city of Cologne, as well as many others, so greatly decayed within one hundred years past.—The Jesuits influence was such with its magistrates, as to prevail with them to banish all Protestants: these removed to Hamburg and Amsterdam; whereby Cologne became so dispeopled, that the houses daily fell to ruin, for want of inhabitants, and a great deal of corn and wine now grows within its walls, where formerly were houses." He says, the parish of St. Martin, in Westminster, has twice the number of inhabitants that Cologne has, and yet Cologne contains as many parish churches, monasteries, and chapels, as there are days in the year. The like decay, he says, is at Strasburg.

The English nation, as well as those of Scotland and Ireland, having, at this time, had their religious and civil liberties and free constitution openly invaded and trampled on by King James the Second, in a most flagrant manner, by the united voice of all true Protestants and lovers of our national constitution and laws, William, Prince of Orange, that King's nephew and son-in-law, was invited over from Holland, to rescue us from those worst of evils, and was established on the throne of those free nations, whose religious and legal constitutions were thereby settled on more sure and firm foundations than ever they had been in any former period whatever: which felicity of ours even foreigners have celebrated in their writings.—Voltaire, a Frenchman and a Papist, in his Age of Louis the Fourteenth, gives the following remarks, viz. "This was the proper æra of English liberty.—The nation, represented by its Parliament, now fixed the so long contested bounds between the prerogative of the crown and the rights of the people.—They prescribed the terms of reigning to the Prince of Orange, and chose him for their sovereign, in conjunction with his consort Mary."

The establishment of this free constitution, did most certainly contribute greatly, in its consequences, as it was natural to suppose and expect, to the increase and advancement of our commerce. This will, in part, be seen in King William's declaration of war against France, whither the unhappy abdicating King had retired for protection.

In the beginning of 1689, the Prince and Princess of Orange were recognized by the convention of estates, and the voice of the people, as King and Queen of those realms; and by an act of the convention of estates of England, afterwards turned into an act of Parliament, cap. vi. a new form of a coronation-oath was prescribed to be taken by them; whereby they, as all their successors must do, "solemnly promised and swore on the gospels, to govern their people according to law:—To cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all their judgments:—That, to the utmost of their power, they will maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and Protestant Reformed Religion, established by law; and will preserve to the bishops and clergy of this realm; and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law appertain unto them."

Moreover, by a statute; cap. viii. of this first session, the tyrannical oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated; and in their stead were the two following substituted, viz.

I. "I, A. B.

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I. "I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties:" And,

II. "I do, from my heart, abhor, detest, and abjure, that damnable doctrine and position, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

By an act of Parliament, cap. x. of this same first session of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, it appearing, "That the revenue of hearth or chimney-money was grievous to the people of England, by occasioning many difficulties and questions,—a great oppression to the poorer sort, and a badge of slavery upon the whole people; exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure, by persons unknown to him." It was therefore absolutely abolished for ever.

It then appeared, says the continuator of Rapin's History, vol. iii. p. 52, Notes, that the number of houses in England and Wales, soon after the restoration, was about one million two hundred and thirty thousand: and reckoning six persons, at a medium, to each house, it fixes the number of the people then to be seven millions three hundred and eighty thousand.

In the same session, cap. xxii. it was enacted, "That when malt or barley is at one pound four shillings per quarter, or under; rye, at one pound twelve shillings; and wheat, at two pounds eight shillings per quarter; then it shall not only be lawful to export the same, but the exporters shall also receive the following bounties, viz. For malt or barley, per quarter, two shillings and six-pence; rye, three shillings and six-pence; wheat, five shillings per quarter; without requiring any thing for customs or fees whatever; provided security be given for such corn's being legally landed beyond-sea, and that the ship and its crew, in which it shall be exported, be duly qualified according to the acts of navigation."

This was the first law for allowing any bounty on corn exported: which bounties have in general been esteemed so beneficial to the landed interest, by enabling tenants to pay their rents in years of plenty, that unless in years of scarcity, when the current prices were higher than the above-named ones, it has been judged prudent to continue the same. How much this bounty contributed to the improvement of husbandry, is too obvious to be disputed.—Yet some are of opinion, that, instead hereof, all the corn of plentiful years should by the public be purchased of the farmers, at a moderate price, to be laid up in granaries against a year of dearth. This would not only be a great help to our poor, in a year of scarcity, but would bring foreign ships to purchase it at our price, and would also employ great numbers of our own ships, for supplying other nations at higher rates, as is done in Holland. In other countries, says a French author, the people pay their sovereign for leave to carry out their corn; but wiser England pays her people for exporting it.

As nothing tends more to the advancement of commerce and industry, than the giving ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of their religion, an act of the same session, cap. xviii. was passed, For exempting all their Majesties Protestant subjects, of the several denominations dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws: which, as its preamble sets forth, "might be an effectual means to unite their Majesties Protestant subjects in interest and affection."—Which legal toleration, some wicked party-measures, at certain times, excepted, has generally answered the wise and good ends proposed by that law.

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By cap. xxx. of the same first session aforesaid, the statute of the fifth year of King Henry the Fourth, cap. iv. Against the multiplying of Gold and Silver, was repealed; because, says the preamble, "Since the making of the said statute, men are arrived to great skill and perfection in the art of refining metals, and of extracting gold and silver therefrom; but yet dare not exercise their skill, for fear of incurring the felony of that statute, but do therefore exercise their said skill in foreign parts, to the great detriment of the realm:—Provided, however, that all the gold and silver so to be extracted from other metals, be employed for coinage in the King's mint, and no other way. Provided also, that henceforth no mine of copper, tin, iron, or lead, shall hereafter be adjudged to be a royal mine, even although gold or silver may be extracted out of the same."

The great injustice and violences committed by King Louis the Fourteenth of France against England, Germany, Spain, and Holland, brought about a *Grand Alliance* of those four potentates in this same year, for reducing that lawless monarch to reason; the consequence whereof was an immediate declaration of war by each of them. That of King William of England, dated the seventh of May, 1689, after reciting Louis's unjust invasion and ravaging of the territories of his ally, the Emperor and Empire, as far as is relative to commercial concerns, was summarily as follows, viz.

I. "That although it was not long before, that the French took out licences from the English governor of Newfoundland to fish on that coast, paying tribute for such licences, as an acknowledgement of the sole right of the crown of England to that island; yet, of late, their encroachments on that island, and our subjects trade and fishery, have been more like the invasions of an enemy, than becoming friends, who enjoyed the advantages of that trade only by permission."

II. "But that the French King should invade our Caribbee islands, (St. Christopher's, &c.) and possess himself of our territories in New York and Hudson's Bay, in a hostile manner, imprisoning some, and murdering others of our subjects, burning their houses, and seizing on their effects, are actions even not becoming an enemy.—Yet, at that very time, Louis, far from declaring himself so, was, by his ministers in England, soliciting a treaty of neutrality and good correspondence in America."—(in the year 1686.)

III. "His proceedings, moreover, against our subjects in Europe, are so notorious, that we need not enlarge thereon: such as the countenancing the seizure of our ships by his privateers; his prohibiting a great part of our product and manufactures; and imposing exorbitant customs upon the rest; are sufficient evidences of his design to destroy the trade and navigation upon which the wealth and safety of this nation very much depend."

IV. "His disputing the right of the flag, inherent in the crown of England."

V. "His unchristian persecution of many of our English Protestant subjects in France, for matters of religion, contrary to the laws of nations, and express treaties; forcing them to abjure their religion, by unusual cruelties; imprisoning some of the masters and seamen of our merchant ships, and condemning others to the galleys, on pretence of having on board, either some of his own miserable Protestant subjects, or their effects."

VI. "And, lastly, his endeavouring, for some years past, by insinuations and promises of assistance, to overthrow the government of England; and now, by open and violent methods, to invade Ireland, in support of our subjects in rebellion against us."

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This prohibition of commerce with France produced the good consequences of inducing the people of England to improve their old, and to invent several new manufactures, &c. which they formerly took of France; not a little to the detriment of that kingdom in the end.

In the declaration of Holland, amongst many other allegations against Louis; they affirm,

“ First, That he had endeavoured, by all manner of ways, to ruin their navigation and commerce, as well in Europe as elsewhere, by seizing of their ships and cargoes.

“ Secondly, By violently forcing even their ships of war to be searched, in a time of profound peace.

“ Thirdly, By his new tolls and impositions, hindering their subjects from selling their manufactures and fish in his country,—so as it was become impossible to continue their trade to France, where their complaints were rejected with scorn.

“ Fourthly, Having begun a horrible persecution of his own Protestant subjects, he had therein involved the subjects of the States General, though only living in France, on account of commerce; parting wives from their husbands and children from their parents, &c.”

The declaration of Spain, of the third of May this year, was in consequence of France's prior declaration of war against that crown, on the fifteenth of the preceding month, though destitute of all justice;—as also of his invading and ravaging the empire, and bringing the Turks to invade and ravage Hungary.

And that of the Emperor and Empire was much to the same effect.

In the remarkable convention between the commissioners of King William and those of the States of the United Netherlands, dated in August 1689, concerning their prohibition of commerce with France, it was stipulated;

“ I. That the subjects of neither nation shall be allowed to traffic to or with those of France, either with ships of their own or of any other nation. Neither shall they import into either country any merchandize being the produce of the French King's dominions.

“ II. If, during this war, the subjects of any other potentate shall have commerce with France, or that their ships are met with in their passage thither, they shall be seized and condemned as lawful prize.

“ III. The other potentates of Europe, at peace with France, shall have due notification, that if their ships or vessels shall be found at sea, before this notification shall have been given, making their way to France, they shall be obliged by the ships of England and Holland forthwith to turn back: and if sailing from France, laden with French merchandize, they shall be obliged to sail back to France, and there leave the said merchandize upon pain of forfeiture. And in case the ships of those Kings, Princes, and States, or their subjects, shall, after the said notification, be found at sea, and sailing either towards the ports of France, or returning from thence; they shall be seized and forfeited, together with their cargoes, and shall be reputed good prize.

“ IV. And as to the Princes and allies who are really at war with France, notification shall be given them, as aforesaid; and they shall be desired at the same time to concur with such methods as are so conducive to the common interest, and to give and execute such orders as tend to the same end.

“ Done at Whitehall, August 12—22, 1689.”

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Part of a secret article, viz.

“ It is agreed, that in case either the one or the other party shall be incommoded or molested, by reason of the execution of this present treaty or any article thereof, his Britannic Majesty King William and the Lords the States General, do promise and oblige themselves to be guarantees for and to one another upon that account.” General Collection of Treaties; first volume, second edition, p. 284-5-6, London, 1732.

Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV. observes, “ that France was never in so flourishing a condition as in the period from the death of Cardinal Mazarine to this war of 1689; contrary to the opinion of a certain author; who, it seems, had affirmed, that France, since the year 1660, had sunk in real value one thousand five hundred millions; the very contrary whereof was true. Thus, adds he, in England, in the most flourishing times, papers are continually coming out to prove, that the kingdom is undone.” Which observation is extremely just.

Although King Charles the Second, and his brother King James the Second, of England, had in their treaties with France generally stipulated, that in case of any rupture between the two nations in Europe, the subjects of both crowns in America should remain in a state of neutrality; yet, at the above-named grand revolution in England, the French broke through that agreement, by entering, in an hostile manner, into the English pale at St. Christopher's Isle, even before war was declared there between those two nations: and, although the English of that isle had sent for succour from Barbadoes, after taking shelter in their fortresses, yet they were necessitated to surrender their part of that isle to the French, in July 1689, and were thereby obliged to retire to the neighbouring isle of Nevis; to the great loss of many merchants in London and Bristol.

Soon after which, the French drove the Hollanders out of their own island of Eustatia, in that neighbourhood.

It was in or about this year 1689, that the first convention was made, at London, between England and Spain, for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negro slaves, from the island of Jamaica.

About this time, (according to a quarto pamphlet, said to be written by Mr. William Wood, a great undertaker of metals, in the year 1721, entitled, *The State of the Copper and Brass Manufacture in Great Britain*, humbly offered to the Consideration of Parliament,) “ the raising and refining of copper ore was revived in England, and chiefly in the county of Cornwall, after having been lost or disused ever since the time of the Saxons; who, says he, as well as the Danes, formerly made copper in England, as appears by the old mines wrought by them in several counties: but, by reason of the great quantities of those metals being imported from foreign parts, (on which high duties should have been laid) that valuable branch of our product was dropped for many ages.” Yet Gerard Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, published in 1622, observes, that copper mines were then actually worked in many English counties: so that Mr. Wood must, in this respect, be under an historical mistake. Under the year 1399, we have likewise observed, that some authors relate, that, in King Richard the Second's reign, there was a copper mine found in Shropshire. Mr. Wood observes, “ that formerly we had all our copper and brass from Sweden and Germany, though now,” viz. when he wrote, in the year 1721, “ we are, in a great measure, supplied from our own mines. It was later, he says, that the art was gained to England of converting copper into brass.”

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1689 On the breaking out of the war of William, King of England, against France, a company of Sword Cutlers was erected by patent, for the making of hollow sword blades, in the county of Cumberland and the adjacent counties, for the use of the army. But, although they were enabled to purchase lands, to erect mills, and to receive and employ great numbers of German artificers, yet it did not succeed as was expected. The first patentees, therefore, sold or assigned their patent to a company of merchants in London, who thereupon purchased under that patent to the value of twenty thousand pounds per annum of the forfeited estates in Ireland. But the Irish Parliament, in the reign of Queen Anne, knowing they had purchased those lands at a very low rate, would not permit them, in their corporate capacity, to take conveyances of lands, lest they might have proved too powerful a body in that kingdom. This obliged them to sell off their Irish estates, which put a period to the corporation. Yet a private copartnership of then well known bankers in London, possessed of their obsolete charter, had the appellation of the Sword Blade Company, till after the year 1720, though long since broken up.

King William having, on so many just grounds, as related, found it necessary to declare war against France, an act of Parliament passed, cap. xxxiv. of the first session of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, from and after the twenty-fourth of August 1689, for three years, and to the end of the next following session of Parliament, if the war shall last so long. The preamble just remarks, " that it hath been found by long experience, that the importing of French wines, vinegar, brandy, linen, silks, salt, paper, and other commodities of the growth, product, or manufacture of France, hath much exhausted the treasure of this nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof; greatly impoverished the English artificers and handicrafts, and caused great detriment to this kingdom in general." (Instead of this absolute prohibition of French wines and brandies, high duties were afterwards laid on them, as per acts of the second, and of the fourth and fifth years of this reign.) " All such French merchandize imported shall be forfeited to the crown, and shall be destroyed :—with several penalties on the importer, vender, and possessor; on the resister of execution,—on the informer acting by collusion,—on the master, seamen, &c. importing them; and the ship to be forfeited likewise, as also the carts, &c. bringing those goods from such ships. No brandy, or other spirits, shall at all be imported from any country whatever, on forfeiture thereof and of the ship." This absolute prohibition was intended for the encouraging the distilling at home of brandy and spirits from corn, on which a duty was laid, by an act of the second year of this reign, cap. ix. " And although the said French goods are to be destroyed, yet a value is hereby set on them, viz. wines thirty pounds per ton, and brandies forty pounds per ton; the rest as in the book of rates of the twelfth of Charles II. or by a jury trying the cause, in case they be not found in the book of rates. One-third of which value shall go to the seizer or suer, and two-thirds to the crown. With power for officers to search houses, and to break open locks. Persons resisting punishable, &c."

In the second session of the Parliament of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, a most memorable and glorious statute, cap. ii. was enacted, entitled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown*: " or, a legal Confirmation of the Declaration of Right, presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange, on the thirteenth of February preceding, by the Lords and Commons assembled at West-

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689 “minster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the Estates of the People of England; viz.

“ I. Whereas the late King James II. by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers, employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion; and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:

“ 1. By assuming a power of dispensing with the laws, without the consent of Parliament.

“ 2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

“ 3. By his commission, under the great seal, for erecting a court, called, The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

“ 4. By levying money, by pretence of prerogative; for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

“ 5. By raising and keeping up a standing army in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering of soldiers, contrary to law.

“ 6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.

“ 7. By violating the freedom of elections of members to serve in Parliament.

“ 8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament: and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

“ 9. By obtaining partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons to be returned to serve on juries, in trials for high treason, who were not freeholders.

“ 10. By excessive bails being required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

“ 11. And by excessive fines having been imposed, and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

“ 12. By several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

“ All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm: wherefore, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation,—do, in the first place, (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties,—declare,

“ 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

“ 2. As is also the dispensing with laws.

“ 3. And the like of the court for ecclesiastical causes.

“ 4. The like, as to levying money, without grant of Parliament.

“ 5. That it is the right of the subject to petition the King; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal.

“ 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

“ 7. That the subjects who are Protestants may have arms for their defence, suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

“ 8. That the election of Members of Parliament ought to be free.

“ 9. That

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- “ 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.
- “ 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed: nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
- “ 11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned; and that jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.
- “ 12. That all grants, and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.
- “ 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.
- “ And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any-wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.
- “ Having therefore particular encouragement from the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange,—and an entire confidence, that he will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties.
- “ II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland; to hold to them during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them: but the sole and full exercise of the regal power to be only in the Prince, though in the names of both.—And, after their decease, the crown to descend to the heirs of the Princess, and, failing such, to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and, for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange.
- “ III. That the oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated, and in their stead the two following oaths be substituted.” (These we have already exhibited, with the new coronation-oath.)
- “ IV. Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity aforesaid.—
- “ V. And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit; and, with their said Majesties royal concurrence, make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom.
- “ VI. Now, in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying and confirming of the said declaration,—by the force of a law made in due form by authority of Parliament; do pray, that it may be declared and enacted,—That all and singular the rights and liberties, asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom; and so shall be esteemed, allowed, and adjudged; and firmly and strictly holden and observed.—And that all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors, according to the same, in times to come.
- “ VII. And the said Lords and Commons seriously considering, how it has pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide
- “ and

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dominions lie on that river, and who are either tributaries to, or else powerful governors under the Mogul, not a great distance from his court; were apt to make, and sometimes have made, arbitrary demands of duties for passing that way. Higher up, at the town of Huguely, the Dutch have a noble fort and factory, for the same trade, and also for Bengal stuffs, calico, cotton, and mullin, for the European markets; as also for opium, ginger, long pepper, tobacco, &c. for the country trade.

On the same river too, the French lately had a fort and factory. Here, likewise, the Danes had formerly a factory. Likewise, in the year 1723, the late Ostend Company had a factory.

At Huguely, the Great Mogul has a custom-house, and on that river there is a vast trade carried on for all kinds of India goods, backward and forward: and, beside their staple goods before mentioned, they trade in stuffs of herba, (the rind of a certain tree, which they dress, and draw out so fine, that it works like silk, with which and also with cotton it is woven) aloes, opium, wax, laque, civet, indigo, canes, spices; also in sugar and rice, carried all over India in immense quantities.

This great kingdom of Bengal had its own monarchs till the year 1582, when it was conquered by the Mogul. It is one of the finest countries of all Asia, and is said to bring five millions sterling annually into the Mogul's treasury; and is likewise obliged, on occasion, to supply him with forty thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot soldiers.

The Portuguese had once several factories here; but have long since been expelled by the Moguls, for their rapacious and outrageous conduct.

Higher up Huguely River, at Cassembazar, the English and Dutch have their out-factories: as at Dacca, an island in the most easterly branch of the Ganges; and at Maldo, on another branch of that vast river; all depending on the before-mentioned principal and fortified factories. The English, Dutch, and French, have each a factory at Balasore, or Bassora, in the Bay of Bengal, chiefly for taking in pilots for conducting them up the Ganges. At this time, the English Company published a state of their trade, shipping, and forts, viz.

“ First, That within seven years past, they had built sixteen great ships, from nine hundred to thirteen hundred tons each.

“ Secondly, That in lieu of Bantam, from whence they had been expelled, they have erected and garrisoned three forts in other parts of India, for the pepper trade.

“ Thirdly, That they had now at sea, in India, and coming home, eleven ships, and four permission ships, whose cargoes amounted to above three hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

“ Fourthly, They had seven great ships, and six permission ones, all for Coast and Bay, whose cargoes amounted to near five hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

“ Fifthly, They had seven ships for China and the South Seas, whose cargoes amounted to near one hundred thousand pounds, beside several small vessels, constantly remaining in India.

“ Sixthly, That they have now remaining India goods unfold at home, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds.

“ Seventhly, That, by means of their Isle of Bombay, they have brought thither the principal part of the trade of Surat; and where, from four thousand families, computed when the company first took possession of it, they are since increased to fifty thousand families, all subject to the company's laws.

“ Lastly,

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"Lastly, The company had made a most successful war with the Mogul, and brought him to reasonable terms, confirmed by that Prince's own Phirmaund, and secured by a strong garrison at Bombay; which, being one of the best ports in India, and lying so near Surat, (the great emporium of the Indian trade to Arabia, Persia, Bassora, and the Red Sea) if the English trade had not been brought thither to load home, and not at the river of Surat, as formerly, it would not have been near so beneficial." This is indeed a very pompous view of that company's condition, as published by themselves: but their enemies soon after gave a very different view of it.

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Beside the benefits elsewhere mentioned to have been received by England from the French King's revocation of the edict of Nantes, in the year 1685, it did good service to the English colonies in America; and particularly in the year 1690, when King William settled some hundreds of the French refugee families on the south side of James River in Virginia, above the Falls, where they have since much improved that naturally fine country.

The French in the province of Canada, in America, growing troublesome neighbours to the English province of New York, by endeavouring to draw to themselves the whole trade of peltry with the Indian nations; the government of New York, in this year 1690, made an attempt on Quebec, the capital town of Canada, distant about four or five hundred miles from New York city. For this end they marched from New Albany Fort, with three hundred English and three hundred allied Iroquois Indians; and although the French governor of Canada had with him above double the number of regular troops, besides Indians, yet the English defeated him, and killed about three hundred of his men: but, not having artillery, &c. proper for attacking their forts, which surely they should have foreseen, they were obliged to be content with this victory, and so to return home.

In this same year, General Coddington, commander in chief of the English Leeward Islands, had better success in the West Indies: for, by the help of succours from England, joined to the regiments he had raised in those islands, he retook from the French, with the loss of two hundred men, the island of St. Christopher; from whence he conveyed the French inhabitants, consisting of one thousand eight hundred men, beside women and children, to Hispaniola and Martinico. The same year he likewise retook the isle of St. Eustatia, which the French had, the preceding year, taken from the Dutch: he also took from the French the isles of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew; but he failed in his attempt on Guadaloupe.

In this same year 1690, Sir William Phipps, with a fleet and land forces from New England, sailed for Nova Scotia, and got possession of the fort and town of Port Royal, (since named Annapolis Royal) in the Bay of Fundy, which till then had been so troublesome to our commerce in America, by means of the French privateers, as to have obtained the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. He also seized on and demolished a fort at St. John's River; and erected better forts in their stead. The French till now had, from Port Royal, carried on a considerable trade to the sugar isles, &c. with fish, lumber, and peltry. Yet King William's pressures obliged him to restore it to France by the treaty of Ryfwick, and so it remained till the following century.

So great is the quantity of timber in that country, and the adjacent parts of New England, that, in after years, the surveyor general for the woods of the crown of Great Britain in America had directions to set out three hundred thousand acres of the best woodlands, for white pine trees, for masts and other ship timber, to be near the sea or navigable rivers, and to be

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1690 reserved for the navy royal : which, it is hoped, will be ever carefully looked after, whatever reports there may be of neglects therein.

The number of houses in England and Wales, this year, as returned by the books of the hearth duty, at Lady-day 1690, was one million three hundred and ninety-one thousand two hundred and fifteen ; which, at six persons to a house, makes the number of souls seven millions nine hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred and ninety, or very near eight millions. (Dr. D'Avenant's Essay on Ways and Means of supplying the War, London, 1695.) So that, reckoning one million and an half in Scotland, which may be near the truth, and two millions in Ireland, which we have elsewhere shewn to be very near the truth, there is good ground to believe, there may be at least eleven millions of souls in England, Scotland, and Ireland. That author makes the houses in Yorkshire to be one hundred and twenty-one thousand and fifty-two ; in Wales, seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-one ; and in London, Westminster, and Middlesex, one hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and fifteen.

Until in or near about this year 1690, there was scarce any other kind of paper made in England, but the coarse brown sort. But the war with France occasioning high duties on foreign paper, the French Protestant refugees settled in England chiefly, and also our own few paper-makers, now began to make white writing and printing paper ; which, in length of time has been brought to so great perfection, both for beauty and substance, that, in our own time, we import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper ; which, however, bears but a small proportion to all the paper used in the British dominions. How great a saving this has proved to Britain, may partly be conceived, from what has been often formerly affirmed by such as are well acquainted therewith, viz. that to France alone, from whom we now take none, even in time of peace, we paid annually to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds for paper only.

At this time, or a little before, certain mines of lead and also of copper were found in the lands of Sir Carbery Price, in Cardiganshire, in South Wales : which, requiring great expence to work, he at first divided into twenty-four shares, in this year 1690. This was the original rise of the Mine-adventurers Company, by the ill conduct of which so many persons and families were greatly hurt, and others utterly ruined. In the year 1693, that gentleman and his partners subdivided the said twenty-four shares into four thousand and eight shares, for the term of twenty-two years and an half ; in which many lords and gentlemen of worth were deeply concerned. Yet for want of a sufficient stock of money, for carrying on so expensive a work, it languished and went retrograde until the year 1698, when a new constitution was established, by indenture, in a pompous manner ; the Duke of Leeds being thereby established governor of this company, and Sir Humphry Mackworth deputy governor, both during life, with a select committee of managers or directors : and a new capital stock of twenty thousand pounds was raised, for paying off debts before contracted, and for vigorously carrying on the mines ; and five years were hereby added to the said twenty-two years and an half of their grant. Sir Humphry Mackworth's proposal and plan was accepted of, and he undertook the conduct of the whole, viz. to dispose of the four thousand and eight shares by a lottery of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, at five-pounds per ticket, consisting of twenty-five thousand tickets in all ; whereof two thousand five hundred were to be fortunate : with abundance of wild perplexed and romantic articles ; which, however, drew in many persons of worth and character.

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1690 Sir Humphry Mackworth brought into this new constitution his own lands, coal pits, and mines, near Neath, in Glamorganshire, where wharfs and warehouses, refining houses and mills were erected, and much lead ore was raised, from whence quantities of silver were extracted, and also litharge of lead, which is used by apothecaries, surgeons, and painters; but most principally by potters, for glazing of their earthen ware, and by the makers of fine glass; and of red lead, into which litharge is easily transformed. Thus they went on, at a vast expence, till the next century; till which time we shall leave them, after observing, that it is somewhat strange, so many sagacious persons, as Sir Humphry Mackworth drew into this project, did not entertain any suspicion of his pompous out-set, and of his proposals of one-twelfth part of the clear profit of the mines to be disposed of to such charitable uses as he should direct, previous to their knowing any thing certain whether there would be any profit at all from a mere embryo project. By such means, and likewise by his charity proposal, abundance of clergy, widows, and orphans were engaged therein.

1691 After the English East India Company's very great expence of money and men in their war with the Great Mogul, they at length obtained peace with him, and the restitution of their former privileges, in the year 1691; when they likewise re-established their revolted factory at Bombay, and quieted the isle of St. Helena. Nevertheless, the above great expence, the incessant clamours of the interlopers, and of the friends of those put to death at St. Helena, jointly conspired to bring that company into great discredit; so that printed papers were handed about in coffee houses and other public places, displaying their crimes and miscarriages; doubtless not without exaggerations. Proposals also were published for dissolving this, and for erecting a new company. And so far was the House of Commons influenced hereby, as in this same year to address King William to dissolve the company, agreeable to the power reserved by the crown in their charter, and to incorporate a new one.

The King's answer was, "that it being a matter of very great importance, it required some time to consider their said address." In the mean time the King referred it to a committee of the privy council; whereupon the company did, in writing, declare their submission to such regulations as that committee of council should prescribe; which were in substance: "that their capital stock should be made up one million five hundred thousand pounds at least, but not to exceed two millions; of which the present company's capital of seven hundred and forty thousand pounds was to constitute a part: and the present company, jointly with the new subscribers, to be incorporated for twenty-one years." We shall give the company's answer and vindication under the next year.

The government of New England still finding the French in Canada to be very troublesome neighbours, they sent out a fleet of thirty-two sail, with two thousand land forces on board, for the attack of Quebec; but, being eight weeks in sailing up the river of St. Lawrence, (which the author of the British Empire in America thinks might have been done in two or three weeks) they thereby gave time to the French to bring all their strength to Quebec: before which place our people being repulsed, were obliged to re-embark; many of their ships in coming down that river were wrecked or lost: and when two thousand English and one thousand five hundred Indians had marched over land from New York, Connecticut, &c. they found no canoes to transport them over the lakes; they were therefore likewise forced to return home. In this unfortunate and ill-conducted expedition the province of New England contracted one hundred and forty thousand pounds debt: and there were said to have been one thousand lives lost, one way or other.

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1691 We shall, under this year 1691, exhibit (from p. 13, of the preface of an octavo book, printed in this same year, entitled, *An Account of new Inventions and Improvements now necessary for England*) a pregnant instance of French vanity and arrogance, which the author affirms was then engraven on the great French first rate ship of war, named the *St. Louis*, viz.

“ *Je suis l'unique de l'Onde,*

“ *Et mon Roy du Monde!*

Which we apprehend may not unfitly be englished thus ;

“ I, on the Ocean, am the mightiest thing.

“ As on the land is my all-potent King !

1692 We shall now give the English East India Company's vindication of themselves, by way of reply to the regulations proposed by the committee of the privy council, at the close of the preceding year, viz. “ that their present quick and dead stock,” (the former means ships and merchandize, the latter forts, factories, houses, &c.) “ and revenue, are really worth more “ than one million five hundred thousand pounds. The present current price of their capital “ stock at market being one hundred and fifty per cent. That they knew no law nor reason, “ for their being thus dispossessed of their estates at an under value. That their forts, towns, “ and territories in India are theirs for ever by their charters, and have cost them, first and “ last, above a million sterling. That all the other proposed regulations are better provided “ for by their present charter than they can be by any new one, &c.” Vide an Account of some Transactions in the House of Commons and before the Lords of the Privy Council, relating to the late East India Company, in quarto, 1693, p. 1,-2, &c.

In this same year, the King's answer to the Commons before-mentioned address, was in substance, “ that, upon due consultation, he found he could not dissolve the said company in “ less than three years warning ; during which time they could not be hindered from trading, “ nor could a new company trade till those three years were expired. That the company hav- “ ing rejected most of the regulations made by the committee of council, he was of opinion, “ that what was needful to preserve this valuable trade could not be perfected without the “ concurrence of Parliament : wherefore he recommended their preparing a bill for that “ purpose.”

This was speaking like a good King to a free people ; whereupon the House of Commons took the settlement of this trade into consideration : yet, through their divisions, and the company's great interest, they did nothing effectual ; only at the close of that session they addressed the King to dissolve the company at the end of the said three years ; which, he told them, he would take into consideration.

A war with France having (before) been seen to be unavoidable by England, it was soon found to be very unfortunate for the latter, that as her maritime commerce was much greater than that of France, she was thereby very much exposed to captures by French privateers ; so that, by an account laid before the Parliament, in this same year 1692, it appeared, that the French had in the two years past of this war, taken from England no less than three thousand sail of trading vessels, great and small. And within the same period we had taken from France only sixty-seven merchant ships. A terrible difference indeed. Yet not so difficult to be accounted

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1692 accounted for as some might imagine, when it is considered that so great a part of the French commerce was at this time carried on in foreign ships, and chiefly till now in Dutch bottoms.

On the other hand, for balancing part of this great misfortune, the strict prohibition of commerce by both nations, during this war, proved the occasion of gradually destroying several very profitable French manufactures, which were either transferred to England directly, or else established by other nations. Thus,

First, France was almost entirely deprived of a most profitable linen manufacture, never likely to be regained, of two particular species, viz. dowlas and lockram, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Brittany; of which England was said to have taken off to the value of two hundred thousand pounds sterling annually. For England not being well able to be without those two sorts of linen, set the Hamburgers on imitating them so well, that the very names of those French linens with us are buried in oblivion.

Secondly, France, before this war, manufactured such good and cheap felt-hats, at Caudebecque, Havre-de-Grace, and other places in Normandy, that, by our prohibiting of them, we have gradually arrived at so great a perfection in hat-making, as to make them better, as well as cheaper, than the French can do.

Thirdly, Before this war, the fine glass manufacture was almost entirely French. For, not only very near all the plate-glass of our coaches and chairs, and of our fine looking-glasses, came from France, but likewise our finest window-glass, which was usually called Normandy-glass, and French crown-glass: both which we have since made entirely our own manufacture in the highest perfection.

• We have before observed, under the year 1685, the great benefits which had accrued to England by her receiving the French Protestant Refugees, who introduced several new manufactures: nevertheless, the improvement of them, and of the others before-named, could not have been so speedily nor so effectually accomplished, had it not been for the strict prohibition of intercourse between the two nations by this war. Whereby also,

Fourthly, Cutlery-ware, watches, toys, ribbons, &c. and more especially England's Broad-silk manufacture, have been so greatly improved, as even to out-do the French in all of them. Hence it may be well imagined how immense the loss of France must have been in the decrease of their said manufactures.

This year was propitious to England, by the great and signal victory she obtained over the naval power of France, off La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy; where an army of twenty thousand men lay ready to embark with the late King James, for invading of England, in case, as they hoped, that the French fleet should prove victorious.

Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV. relates, that three hundred transport ships were got ready at Brest, and Admiral Tourville, with forty-four ships of war, waited for them on the Norman coast. D'Etrees was also on his way from Toulon, with another squadron of thirty ships of war; but they happened to be detained from joining Tourville by contrary winds.—The combined fleet of England and Holland, according to him and others, consisted of near one hundred sail, commanded in chief by Admiral Russel, afterwards created Earl of Orford. In this tremendous naval engagement, twenty-one of the best ships of France were destroyed, amongst which was its superb admiral-ship, the Royal Sun, of one hundred and ten brass cannons, set on fire in sight of that army, and of the late King James. Voltaire relates, that fourteen of the largest French ships of war were run a-ground on the adjacent coast, two of which number carried each one hundred and four guns; and their commanders, knowing that

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692 that they must be destroyed by the enemy, with their own hands set fire to them. This, adds he, was the first check which the maritime strength of Louis the Fourteenth had as yet received.

In this same year, the French Refugees in England formed a successful project to the advantage of England, for the making of lustrings and alamode silks; a manufacture then in great vogue, and from which France had reaped vast advantages, by England's paying her great sums of money yearly for them. They now had a patent for it, the Earl of Pembroke being their first governor, for the sole privilege of making those silks, which they soon brought to perfection, whereby much money was saved. And although, by the change of fashion, these silks are not now in request, the project however contributed to the improvement of the English silk manufacture in general. By an act of the eighth and ninth of King William, cap. xxxvi. it appears, that the said Royal Lustring Company had, in the year 1697, brought this manufacture to the greatest perfection; wherefore foreign lustrings and alamodes are thereby prohibited, &c. This obsolete charter was made one of the bubbles of the year 1720, and fell with them soon after to nothing. It was called the Royal Lustring (vulgarly Lutestring) Company.

693 In the fourth and fifth years of King William and Queen Mary, an act of Parliament passed, cap. xv. For continuing certain acts therein mentioned, and for charging several joint-stocks; whereby it was enacted,

" I. That for every hundred pounds of East India joint-stock, there should be answered to their Majesties five-pounds; valuing the whole joint-stock of that company at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, to be paid quarterly by their governor or treasurer, and to be deducted from the several persons interested in the said stock, according to their several shares and proportions therein, upon their next dividends.

" II. And for every share in the joint-stock of the Royal African Company, twenty shillings."—Without naming how many shares, or what sum the said joint-stock consisted of.

" III. And for every share in the joint-stock of the Hudson's Bay Company, five pounds."—Without ascertaining the number of shares, or the quantity of stock of this company.

" And in case any of the said three companies shall make default in payment of any of the said sums, at the time herein specified, the charter of such company respectively shall be, and is hereby adjudged to be void,"

These were the only joint-stock commercial companies then in England; the other three great commercial companies, viz. the Russia, Turkey, and Eastland ones, being only regulated companies, wherein every member or freeman traded solely on his own bottom; subject only to certain regulations and restrictions by the bye-laws and general orders of each company; which have therefore the appellation of Regulated Companies.

It happened, it may be truly said either intentionally or most unaccountably, that the East India Company neglected to pay their above tax within the time limited by this act; by which they legally forfeited their charter. Yet King William was unwilling to take advantage thereof, as it would have occasioned great disorders and losses to the proprietors. The company, however, hereupon was said to have distributed great sums of money to men in power: they therefore obtained a new charter, on the seventh of October, 1693, restoring them to all the powers, &c. which former charters had given them; but with the following proviso, viz.

" That if the company did not accept of, submit to, and effectually execute, such orders, directions, additions, alterations, restrictions, &c. relating to the constitution and powers of their corporation, and its trade and joint-stock, &c. as the King shall by charter ordain, under

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“ under his great seal, before the twenty-ninth of September, 1694, then their Majesties may
 “ revoke this charter.” Which regulations and orders were accordingly made by two royal
 charters : the first of which was on the eleventh of November, 1693, in substance as fol-
 lows, viz.

“ I. All subscribers shall be members of the company.

“ II. Seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds shall be the whole capital of the
 “ company.

“ III. None shall subscribe above ten thousand pounds.

“ IV. In general courts, one thousand pounds stock to have one vote ; nor none shall have
 “ above ten votes.

“ V. Such as shall become proprietors by purchase, shall pay for their freedom five pounds ;
 “ who, as also the new subscribers, shall take the oaths appointed by law, and also the frec-
 “ man's oath.

“ VI. The governor, or in his absence the deputy-governor, to have a casting vote in all
 “ courts ; each of them to have four thousand pounds in their own right ; and each committee-
 “ man one thousand pounds.” They had not as yet got the modern name of directors.

“ VII. No permission shall be granted for ships to India on a private account, on the pe-
 “ nalty of forfeiting the charters.

“ VIII. No private contract is to be made for the sale of the company's goods (saltpetre
 “ only excepted, sold for the King's use) : but all to be openly and publicly sold.—And no
 “ one lot, jewels excepted, to exceed five hundred pounds value.

“ IX. The company shall annually export to India, of the growth and product of England,
 “ to the value of at least one hundred thousand pounds.

“ X. The company shall annually supply the crown with five hundred tons of saltpetre, at
 “ thirty-eight pounds ten shillings per ton, in time of peace ; and forty-five pounds in time
 “ of war.

“ XI. All dividends of the company's profits shall, for the future, be made in money only.

“ XII. A book to be hereafter kept by the company, wherein the value of their stock shall
 “ be entered, as attested upon oath, and to be viewed by all concerned ; and the like as to all
 “ mortgages, alienations, transfers, and assignments.

“ XIII. The joint-stock of the company shall continue for twenty-one years : and one year
 “ before its expiration, books shall lie open for new subscriptions to a new joint-stock.”

In an English act of Parliament, of this fourth and fifth year of King William and Queen
 Mary, For the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade, cap. xvii. it is ob-
 served, That the trade to the Greenland seas, in the fishing for whales, had heretofore been a
 very beneficial trade for England, both in respect to the employing of seamen and ships, and
 the consuming of great quantities of provisions, (how different is this stile from the proclama-
 tions of King James and King Charles the First !) as also in the importing of great quantities
 of oil and whale-fins :—Yet that this trade had been wholly lost to the kingdom, and could
 now no otherwise be revived than by united endeavours in a joint-stock.—“ Wherefore, this
 “ act incorporates Sir William Scawen, and forty-one persons more, to be a corporation, by
 “ the name of The Company of Merchants of London trading to Greenland ; with the usual
 “ powers of succession, &c. this company having already subscribed forty thousand pounds
 “ for that end : the master, and only one-third of the mariners to be English,” (the want of
 English harpooners, &c. being at this time so great) “ and the ships to be English-built.—

“ All

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693 " All contracts, agreements, and bargains for their stock to be void, unless transferred with-
 " in ten days after.—This corporation only to exist for fourteen years, from the first of Octo-
 " ber, 1693."

The English and Dutch naval exploits in this year, proved almost as unfortunate as they had been prosperous in the preceding year. For Sir George Rooke, with twenty-three ships of war, having the Turkey fleet under his convoy, was attacked by the grand fleet of France, commanded in chief by Tourville, off Cape St. Vincent; who took or destroyed twelve English and Dutch ships of war, together with eighty merchant ships, English and Dutch: which was a severe loss to both nations.

The French, we have seen, having, even in time of peace, in the year 1686, seized on all the forts of England in Hudson's Bay, excepting that at Port Nelson, King William, in this year 1693, sent out such a force as retook all those forts. Nevertheless, soon after, the French, with a stronger force, again possessed themselves of all the forts in the bottom of that bay.

1694 The revenues of the city of London having, in some former times, been under bad or negligent management, the fund for the Orphans of Freemen was suffered to run so far in arrear, that the Chamber of London, where that fund was, and is still kept, was shut up for several years: of which great complaints were made at different times; so that this shutting up was compared to King Charles the Second's shutting up of the Exchequer, in the year 1672.—After three or four years solicitation, the magistracy coming into better hands, they, in this year 1694, obtained an act of Parliament, For relief of the orphans, and other creditors of the city of London, (fifth and sixth of William and Mary, cap. x.) purporting, " That whereas
 " the mayor, commonalty and citizens, are answerable for all monies of their orphans; but
 " that, by reason of sundry accidents and calamities, they are now indebted to the said or-
 " phans, and other creditors, for principal and interest, in a much greater sum than they are
 " able to satisfy, (viz. six hundred thousand pounds) unless some assistance be given them:—
 " It was therefore enacted,

" First, That towards the raising a perpetual fund, to pay the yearly interest of four per
 " cent. for the whole debt, to any orphans, or their assigns, or other creditors, of the city
 " of London, all the manors, messuages, markets, fairs, aqueducts, and revenues of the said
 " city, (excepting the public hospitals, and the revenues of London-bridge) shall be charged
 " for ever, from Midsummer 1694, towards raising the clear yearly sum of eight thousand
 " pounds for ever, and two thousand pounds more to be raised per annum, on personal estates.
 " And, for the increase of this fund, six hundred pounds per annum was to be paid out of
 " the profits of the convex lamps;" (then in vogue, but since come to nothing; four-pence
 " per chaldron for metage on coals imported; and six-pence more per chaldron or ton, for
 " fifty years, from Michaelmas 1700, to be collected in the same manner as by the act of the
 " nineteenth of Charles the Second, For rebuilding of the city of London; also four shillings
 " per ton on wines imported; two shillings and six-pence for binding of every apprentice;
 " and five shillings for every new freeman.—And, to the intent that this fund may be perpe-
 " tual, it was now enacted, That from the time that the last-named imposition of six-pence
 " on coals shall cease and determine," viz. from Michaelmas 1750, " then the before-named
 " city-lands, manors, messuages, markets, &c. and all other the city's revenues, shall stand
 " and be charged with the further yearly sum of six thousand pounds, over and above the
 " before-named annual sum of eight thousand pounds, applicable to the same use. All which
 " sums shall, in the first place, be applied to pay the said four per cent. yearly, for interest on
 " the

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1694 " the said orphans debt, to be paid half yearly, on Midsummer and St. Thomas's day : which
 " debt shall be a perpetual transferable stock.—But no orphan shall, for the future, be com-
 " pellable to pay any money into the chamber of London.—And any orphan, under twenty-
 " one years of age, applying hereafter to pay in a sum of money into the chamber of London,
 " may take advantage of this act, and the Chamberlain may thereupon pay off the like sum to
 " any who are not orphans under twenty-one years of age, and admit the said orphan in his
 " stead.—Clauses in favour of the corporations of the water-companies of the New River,
 " York Buildings, Shadwell, and London Bridge."

It was a very sad disgrace to Sir John Trevor, then Speaker of the House of Commons, to be expelled by that House in the succeeding Session, for having taken a bribe of one thousand guineas for the facilitating the passing of this act : he himself being obliged, in the chair, to put the question for his own expulsion. We may here add, that upon the credit of this new Orphans Fund, a project was afterward proposed to be ingrafted by Mr. William Paterfon the first projector of the Bank of England, and others,—for raising an additional joint-stock of six hundred thousand pounds, for lending of money on land securities, for a voluntary register of lands, and for issuing and circulating of a paper credit, &c. which, however, did not take place.

By a statute of the twenty-first of King George II. cap. xxix. this act is further explained and enforced, and the said six pence per chaldron continued for thirty-five years, from 1750 ; and also three thousand pounds yearly to be paid to the Mercers Company, for the relief of
 • their annuitants.

By the great increase of the London shipping and navigation, the parts of the suburbs east of the Tower, and below St. Catherine's, called Wapping, were become so populous, that, in this same year 1694, it was found necessary to erect a new church and parish, for the inhabitants thereof, by the name of, The Parish of St. John in Wapping, in the County of Middlesex.

By an act of Parliament of the said fifth and sixth of William and Mary, cap. xxii. a tax was laid on London hackney coaches, then fixed at seven hundred in number, of four pounds per annum each, beside a fine of fifty pounds for their first licence for twenty-one years ; and eight pounds per annum on stage coaches. And, (that we may have no more to say hereafter on this point) by an act of the ninth year of Queen Anne, cap. xxiii. the hackney coaches of London were fixed at eight hundred in number, to commence from Midsummer 1715, when the former term was to expire ; from which term each of those coaches were to pay five shillings weekly. Also two hundred hackney chairs were thereby licensed, at ten shillings each per annum : in the year following they were increased to three hundred ; and by cap. xii. of the twelfth year of King George the First, the said hackney chairs were increased to four hundred in number, by reason of the great increase of new buildings westward.

This same year is memorable for the first erection of the present most useful and laudable Corporation of the Bank of England ; which has not only proved extremely beneficial to commerce, but has also, on many emergencies, been a great support of the public credit of the nation.

We have partly seen, that before this time there were proposals and schemes offered to the public for a like purpose : and, it is indeed somewhat strange, that a public or general bank, capable of not only supporting its own credit, by a paper currency, for the benefit of commerce, (especially with respect to large payments,) but also for assisting or supporting the na-

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1694 tional credit, was not sooner established in a country so much abounding in wealth and commerce.

There were in Europe, at this time; but four great or considerable banks, viz. those of Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Hamburg; of which all but that of Genoa, are solely for the convenience of merchants: of which also we have already treated sufficiently. At Amsterdam, Venice, and Hamburg, all bills of exchange and other large payments are usually paid in their banks, which saves much trouble to merchants.

There are in other parts of Europe certain banks, which are not only for the convenience of commerce, but for the emolument of their proprietors. Those proprietors having originally advanced money to the state, for which they had a perpetual fund of interest; and they obtained also the privilege of cash-keepers for merchants and others. Such are the banks of Genoa, Naples, and Bologna; there being two such in the last-named city, in one of which though only ten per cent. was ever paid in, they are said to make a dividend on the whole nominal capital; and they are also said to lend money at one per cent. per annum, proceeding from the great cash they are intrusted with without interest. After this second sort of banks was our new intended Bank of England modelled, as well as the two incorporated Banks of Edinburgh.

Most of the former printed proposals for public banks in England, seem to have had that of Amsterdam principally in view; but although that famous bank be, without doubt, a noble and very useful one amongst a people whose wealth consists almost entirely in money, and what we call personal estates, it is at least doubtful, whether one exactly after that model would be so suitable for England. Be this as it may, it is certain, that several men of good abilities had for many years past employed their thoughts on this important subject, nearly resembling the Bank of Genoa, and partly those also of our own private bankers, having circulating notes or bills, but with more than all the conveniencies of those private ones, and without the hazard of bankruptcies. It was also well judged, that, in order to bring down the high rates of interest and premiums at this time paid by the government, which was big with mischief to commerce, by inducing men to draw their money out of trade, it would be requisite to establish a public transferable fund of interest; which bank should also be for the convenience of daily receipts and payments; and that such a scheme should be constituted a body-politic, with proper powers, &c.

Mr. William Paterson, merchant, who had been much in several foreign countries of Europe, had laboured this point ever since the year 1691, with Michael Godfrey, Esquire, and others of the same mind: and, as England, at this time, was put to very considerable difficulties for raising the annual supplies, in order to support an expensive war against so potent a foreign enemy; whilst the public measures were at the same time clogged and distressed by a violently-disaffected faction at home, who alleged, that banks could thrive no where but in a republic; and yet would at other times argue, that such a bank as was proposed, would make the King absolute;—he hoped, that the government would therefore readily incorporate, with certain powers and privileges, a number of well-affected gentlemen, who would advance a large sum, by way of loan, for the public exigencies: yet, as he himself relates, in his Account of his Transactions in Relation to the Bank of England and the Orphans Fund, printed in folio, in the year 1695, he found it much more difficult to get it consented to by the Privy Council, the King being in Flanders, in order to be brought into Parliament, than he had at first apprehended. The monied men also opposed it, lest it should diminish, as it certainly

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1694 tainly soon after did, their exorbitant gains from the public distresses; for even eight per cent. on the land tax, beside additional premiums, though payable within the year, did not satisfy them. Other anticipations of the public revenues were much higher, the interest, premiums, and discounts thereon running up to twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. And sad it was to consider, that contracts for things sold to the government, were made on the foot of forty, fifty, to cent. per cent. above the current value: according to the same author, who was known to be well acquainted with the state of things in those times.

At this time, Mr. Paterfon observes, in his ingenious book called, *The Conferences on the Public Debts*, by the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street, that so greatly were the then ministerial people distressed for raising the annual supplies, as to stoop to solicitations to the London Common-council, for the borrowing of only one or two hundred thousand pounds at a time, on the first payments of the land tax; as particular Common-councilmen did to the private inhabitants in their respective wards, going from house to house for the loan of money.

The debates held long in the Privy Council, Queen Mary present, many being of opinion, that a bank would not answer, as they were only to have eight per cent. on the one million two hundred thousand pounds to be advanced by the proposers of this bank. The disaffected were all against it; alleging, it would engross the money, stock, and riches of the kingdom.

In brief, an act of Parliament having passed in this same fifth and sixth of King William and Queen Mary, cap. xx. For granting several rates and duties on tonnage of ships, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompences, &c. to such persons as shall voluntarily advance one million five hundred thousand pounds, it was thereby enacted, "That their Majesties might grant a commission to take particular subscriptions for one million two hundred thousand, part of the said one million five hundred thousand pounds," (because the ministry would not trust the whole to this new scheme) "of any persons, natives or foreigners—whom their Majesties were hereby empowered to incorporate, with a yearly allowance of one hundred thousand pounds;" viz. ninety-six thousand pounds, or eight per cent. for interest, till redeemed; and four thousand pounds to be allowed the intended bank, for charges of management.—"The corporation to have the name of, *The Governor and Company of the Bank of England*.—Their said fund to be redeemable upon a year's notice, after the first of August, 1705, and payment of the principal; and then the corporation to cease.

"The company was hereby enabled to purchase lands, &c. unlimitedly,—and to enjoy the other usual powers of corporations.—Their stock to be transferable.—The corporation shall not borrow or give security under their common seal, by bill, bond, covenant, or agreement; nor shall owe at any one time more than one million two hundred thousand pounds, unless it be by future acts of Parliament, upon funds to be agreed on in Parliament.—And in case of this corporation's borrowing any greater sum than one million two hundred thousand pounds as aforesaid, under their common seal, then every private member, and their heirs, executors, and administrators, shall be proportionably chargeable therewith, or for the repayment thereof.—This corporation shall not employ, or trade with any of their stock, monies, or effects, in the buying or selling of any goods or merchandize whatever, on forfeiture of treble the value of what is so traded for.—Provido, that the said corporation may deal in bills of exchange, and in buying and selling of bullion, gold, or silver, and in selling of any goods or merchandize which shall be pledged to them for money lent thereon, and

“ which shall not be redeemed at the time agreed on, or within three months after ; and may
 “ also sell such goods as shall be the produce of lands purchased by the said corporation.—
 “ Provided always, that all bills obligatory, under the seal of the said corporation, may be
 “ assignable by indorsement thereon, *toties quoties*; and such assignments shall absolutely vest
 “ the property in the assignees.—Proviso, that if the governor, deputy-governor, directors,”
 (this is the first time that the word, Directors, comes into use, instead of committees, &c.)
 “ managers, or other members of the corporation so to be established, shall, upon the account
 “ of the said corporation, at any time purchase any crown lands or revenues, or shall advance
 “ to the crown any money by way of loan or anticipation, on any branch of the revenue,
 “ other than on such branches on which a credit of loan is or shall be granted by Parliament,
 “ they shall forfeit treble the value of money so lent.” (It is more than probable, that the
 framers of this clause had then in their thoughts King Charles the Second’s shutting up of the
 Exchequer, with the bankers money therein, in the year 1672, which they, as we have seen,
 had, from time to time, advanced to that Prince, by way of anticipation of his revenues ; and
 that this wise proviso was intended to prevent any such dangerous mischief for the future.)—
 “ Provided, that no letters of signet, privy seal, or great seal of the crown, shall pardon or
 “ remit any fine or amercement charged on this corporation, on account of any suit brought
 “ against them ; but such fine shall be deducted out of their annual fund.”

This last-named proviso was wisely framed to restrain a formerly assumed prerogative of the crown before the late happy revolution. The rest of this long act relates to the King’s granting of annuities for one, two, or three lives, for three hundred thousand pounds principal money, the residue of the one million five hundred thousand pounds; to be raised by this act, as above.

In consequence of this act of Parliament, the subscriptions for the said one million two hundred thousand pounds was completed in ten days time, and twenty-five per cent. paid down. And the King’s charter of incorporation was executed on the twenty-seventh of July, 1694. Though it must be here observed, that this charter was in fact little more than a piece of legal form, all the essential powers, privileges, &c. granted to this bank, being included in the above act of Parliament ; which has virtually been a leading one for the erecting of all future great trading corporations ; whereby (agreeable to the act of Parliament of the year 1689, entitled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, &c. which law we apprehend we have before rightly termed, England’s new Magna Charta) the crown is limited and restrained from granting, by its sole authority, new exclusive powers, privileges, &c. to any person or body-politic whatever. Upon which ground it is, that all corporations erected solely by the crown, without the sanction of Parliament, whether before or since the date of that famous act of the year 1689, which contain any exclusive rights in their charters, have, upon proper and public enquiry, been determined to be so far illegal.

We may here also further remark, that this is the first instance of any national fund being managed by any other than the crown officers at the Exchequer ; which new method, of allowing a round sum for charges of management, has ever been since followed, not only with respect to the Bank, but also to the East India and South Sea companies ; which allowances for the expence of management, *i. e.* for salaries of governors, directors, clerks, office-rent, &c. were at first usually computed from what similar funds had formerly cost the crown when managed at the Exchequer ; though generally, in later times, I conceive, with some saving to the public in this new method.

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“ The erection of this famous bank,” (says its projector, the above-named Mr. Paterfon, who was chosen one of its first directors, “ not only relieved the ministerial managers from “ their frequent processions,” as he terms them, “ into the city, for borrowing of money on “ the best and nearest public securities, at an interest of ten or twelve per cent. per annum ; “ but likewise gave life and currency to double or treble the value of its capital in other “ branches of public credit ; and so, under God, became the principal means of the success of “ the campaign in the following year 1695, as particularly in reducing the important fortress “ of Namur, the first material step towards the peace concluded at Ryfwich, in the year 1697.”

Mr. Godfrey, before-named, in his judicious Brief Account of the intended Bank of England, published in this same year, wisely foretold, “ that if the bank can circulate their foundation of one million two hundred thousand pounds, without having more than three hundred thousand pounds lying dead at one time with another, the said bank will be, in effect, “ as nine hundred thousand pounds fresh money brought into the nation. Thus,” continues he, “ it will make money plentiful,—trade easy and secure ;—will raise the price of lands,— “ will draw the species of gold and silver into the hands of the common people, as we see it in “ Holland, Genoa, and other places where these funds are accommodated to receipts and “ payments. But after all,” says he, “ the happy effects of this undertaking, like almost all “ other great things in trade, will be best understood by the practice thereof, when time shall “ convince the ignorant, &c.” And, as this has actually happened as the said able gentleman foretold, we shall not need to say more in this place on the great benefits of this bank.

• The charter was dated July twenty-seventh, 1694 ; and directs, “ that there be a governor, “ deputy governor, and twenty-four directors ; of which thirteen or more in number shall “ constitute a court, the governor or deputy governor to be always one : five hundred pounds “ stock to be the lowest qualifications for a vote in general courts ; and no proprietor, how “ much soever his stock may be, shall have more than one vote. The governor’s qualification stock to be at least four thousand pounds, the deputy governor’s three thousand pounds, “ and each director’s two thousand pounds : and all these shall be natural born subjects, or “ naturalized Lessening their qualification stock vacates their office. Which offices shall be “ only annual. They shall take the state oath, and also the oath of office, and the oath of “ stock qualification. Voters also in general courts shall take the qualification oath and state “ oath. No dividend to be made but by consent of a general court ; and shall be only out of “ the interest, profit, or produce, arising by such dealing, buying, and selling, as the before “ recited act of Parliament allows. General courts may make bye laws, &c. agreeable to the “ act of Parliament, and the general laws of the kingdom ;—may impose fines on contraveners ;—may appoint salaries to governors, directors, &c. Stock to be deviseable by will, “ to be attested by three or more witnesses.” This was altered by an act of the eighth and ninth of King William, which made bank stock a personal estate, and to descend accordingly. “ Lastly, neither the governor, nor the deputy governor, in his absence, shall have any vote “ either in general courts or in courts of directors, save where there shall appear to be an “ equality, or equal number of votes.”

It is evident, from the above recited act of Parliament and charter, that this bank is empowered to lend money on pawns or pledges : yet that corporation has as yet made but little or no use of that power ; although in the London Gazette, of the sixth of May 1695, is the following advertisement, viz. “ The Court of Directors of the Bank of England give notice, “ that they will lend money on plate, lead, tin, copper, steel, and iron, at four per cent. per “ annum.”

94 “annum.” They have hitherto contented themselves with banking only; including therein, the dealing in bullion of gold and silver,—the discounting of bills of exchange,—the advancing of money to the public on the credit of acts of Parliament, and the circulating of their own sealed bills, which bore interest, though since laid aside, and of their cash notes on demand, bearing no interest: as also the circulating of exchequer bills for the government, on a stated allowance. In all which this happy corporation has proved extremely advantageous to the nation, and has preserved its integrity, and, as far as was possible, its credit, even in very perilous times, down to our own days: which has indeed been chiefly owing to their members great care in electing for their governors and directors, only gentlemen of known abilities and integrity, as well as of fortune.

Notwithstanding all the precautions used in the powers given by law to this bank, it had many enemies to struggle against. Even before this year expired it was sharply animadverted on in print, as unfit to be continued. Some very ridiculous objections passed down with many: as “that all national banks have hitherto been peculiar to republics, this being the first of any in Europe erected in a monarchy. That its managers and chief subscribers were inclinable to republican principles. That it may subvert the regal government, by getting the public money, &c. into their hands. That it draws the money out of trade, for the sake of eight per cent. interest. That it destroys personal credit, on which young merchants were wont to be supported in their commerce, &c.”

On the twenty-eighth of September 1694, the English East India Company had a second charter of regulations; which, after reciting the substance of the two preceding charters, made the following alterations and explanations, among others, viz.

“I. The company may licence their own commanders and mariners,” but none other, “to trade on their own private account, in such commodities and to such value as a general court shall direct; provided entry be first duly made, as well as custom paid, before landing the same.

“II. To the intent that the company’s annually exporting to India the value of one hundred thousand pounds of English goods may truly be proved, a just account thereof in writing, signed by the governor or deputy, shall be annually laid before the King and council, attested on the oath of the proper officers: which goods shall not be reloaded, nor carried any where out of the company’s limits.

“III. Neither the governor, deputy, nor committee, shall lend out the company’s money, without the authority of a general court, &c.

“IV. If this and the two last charters shall not appear to be profitable to the crown and realm, either in whole or in part, then, after three years warning, all the said three charters shall be determined and void, and the said governor and company shall no longer continue a corporation. Lastly,

“V. This company shall, by a writing under their common seal, declare their acceptance of and submission to this and the said two last charters, or else they shall no longer act as a corporation.”

We may here just briefly mention a temporary law, made in the fifth and sixth of William and Mary, cap. xxiv. for encouraging the building of good and defensible ships. Which grants one-tenth part of the tonnage and poundage duty to the builders of three decked ships, of at least four hundred and fifty tons burden and thirty-two guns, for ten years to come; to be allowed only on or for their first three voyages.

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In this same year, the Dutch in the East Indies took from the French the fortrefs of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel; whereby (as Voltaire's second volume of the age of Louis XIV. observes) the commerce of France declined very much in India. Yet Louis obliged the Dutch, at the peace of Ryswich, in the year 1697, to restore Pondicherry to the French Company; and it was thereupon better fortified by that company; though since taken by us. They have also since that period greatly increased their commerce to Indja; as both the English and Dutch Companies know to their cost.

By the new subscription of seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, which added seven hundred and eighty-one members to the English East India Company, it might have been imagined, that they had now effectually secured themselves against the future attacks of opponents. But as this company had expended vast sums of money to courtiers, members of Parliament, and others, as well for the obtaining of the last three charters, as for endeavouring to divide and buy off the interlopers; and more especially for endeavouring to obtain an act of Parliament for their absolute legal establishment; their enemies found means to influence the House of Commons so far against them as to enter upon a strict examination of their said practices.

In the course of this enquiry they discovered, that in the year 1693 alone, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, and Francis Tyssen, Esquire, deputy governor, upwards of eighty thousand pounds were expended for secret services by the former, and by Sir Basil Firebrass, lately brought off from the interloping interest; which two last-named gentlemen refusing to discover to whom the said secret service money was given, were, together with Mr. Charles Bates and Mr. James Craggs, committed to the Tower of London, by the House of Commons, in the year 1695. And although, in obedience to an act of Parliament, of the said year 1695, Sir Thomas Cooke made a discovery of many things to both houses of Parliament, yet it did not give entire satisfaction; as may be more fully seen in a printed Collection and Supplement of the Debates and Proceedings of Parliament; of the years 1694 and 1695, upon the Enquiries into the late Briberies and corrupt Practices, quarto, 1695. Concerning which we shall just observe, that various sinister arts at that time used, were afterwards practised on a similar occasion in the famous year 1720: such, for instance, as Sir Basil Firebrass's contracting with the East India Company to put, (*i. e.* to oblige that company to receive of him) sixty thousand pounds India stock, at one hundred and fifty per cent. when the charter should be granted; although their stock was then only at one hundred per cent.—Whereupon the company paid him the difference, being thirty thousand pounds.—The disposal of which last sum Sir Basil Firebrass could never be brought to discover. Great sums were also laid out for the refusal of stock at certain prices, on the same supposition. (Refusal of stock was a contract for having the option of demanding of stock at a fixed price; as the Put of stock was a contract by which, for a premium paid down, the contractor obliged himself to take a fixed quantity of stock, at a future time, for a fixed and higher price therein specified.) These new-fangled or cant terms were first brought into use by this company; and in this way of stock-jobbing daily bargains were made for many succeeding years, so as to be since reduced into a kind of science; but most eminently in the famous year 1720, and some years after, till all such time-contracts and bargains for stocks were made penal by act of Parliament. Great sums were also laid out by the managers, to answer the company's contracts for sale of stock, &c. The House of Commons had also impeached the Duke of Leeds, then Lord President of the Council, on the said account; but the prorogation of the Parliament

put an end to it. Some years after this bustle was over, Sir Thomas Cooke had twelve thousand pounds bestowed on him by the general court of this company, by way of compensation for his former sufferings on their account.

In this same year, a beginning was made to the design of the now noble and magnificent hospital at Greenwich, for the reception of decayed sailors serving in the Royal-navy. King William and Queen Mary had for some time had this much at heart; and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich, a part of which, on the west side, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace by King Charles the Second, as also of a large adjoining space of ground, for this end King William, after Queen Mary's death, on the twenty-fifth of October 1695, appointed by patent a number of commissioners for directing the building and endowing of this intended hospital, and granted a large sum out of his civil list for that end, and his royal successors were also considerable benefactors to it. At length annual sums were granted by Parliament for finishing of this truly magnificent ornament, the glory of Great Britain; which was fully compleated in the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second.

In the second edition of the first volume of Bishop Gibson's continuation of Camden's Britannia, we have an authentic view of the vast increase of England's royal navy, exhibited in this year 1695, by Samuel Pepys, Esquire, viz.

<i>Different States of the Royal Navy.</i>	<i>In Camden's Time, 1607.</i>	<i>At this Time, 1695.</i>
1. Number of ships and vessels from } fifty tons and upwards	but 40 ships.	Now above 200 ships.
2. The general tonnage of the whole	was under 23,600 tons.	Now above 112,400 tons.
3. The number of men required for } manning the same	was under 7,800 men.	Now above 45,000 men.
4. The medium of its annual } charge during the last 5 years of { peace	under 15,500l.	Above 400,000l.
{ war	under 96,400l.	Above 1,620,000l.

In this remarkable year the Parliament, gentry, and merchants of Scotland made a very great effort (perhaps one of the greatest that had ever been essayed at one time by any European nation in their very first attempt) for establishing a colony of their own people in America; and, at the same time, a company for commerce to Africa and the East Indies: which, however, proved ultimately very fatal to Scotland. It was said to have been secretly set on and encouraged by the interlopers in the English East India trade; who, finding that both King and Parliament inclined to favour the company, flattered themselves with hopes, that, by thus encouraging the Scottish design, they might obtain their own particular ends.

Be that as it may, it is certain, that the Scots had long lamented their being almost the only maritime country in Europe, without the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas, which had no colony nor settlement out of Europe. This point was more especially in their thoughts since the restoration of King Charles the Second; but the violent measures of the two royal brothers, prevented that harmony which was necessary to reconcile people of opposite parties in so great a national concern.

Upon King William's accession, they began to think more seriously about such mercantile schemes in Scotland; and, in the year 1693, their Parliament passed an act for encouraging of foreign trade, by empowering merchants to enter into commercial societies; more especially for trading to Asia, Africa, and America. And that act paved the way for another in this year,

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1695 year; and for a royal charter in consequence of it, incorporating a company to trade to those parts. It had been framed by Mr. William Paterfon, the projector of the Bank of England, and of the new Orphans Fund. He had lived some years in America, as well as in several other foreign parts, and had entered far into speculations relating to commerce and colonies. He was so much regarded for his merit and public services, and also on account of his losses, in projecting even this unsuccessful project, that the British House of Commons, in the year 1713, voted him eighteen thousand two hundred and forty-one pounds ten shillings and ten pence three farthings, in consequence of the resolutions of the House of Commons, on the fourth of March 1707. Mr. Paterfon had thought of a place in the country called Darien, very near the isthmus which joins North and South America, uninhabited by any European people, and where a good settlement of Scots might be made, and to have another settlement opposite to it on the South Sea near Panama: whereby he proposed, that a great trade might be carried on both to the East and West Indies. The substance of the Scots act of Parliament and Charter was,

“ I. That a number of persons of quality, and of eminent merchants, &c. and their successors, shall constitute a company for a trade to Asia, Africa, and America; to be called, “ The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies.

“ II. Half its capital stock at least, shall always belong to native Scotsmen, always residing “ in Scotland; the rest by Scots in foreign parts, and by foreigners.

“ III. The qualifications of members.

“ IV. The company's power to purchase lands, &c.

“ V. And to levy forces and fit out ships, for war as well as commerce—and that they may “ plant colonies and erect forts any-where, not being the property of any European state, &c. “ —Provided, that their ships shall return directly to Scotland with their cargoes.

“ VI. VII. VIII. The trade to Asia and Africa to be for ever exclusive of all but the com- “ pany: but to Darien only for thirty-one years.—To hold their lands of the crown in fove- “ reignty.—And if any damage be done to the company, the King promises to interpose at “ the public charge, for justice and restitution.

“ IX. Ships and merchandize to be free from all restraints and prohibitions; as also from “ all customs and taxes for twenty-one years, as shall also the company's members, servants, “ &c.”

No sooner was the company erected than Mr. Paterfon and his friends in England had influence enough to get three hundred thousand pounds sterling subscribed in nine days time: soon after three hundred thousand more was subscribed in Scotland, the whole capital being at first designed to be but six hundred thousand pounds sterling. But, fearing that the English subscribers would soon be obliged to withdraw their subscriptions, Mr. Paterfon and his associates went for Amsterdam, where they at first met with encouragement: but the magistrates, soon suspecting the prejudice this new company might do both to their East and West India companies, entirely frustrated their subscriptions there. Their next attempt was therefore at Hamburg, where they were very cordially received, and they expressed their sorrow for there being left room for no more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling for themselves to subscribe.

Thus far the company's wishes succeeded; and, as it was expected, that in Scotland two hundred thousand pounds more would be subscribed, to make the capital up to one million sterling, they therefore hastened the building and purchasing ships of great burden, both at

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95 Hamburg and Amsterdam ; when suddenly this fine prospect was over-clouded, by the alarm taken by both the English Houses of Parliament, who, in December 1695, very pathetically addressed the King against the great advantages which he had consented to be granted to this company ;—" whereby," say they, " a great part of the stock and shipping of England will " be carried into Scotland, where there will be a free port for all East India commodities ; " and that, consequently, the several places of Europe, till now supplied from England, " would from thence be furnished much cheaper.—The said East India merchandize also will " be run into England by the Scots, to the unspeakable prejudice of England's trade and navigation, and of your Majesty's customs.—And that, if the Scots be suffered to settle plantations in America, our commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton, skins, masts, &c. will be utterly lost." With much more to the same effect.

King William's first answer was, " that he had been ill-served in Scotland ; but nevertheless he hoped, that remedies might be found out to prevent the mischiefs suggested."

The House of Commons also enquiring into the subscriptions made in England, the managers thereof disappeared, and two of them were impeached by that House. The first subscription money was therefore repaid to such subscribers, whereby three hundred thousand pounds was at once cut off from this new company's capital.—It was also apprehended, that, should this company succeed, the Scots would in time become so powerful as to be able to separate themselves altogether from England ; which would be attended with very fatal consequences.

It is therefore not at all to be wondered at, that the English ministry and council, as well as the Parliament, so strongly urged the King to crush this company in its cradle. For which end, Sir Paul Rycaut, the English Minister at Hamburg, earnestly remonstrated to that opulent city against permitting the Deputies of the Scots Company to keep an open office for subscriptions there, as having no authority for it from King William,—Yet the traders at Hamburg, being very fond of the scheme, esteemed it a great hardship to be prevented from subscribing.—They were, however, forced, with much regret, to relinquish their subscriptions : whereby two hundred thousand pounds more was cut off from the company's capital; after it had cost thirty thousand pounds in obtaining it. The Council-general and the Court of Directors of the Scots Company in vain applied to the King, and they got addressees to him from all parts of Scotland, for obtaining the sitting of their Parliament : and, notwithstanding all these disappointments at London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, they take an additional subscription at home of one hundred thousand pounds, which made their entire capital in Scotland to be four hundred thousand pounds sterling.—And, (that we may dispatch this matter entirely, now we are upon it,) having, as they imagined, well weighed all the treaties with Spain, they strongly insisted,—that the country of Darien, in which they determined to plant, was never planted nor settled by Spain ; but was always under the independent government of its own Indian Chiefs, who have, for the most part, remained in a state of enmity with the Spaniards. Wherefore, with five stout ships, and one thousand two hundred men, and all kinds of implements for war and commerce, they sailed thither in the year 1698, with many brave and experienced men, who had served in the late war, and were dismissed at the peace of Ryfwich.

The same year they land in Darien, and immediately erect a fort, and form a plantation on a point of land, within which, about a league from Golden Island, they found a safe and capacious harbour, calling their first fort, St. Andrew, and their new town there New Edinburgh.

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1695 Recruits of two ships and three hundred men at one time, and of four ships and one thousand three hundred men at another time, with stores, &c. were sent after them; all which, and several other ships with supplies, came for the greatest part to unforeseen misfortunes in their way to Darien, which they had now named Caledonia: on account of which first landing, there were exceeding great rejoicings all over Scotland.—For, as they pompously and truly termed this settlement, The Heighth of the World, as lying between the spacious North and South Seas, their views were at first very towering; by intending to make settlements on each side of the isthmus on both shores, by which they flattered themselves they should be before-hand with all the trading nations of Europe.

First, By supplying Peru and Mexico with whatever they wanted from Europe; and, in return, supply Europe with the treasure and other product of those two rich empires.

Secondly, It being but about six weeks sailing from their intended port on the South Sea to Japan, and to some parts of China, and as there is but a small land carriage of only a few leagues over that isthmus from its north to its south side, they computed, that in four or five months time they could bring the riches of Japan and China into Europe, and thereby greatly undersell all the other East India Companies of Europe: not solidly weighing, that every one of these flattering considerations were so many undoubted bars to their success, and that it would be the evident interest of all the commercial nations of Europe to frustrate their whole alluring plan.

Beside all these romantic schemes, and their projected trade to the south and south-east coasts of Africa, they had further in view the production of cochineal, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and many other undoubtedly feasible things in their own colony of Caledonia: and, indeed, it must needs be owned, that, supposing all Europe but themselves to be fast asleep, the very advantageous situation of the said colony, together with the national bottom, and still large capital of their company, seemingly promised, sooner or later, the accomplishment of most of the great things they had in view.—But they ought certainly to have expected opposition, from almost every quarter, to every part of this fine-spun scheme.

For, beside the then general interest of England, considered by all men to be in imminent danger from this scheme, King Charles the Second of Spain was then our ally, and his minister at London presented a very sharp memorial to King William against the Darien settlement, which he termed, “an insult of the Scots, in attempting to settle themselves in the very heart of the Spanish dominions in America; and which his master therefore looked upon as a rupture of the alliance between the two crowns.”—To which the Scots Company replied, “with great labour and learning, and exhausted all the civil law arguments, touching the nature of the possession of countries: urging, “that they had at least as good a right to settle in “in Darien as the French had to settle at Hispaniola and on the Mississippi, or the Dutch at “Surinam, &c. all which had been esteemed parts of the Spanish dominions in America, “and were generally surrounded with Spanish colonies.” With much more to the same purpose.

The Dutch likewise were extremely jealous of, and uneasy at this Scots settlement, as what might greatly spoil their contraband trade from Curacoa, &c. to the Spanish American coasts; and might in time also, prove very detrimental to their East India Company.

Lastly, The French were no less uneasy at the establishment of this company, on the score of their West India commerce, which at this time began to be considerable. They therefore excited the King of Spain's resentment, and modestly hinted their readiness to assist him in driving the Scots out of Darien, at the very time, (in 1698) they were just beginning a French

195 colony in the Bay of Mexico, at the entrance into the great river Mississippi, always esteemed a part of Spanish Florida. And were likewise extending their late possession of the west end of Hispaniola, always, from Columbus's days, till very lately solely possessed by Spain.

Thus was King William teized and pressed on every side for the suppression of this new company, and was therefore necessitated to comply with the urgent desires of his Parliament and people of England;—of the Dutch, whose Stadtholder he then was;—and of his other allies; to send instructions, in January 1698-9, to the governors of all our American colonies, strictly to prohibit all correspondence with the Scots in Darien. For it seems, the colonies of New England and New York were thought to have a warm side toward the Scots colony, and would gladly have supplied them with necessaries, as their success would have opened a new and large market for their fish, corn, pork, beef, butter, &c.

Proclamations, therefore, in the spring of 1699, were published in all the English colonies, strictly prohibiting, under the severest penalties, their holding any correspondence with, or giving any kind of assistance to the Scots at Darien. The news whereof, and of the temper of the English Parliament and people, thunderstruck the Scots colony, who had before that time, received supplies both from Jamaica and New York, and till now depended on the continuance thereof, until their own from Scotland should arrive: but now despairing of them, and being also denied any from Jamaica, whither they had sent for a fresh supply, they were necessitated to abandon their colony on the 20th. of June 1699, which they had bravely defended against troops of Spaniards who had attacked it; and, being now starved out of it, it is generally asserted, that out of so many stout men, who went thither, scarce one hundred ever got back to Scotland, where this sad disaster greatly inflamed their parliament and people against their neighbours of England.

The company petitioned the King for redress, whilst they were endeavouring to re-possess their colony, by sending out ships thither with men and stores, when, to their further sorrow, a second set of proclamations, in the latter end of the year 1699, came out in all the English colonies against the Scots: some of whose ships, driven thither in distress, were denied any necessaries; another of their ships, with a valuable cargo, being driven under the walls of Carthage, was seized by the Spaniards, who from that place had now blocked up the remains of the Scots settlement both by sea and land, and forced the few people therein to surrender. King William answered the company's petition with a condolence for their losses, and with a general declaration of being always ready to protect and encourage the commerce of Scotland. But the King's answer to the Lords address, seemed now the only proper expedient, “for healing the rancour of the minds of both nations, by uniting them more completely; that, after they had lived near one hundred years under the same head, they might at length become one people; which he therefore earnestly recommended to their consideration.” Whereupon the Lords passed a bill for an union; which, however, the Commons at that time rejected.

This last effort of Scotland was so considerable, and carried in it so many instructive hints relative to commerce and plantations, that we thought it well merited this summary account of it.

In this year 1695, Scotland was more successful in her first bank erected by an act of their Parliament, by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland. And although its capital stock was so small as one million two hundred thousand pounds Scots, or one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which in England has but a mean found for a national bank

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1695 bank, it has nevertheless proved very advantageous to that country in the way of commerce.—It was projected by the before-mentioned Mr. William Paterson.

The once famous Mr. John Law, who afterwards made so great a figure at the head of the finances of France, and who may be presumed to have been well acquainted with this bank of Scotland, in his treatise of Money and Trade considered, asserts, "That its notes went for four or five times the value of the cash in bank; and, that so much as the amount of these notes exceeded the cash in bank was a clear addition to the money of that nation."—He adds, "That this bank was safer than that of England; because the lands of Scotland, on the security of which most of the cash of that bank was lent, are under a register.—That, moreover, it was more national or general than either the bank of England or that of Amsterdam; because its notes" (many of which are so low as twenty shillings sterling) "pass in most payments throughout the whole country: whereas the bank of Amsterdam serves only for that one city; and that of England is of little use but in London."—This last assertion might have been true when he first wrote, which was in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, at Edinburgh, but the case is not so at present.

The Scottish bank soon rose to very great credit; yet it was once obliged to stop payment: partly occasioned, says the said Mr. Law, by a greater consumption of foreign wares than the value of the goods exported; partly, from the expence of the Scottish nobility and gentry in England; and partly, also, from a supposed intention of the Scots privy-council to raise the denomination of the coin; all which together, occasioned so great a run on the bank, that its cash was in a few days exhausted: but it soon regained its original credit; and might possibly have remained the sole bank there to this day, had they not been thought to have testified too great a bias towards disaffection to the state. This occasioned a consideration by some noble patriots in the reign of King George the First, whether another bank might not be erected at Edinburgh, for the convenience of the government, as well as of trade in general; into which bank the public revenues of Scotland might be paid. It was accordingly incorporated by that King's charter, in the year 1727, by the name of the Royal Bank; and has fully answered the ends proposed by it, its capital being one hundred and fifty-one thousand pounds sterling. And though it may have pretty much eclipsed the elder bank, they however subsist very well, and are extremely useful to the country.

Amongst the many projects about this time in England, there was one in this year, which has preserved its credit to our own times, viz. that commonly called the Million Bank. It took its rise from a set of London bankers, who lent out money on pledges. Afterwards they agreed, in partnership, to purchase tickets in King William's Million Lottery, in the year 1695, and from thence they were called The Company of the Million Bank. Next, they purchased many reversions of the fourteen per cent. annuities, and admitted many proprietors of annuities to purchase their joint stock, which amounted, and still amounts, to five hundred thousand pounds. They are no company by charter, but only a partnership by deed enrolled in Chancery, prior to the act of Parliament against such unincorporated partnership, in the year 1721. They divided five per cent. yearly to their proprietors until Lady-day, 1728, when they reduced their annual dividend to four per cent.

In these times, viz. in the years 1694 and 1695, a number of new projects were set on foot in London, many of which were, in reality, good for nothing; having drawn in numbers of people to their undoing: some of these started up with the Bank of England, in the preceding year; others, in this year 1695.—Such as,

" I. Two

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95 " I. Two land-banks : the one projected by Dr. Chamberlain, a famous man-midwife ;"
(of which, more by-and-by) " the other, by one John Briscoe.

" II. A project for circulating notes of hand and bills of credit.

" III. Another, called the London Bank ; proposed to be managed by the magistrates of
" that city.

" IV. Lotteries ; many private ones all over the kingdom : some for money, and some for
" merchandize.—The last kind the greater cheat of the two, for thereby old and decayed mer-
" chandize, of many sorts, was put off by means of those roguish lotteries.

" V. Many metallic and mineral projects ; for gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, lead, lapis
" calaminaris, for turning copper into brass ; antimony, coals, salt, &c.

" VI. Diving-engines, of various kinds ; all come out since the taking up of the treasure
" out of the sea in the West Indies, called the Duke of Albemarle's Spanish shipwreck, or
" Sir William Phipps's, which set men's heads at work : and royal patents were obtained for
" the sole fishing for such wrecks in the American seas, and on the coasts of Ireland, Scot-
" land, Spain, Portugal, &c. These wreck projects made much noise at this time, and shares
" for them were presented to persons of distinction, to give reputation to the affair, and to
" draw on others. Expeditions were made on these accounts to sundry sea-coasts ; by which,
" however, nothing was taken up but a few cannon, &c. So the patentees were sure to be
" gainers, but the sharers under them lost all they paid in : some of whom, however, it seems,
" were men of good understanding, but were allured by the hopes of getting vast sudden wealth
" without trouble.

" VII. Projects for pearl-fishing, for hollow sword-blades, glass-bottles, japanning, prin-
" ted-hangings, leather, Venetian-metal, &c. Some of which were very useful and successful
" whilst they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced,
" when they dwindled to nothing. Others of them were mere whims, of little or no service
" to the world. Many of them too, though pretended to be new, were either old English
" projects revived, or else were, on this occasion, borrowed from unsuccessful ones in foreign
" nations.

" Moreover, projects, as usual, begat projects :—Lottery upon lottery ; engine upon engine,
" &c. multiplied wonderfully. If it happened that any one person got considerably by an
" happy and useful invention, the consequence generally was, that others followed the track,
" in spite of the patent, and published printed proposals, filling the daily newspapers there-
" with : thus going on to juggle out one another, and to abuse the credulity of the people." All
" which, and much more, we have abridged from an anonymous author (who styles himself a
" Person of Honour) of a quarto pamphlet, published in this year, under the title of "*Angliæ*
" *Tutamen* ; or, *The Safety of England :—Bring an Account of the Banks, Lotteries, Di-*
" *ving, Draining, Metallic, Salt, Linen, and Lifting, and sundry other Engines, and many*
" *other pernicious Projects now on Foot, tending to the Destruction of Trade and Commerce,*
" *and the impoverishing of this Realm.*—London, 1695."

" VIII. Embrio banks," continues this author, " begotten, but not brought forth ; sun-
" dry of such being at this time hatching.

" IX. The projectors of many of these made a great noise in the town, for drawing in
" people to join with them, making use of various tricks and stratagems. As, first, They
" pretend a mighty vein of gold, silver, or copper, to have been discovered in a piece of
" ground of their knowledge : then they agree with the lord or patentee for a small yearly
" rent,

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1695 “rent, or a part reserved to him, to grant them a lease for twenty-one years to dig that ground; which they immediately fall to, and give out it is a very rich mine. Next, they settle a company, divide it usually into four hundred shares, and pretend to carry on the work for the benefit of all the proprietors; who, at the beginning, purchase shares at a low rate, viz. ten or twenty shillings, &c. Then, all on a sudden, they run up the shares to three pounds, five pounds, ten pounds, and fifteen pounds per share. Then they fall to stock-jobbing, which infallibly ruins all projects; when those originally and principally concerned, sell out their interest: and by this, and other under-hand dealings, trickings, and sharpening, on one another, the whole falls to the ground, and is abandoned by every-body.

“X. The English, Scots, and Irish linen manufactures met with all due encouragement; King William and the late Queen Mary honouring them with their names, which made their fame to rise: abundance of people of wealth came into them, some from lucre, others for love to their country.—They get to be incorporated, choose governors, &c. and actually set on work spinners, weavers, whittlers, &c. and all seemed to promise fair: but here again stock-jobbing ruined all.—They had even brought linen cloth to great perfection, having some Dutch hands, and a few heads to assist them. By the assistance of the Dutch,” continues our author, “we have much improved our lands in the north parts of this kingdom, by sowing vast quantities of lint-seed, rape-seed, &c. whereof making oils in great quantities, we export in abundance, and consume at home, in lieu of foreign and dearer oils, to our double advantage.

“XI. White, blue, and brown paper, we have had the good fortune to improve wonderfully: and although we cannot reach the French perfection, we come pretty near it.

“XII. Water companies; as the New River, Thames of London-bridge, of Shadwell and York Building, Hampstead, Conduit, &c.—These deserved good encouragement; and so the first,” viz. the New River, “has had, to the gaining of vast estates to the proprietors: although the unhappy gentleman,” Sir Hugh Middleton, “who began the work, suffered extremely in his fortune.—It seems none of these had suffered stock-jobbing to prevail amongst them, excepting the Hampstead water; whereby this author foretells ruin to it, as has since happened. What helped to bring most of them down was, their setting up so many against each other.

“XIII. The rock-salt project our author highly commends, on account of the integrity and care of its managers; being a number of gentlemen and traders. They have built a wharf at Frodsham, in Cheshire, and export great quantities of it to Ireland, Holland, and London.

“XIV. The Saltpetre Company had a worse fate.—Great sums have been paid in; large refining-houses have been built in four or five several places about London; societies have been established, and a mighty noise made for a time: persons of a loud-sounding name and quality have appeared at the head of them, and abundance of gentlemen and traders concerned; all things being seemingly disposed in a good method.—Yet of all these saltpetre companies, our author could hear of none that made any great hand of it, excepting the first projectors, who always are gainers, and then, as usual, they withdraw. Stock-jobbing was brought in, and thereby, and by other mismanagements, they fell to nothing.

“XV. Draining engines, of divers sorts, have been lately made, to clear mines of coal, lead, tin, &c. from waters; as well for draining of flats, meers, inundations, springs, &c.—These are profitable designs for the public; as the more land we gain, the richer we are.—

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 75 “ The earth also of such lands is generally rich, being much of it marle, the best of land.—
 “ And these projects have actually proved successful,” says he, “ in Cornwall and Devon-
 “ shire.”

Here our author assures us, his intent is not to discountenance any really good and well-managed projects; but merely to oppose knavish ones, for the service of the public; by discovering the private intrigues, plots, and under-hand dealings of the principal projectors of this nation; nothing of this kind being ever attempted before.

“ XVI. Lustrings, alamodes, hats, &c. in imitation of those of France. These compa-
 “ nies,” says he, “ have throve, and will continue so to do, whilst they keep stock-jobbers
 “ from breaking in upon them.

“ XVII. Convex-lights, and others of that kind, are useful inventions; but other preten-
 “ ders beside the first, discouraged this business: and London streets were not so well lighted
 “ as was to be wished for.

“ XVIII. New settlements in Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tobago, &c. in our American plan-
 “ tations, make a great noise in the world. The first planters fared but ill, having wasted
 “ their substance, without being able to reap the benefit; laying only a foundation for the
 “ next comer, who may succeed better.—Yet here, he complains, that those plantations drain
 “ England of its people, already too much exhausted by the unnatural and imprudent perse-
 “ cutions in the late reigns, and the long war in the present one.”—Which probably he would
 not have done, had he lived in our times, to have seen the immense advantages drawn from
 those colonies, or had he even read Sir Josiah Child’s Discourses on our American Plantations.

“ XIX: Our fisheries, { Royal,
 { Greenland,
 { Newfoundland, &c.

“ are worthy of our care and application. The Royal Fishery Company has been long talked
 “ of, and some steps taken to make it successful: but still one accident or another has damped
 “ it; and it is now again set on foot.

“ The Greenland fishery is like to flourish, notwithstanding some losses already sustained.”
 Here our author has failed in his generally just remarks on projects.

It is not necessary to inform the reader how useful such remarks and notices may prove to every one who is inquisitive; and may point out to all, the danger of being too credulous in respect of new projects.

An act of Parliament of this sixth and seventh of King William, cap. vi. seems to have been injudiciously framed in respect to commerce and the propagation of people, viz. The act for granting certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers, for the term of five years; more especially that part of it relating to marriages, births, and burials: and even the latter part, relating to bachelors and widowers, seemingly intended for the promoting of virtuous propagation, was, in some respects, judged obviously unreasonable.—Wherefore this law was not revived at the end of the said five years.

Dr. D’Avenant, in his Essay on Ways and Means of supplying the War, published in this year 1695, p. 34, says, “ it appeared from the books of hearth money, that there was not
 “ above one million three hundred thousand families in England; and allowing six persons
 “ to a house, one with another, which is the most common way of computing, it is not quite
 “ eight millions of people. It thereby also appears, that there were five hundred thousand of
 those

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1695 "those families who were poor, living in cottages, who contribute little to the public
"expence."

In that same ingenious work, p. 115, the author judiciously combats a vulgar opinion, that the growth of London is pernicious to England, and that the kingdom is like a rickety body, with a head too big for the other members. To which he replies, in general, "that some
"people, who have thought much on this subject, are inclined to believe, that the growth of
"that city is advantageous to the nation; grounded on the following reasons, viz.

"I. That no empire was ever great, without having a great and populous city.

"II. That the Romans drew all the conquered cities of Italy into Rome.

"III. That the people of Attica were no better than a crew of rude herdsmen, and neither
"flourished in war nor in civil arts, till Theseus persuaded them to inhabit Athens.

"IV. That the greatness of London will best preserve our constitution; because where
"there is a great and powerful city, the Prince will hardly enterprize upon the liberties of
"that people. In the same manner, a rich and powerful city seldom rebels upon vain and
"flight occasions.

"V. That there is not an acre of land in the country, be it ever so distant, that is not, in
"some degree, bettered by the growth, trade, and riches of London."

To which may be added, that London's increase is not a casual or fortuitous one; but is an obvious and necessary consequence of her and the nation's gradual increase in foreign commerce, navigation, and manufactures. To all which may be further added, that, in a free
• commercial country, like England, by so vast a capital city as London, whose inhabitants are so numerous and opulent, the public has often been more speedily and effectually relieved in great emergencies, than could otherwise have been done: of which there are many instances with regard to London: beside that, perhaps, five of her inhabitants do pay more towards excise, customs, and other taxes, than ten times as many can do scattered up and down in the country. A judicious reader will be able to find other reasons in behalf of the increase of London's being beneficial to the nation; some of which we have, in another part of this work, borrowed from Botero and others.

1696 During the years 1694 and 1695, the before-named Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, senior, an eminent man-midwife, of London, was taken up with publishing proposals for a Land Bank of current credit for lending of money at a low interest, on land security: which was the principal difference between it and that of the Bank of England; in opposition to which corporation, now in its infancy, struggling with many difficulties, this ill-judged project was set up.

It was principally encouraged by those of (what was then called) the Tory party, and by the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Foley: my Lord Sunderland's aim being to bring the Tories into the King's interest; although the bulk of the King's best friends were against it. The anonymous author of *Angliæ Tutamen*, before-quoted, observes, "that estates to
"a very great value in the several counties of England and Wales, were subscribed to this
"project in a very short space. A deed settled; a company formed; and all things disposed
"to put this wonderful project into execution. To raise lands to thirty years purchase, by
"reducing the interest of money to three per cent. the profits to be divided amongst the sub-
"scribers. But it is, says he, such a hodge-podge and medley,—a body made up of such
"strange members, subtle, politic, and designing men;—that the fair face it carries, wins
"abundance to the belief of its design to be good; though a little time will shew the naked

96 "truth," &c. An act of Parliament accordingly passed in the seventh and eighth of King William, cap. xxxi. for continuing the duties upon salt, glass wares, stone and earthen wares; and for granting several duties on tobacco pipes, and other earthen wares; and for establishing a national Land-bank,—also for the taking off the duties on tonnage of ships, (which was universally disliked) and upon coals.

Upon the credit of which duties it was thereby enacted, "that two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds should be paid into the Exchequer: for which the contri- butors were to have an annuity of one hundred and seventy-nine thousand four hundred and eighty pounds, or seven per cent. Subscriptions to be received of any persons or cor- porations (the Bank of England excepted) on or before the first of August, 1696; and for all such voluntary subscriptions as should be made of land, his Majesty was empowered to incorporate the subscribers by the name of The Governor and Company of the national Land Bank. But in case the said sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds, or a moiety thereof be not subscribed by the said first of August, 1696, then the corporation should not take place. This intended corporation should annually lend out five hundred thousand pounds at least, over and above what they should lend to their own members on land securities, at an interest not exceeding three and an half per cent. if pay- able quarterly; or four per cent. if payable half yearly, at the election of the owners of the lands; in case sufficient securities for the same be tendered to them. The lands conveyed and entered in the company's books, should be assignable from one to another," by way of transfer, "or might be devised by will, &c."

These and various other regulations concerning this intended Land Bank may be seen at large in the statute: but as the subscriptions did not take place within the time prescribed by the said act, by reason of the dislike of the monied men, who saw, or believed it to be an impracticable scheme, and the fund also like to prove very defective, there was an end of this romantic Land Bank; whose projector and his associates, it seems, insisted on three hundred thousand pounds for framing the above-named supply. The government was indeed, at this time, reduced to great distress for raising of the necessary supplies, by reason of the very bad state of the silver coin, so that guineas ran up to thirty shillings, and exchequer tallies were at thirty to forty per cent. discount; and thereby the monied men could make greater advantage than by subscribing to the proposed Land Bank, whose undertakers, failing to make good their engagements, brought the public into still greater distress; which however was, in some measure, remedied by the invention of Exchequer-bills in this same year.

Dr. Chamberlain went, after this, to Scotland, with a scheme of something of the like nature; but their Parliament did not relish it, any more than one of a similar kind proposed by the afterward famous Mr. John Law.

We are now come to a very distressful part of the reign of King William, viz. the deplorable state of the silver coin of England; which some think began to appear towards the close of King Charles's, and more evidently in King James the Second's reign; but still more, soon after the accession of King William and Queen Mary, when the broad silver hammered money appeared to have been greatly damaged and lessened. The first law for redress of it, after that period, was in an act for Review of the quarterly Poll, (long since expired, and therefore not in the printed statute book) of the fourth and fifth of William and Mary, cap. 14. which only enacted, in substance, "that whoever should refuse to take or receive in payment

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1696 “ payment any cracked money of the current coin of the kingdom, should forfeit five pounds for every offence.” But this law rather increased than lessened the evil.

By an act of the sixth and seventh of King William, cap. 17. to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the Coin of the Kingdom; it appeared, “ that the said silver coins had been greatly diminished by clipping, washing, grounding, filing, and melting; and that many false and counterfeit coins had also been clipped, for the better disguising thereof. Whereby what remained unclipped and undiminished came to be deemed of much greater value in tale than the said diminished money.” So that most of the hammered money was thereby reduced to about half its just value, to the great disgrace of the nation, and which brought the public securities, as tallies, &c. to forty per cent. discount. It was therefore enacted,

I. “ That if any person should henceforth exchange, receive, or pay, any broad, unclipped silver money for more in value than the same was coined for, he should forfeit ten pounds for every twenty shillings thereof.

II. “ None shall cast ingots or bars of silver, or mark them in imitation of Spanish bars, under the penalty of five hundred pounds.

III. “ None shall buy, sell, nor have in custody, any clippings or filings of coin, under a like penalty.

IV. “ None shall transport any melted silver till first marked at Goldsmith’s-hall, and a certificate, upon oath, made by the owner, that the same is lawful silver, and that no part of it was, before it was melted, the current coin of this kingdom, nor clippings therefrom, nor of plate wrought within this realm.

V. “ None but goldsmiths and refiners shall deal in the buying or selling of silver bullion.

VI. “ Bullion seized on ship board, and questioned whether English or foreign; the proof shall lye upon the owners thereof, that the same was foreign.” With a proviso, “ for the King to export a quantity of seven hundred thousand ounces of bullion, for paying his troops beyond sea.”

But as these measures did not, for they could not answer the end proposed, and as the diminishing of the old hammered money daily increased so far, that it is said many shillings scarcely contained more than three-pence in silver: the condition of the nation became very alarming; which gave the greatest joy to the disaffected at home, who hoped thereby for a total overthrow of King William’s government. The French King had also great expectations from this calamity, so far as to have been heard to say, that King William would never be able to surmount the difficulty; and his being afterwards undeceived therein, as also of his hopes from the disaffected in England, of being able to restore the abdicated King, have been usually assigned as one principal reason for bringing him into the peace of Ryswich, in the year following.

The great question then in Parliament, was, whether it was now absolutely necessary to call in and recoin the old and diminished silver money?

It was plausibly said, by the anti-ministerial men, “ that the calling it all in, would bring great distress upon commerce, more especially in this time of an expensive war: yet the ministry, and particularly Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued, with greater reason, that the longer it remained unremedied, the more fatal it would prove, until by further diminishing it, commerce would suffer an entire stagnation: that it had already done very great mischief.

“ I. By our exchange with foreign states being brought so much to our disadvantage.

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“ II. By

6 “ II. By occasioning so much difficulty and disadvantage in raising the supplies, for which the government were forced to allow exorbitant premiums and interest.

“ III. It daily more and more depressed, at market, the value or price of tallies, and other public securities.

“ IV. It had made guineas to be run up to thirty shillings, and foreign gold in proportion to that price; whereby much gold was run in upon us from beyond sea, to our great detriment, being over-loaded with gold, whilst we had so great a scarcity of silver: for, in return for guineas and foreign gold, they carried away all our weighty silver coin, as well as our bullion; insomuch, that at length we shall be in the utmost distress for smaller sums, so much wanted in daily business. That although Queen Elizabeth, in her long reign, had coined no less than four millions six hundred and thirty-two thousand nine hundred and thirty-two pounds three shillings and two-pence farthing in silver; yet all her crowns, half crowns, groats, and quarter shillings, half groats, three-half-penny pieces, three-farthing pieces, and half-pence, were wholly sunk; and most of her shillings and six-pences were either melted down or lost. That in King James the First's reign, there was coined one million seven hundred thousand pounds in silver. And in King Charles the First's reign eight millions seven hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and forty-four pounds ten shillings and three-pence in silver; yet the crowns, groats, two-pences, pence, and half-pence of those two reigns were quite gone; so that there may not be now in being above one-third part of the silver coinage of all the above-named three reigns, or about five millions thirty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-two pounds. To which adding the unmelted and undiminished (five hundred and sixty-three thousand five hundred and eight pounds) coins of King Charles the Second and James the Second, and those of the present reign; all the silver money now in the kingdom may amount to about five millions six hundred thousand pounds, of which there is about four millions of clipped and otherwise diminished coin; and the other one million six hundred thousand pounds was still pure money; the just weight of one hundred pounds of which is thirty-two pounds three ounces one penny-weight twenty-two grains. Whereas upon examination, and at a medium, the weight of one hundred pounds of our clipped money was found to be but sixteen pounds eight ounces eighteen penny-weights; which is deficient fifteen pounds six ounces three penny-weights twenty-two grains. A terrible state this of our coin, already diminished, being very near one half, or two millions. Yet the real loss was afterwards found to be two millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling.”

The Parliament, therefore, having maturely considered this very important matter, finally resolved to recoin the diminished silver money, by calling it into the mint by tale, by which measure our people had good new silver coin returned to them from the mint.

Their next debate was, whether, as silver was now at six shillings and three-pence per ounce, the new money should not have its standard raised, by calling a crown piece six shillings and three-pence, and a shilling one shilling and three-pence, though of no greater quantity of silver than before. Those who argued and wrote for this enhancing method, (viz. Mr. Lowndes, Secretary of the Treasury, and others) alleged, “ that the raising the standard would prevent the exportation of our coin, and would also prevent its being melted down; and that thereby also, people would be the more induced to bring in their plate and bullion to the mint, &c.”

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On the other side, it was more justly argued, both in Parliament, and without doors in print, “ that the common consent of all civilized nations had fixed silver at one and the same price, or very near the same price : that the worth of it was relative : that the weight and fineness, or the quantity of pure silver, and not the bare denomination, were the only rules which governed not only foreign nations, in their exchanges and other dealings with us, but also our own people in the home trade : since six shillings and three-pence of the new coin, so called, would purchase no more of any commodity, nor go further in paying bills of exchange than five shillings of our unclipped present coin would purchase ; because the latter contained as much pure silver as the former. That this was clear in the case of guineas now at thirty shillings, all commodities being raised in price, in proportion to the said price of guineas. That an ounce of silver was not, even at present, worth six shillings and three-pence of good coin, but only of the diminished and clipped money ; since one ounce of silver could not be worth more than another ounce of like fineness ; and with five shillings and two-pence per ounce of the new milled money, they could buy as much bullion as they pleased. That with respect to the before-named argument, that the raising the denomination would keep our silver at home, it is of no weight ; since nothing can keep or bring us money, but our getting the balance of trade in our favour : for if we take more goods from foreign parts than they take from us, the balance must be paid to them in our money, or in bullion, which is all one. That with particular regard to our home concerns, there are many objections against raising the standard. First, All poor labourers, soldiers, and sailors, would thereby be defrauded of part of their just wages ; as would also the creditors of part of their just debts ; as also the landlord of part of his rent ; or else great confusion and dispute would arise about these matters.”

All which, and such-like particulars were most judiciously and clearly demonstrated by the great John Locke, Esquire, in his excellent Treatise on Coin, which then came forth in print, in answer to Mr. Lowndes’s report, containing an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins ; to the absolute silencing of the opposite opinion. In conclusion, it was finally resolved to recoin the silver money of the old weight and fineness ; and that the nation, collectively considered, should bear the loss before-mentioned.

The great inconveniencies of calling in all the diminished money at once were also duly considered and obviated, by calling it in by degrees, and recoinning it as quick as possible, to further which, in the seventh and eighth of King William, cap. xix. six-pence per ounce was allowed on all wrought silver plate brought to the mint : and an act passed, of the eighth of King William, cap. vii. For the encouraging the bringing in of wrought Plate to be coined ; whereby the old standard of fineness of silver, being eleven ounces two penny weights was thenceforth altered to eleven ounces ten penny-weights fine, and ten penny-weights allay. Lastly, the use of silver plate (spoons excepted) was prohibited in public houses, then much used both in town and country ; inasmuch that one alehouse, near the Royal Exchange, in London, had to the value of five hundred pounds in silver tankards, &c.

Means were also used for gradually reducing the price of guineas to near their just value in silver in foreign parts ; the Parliament, with great judgment, directing the manner of gradually lowering them, viz. from thirty shillings to twenty-nine shillings, twenty-eight shillings to twenty-five shillings, and lastly to twenty-two shillings, whereby the least hurt was done to private men. So, in about a year’s time or little more, our silver coins came forth from the

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mint, the finest and most beautiful of any in all Europe. And although many inconveniences happened in trade whilst it remained unfinished, yet, in the end, it astonished and confounded all the enemies of the King and kingdom, both at home and abroad, and procured great credit to Mr. Montague, afterward Lord Halifax, who then had the chief management in the Treasury.

It was on this occasion, that Mr. Montague first set on foot a new circulating paper credit, in the year 1696, by issuing bills from the Exchequer; at the same time contracting (as has ever since been done) for their being circulated for ready money on demand. And as many of those first Exchequer-bills were for sums so low as five pounds and ten pounds, they were of very good use at this time, when there was so great a scarcity of silver money during this recoinage, as they were taken at the Exchequer, for all payments of the revenue, and as, when re-issued, they were then allowed seven pounds twelve shillings per cent. interest, they soon rose from a small discount to be better than par. These have since been issued yearly, and the Bank of England has constantly, for many years past, been the contractors for their circulation, at a certain premium; for which end the said bank takes annual subscriptions for enabling them to circulate them. By all which means, the public was assisted to support the general trade of the nation, though not without great difficulty, till the new money was issued from the mint.

Thus was this most arduous affair of the recoinage brought to a most happy issue, by the close of the year 1697; and by an act, cap. iii. of the ninth of King William, the currency of all the old hammered silver coins was absolutely prohibited. This famous recoinage, (which, one way or other, was thought to have cost the public near three millions of money) was performed at London, and in the cities of Exeter, Bristol, Chester, York, and Norwich.

Dr. D'Avenant, in the first part of his Discourses on the public Revenues and Trade of England, in the year 1698, p. 50, makes the clipped money amount to nine millions: and, p. 55, he says there were four millions of guineas current. In his new dialogues, vol. ii. p. 75, there was at this time recoined from the old hammered money five millions seven hundred and twenty-five thousand nine hundred and thirty-three pounds. Now if the old broad pieces and Jacobuses of gold, and the fine milled silver money of King Charles the Second, and later, be well considered, it seems probable that the whole cash of England may have been about sixteen millions: which computation (including Scotland) comes pretty near what is generally thought to be the present cash of Great Britain: exclusive of a large quantity of foreign gold coins, for a long time past, circulating in the kingdom.

Upon the repeated complaints of the merchants of England, of great captures by the French, and that little regard or care had for many years past been taken of trade and commerce; King William, ever ready to redress the grievances of his subjects, did in the same year 1696, erect a new and standing council for commerce and plantations, in their most comprehensive sense, commonly stiled the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; one of whom, most deservedly now appointed, was the famous John Locke, Esquire, before-mentioned.

From the year 1673, when the former standing council of commerce was dropped, until this time, all disputes and regulations relative to commerce and colonies were usually referred to committees of the privy council: but such occasional committees, being a constantly varying set of members, and having, beside, no stated appointments for their trouble and attendance;

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ance; it is by no means surprising that they acted but loosely and superficially. It was now therefore high time to establish a regular and permanent board for such important ends; our foreign commerce and plantations, as well as most branches of our home trade and of our numerous manufactures being so greatly increased and improved. This new board (beside such of our ministers of state, who only attend on extraordinary occasions) consisted of a first Lord Commissioner, who is usually a peer of the realm, and seven other commissioners, with a salary of each a thousand pounds yearly.

To this board proposals are made by merchants and others, for the ease, improvement, and encouragement of our commerce, navigation, plantations, manufactures, fisheries, &c.—For redressing of all grievances and burdens on trade, which are there argued between one party and another, and are mostly heard and argued at that board by their council. British consuls appointed to reside in foreign parts, for the benefit and protection of our commerce, receive their instructions from this board, with whom they are obliged to hold a constant correspondence; as are also the governors of our American plantations, for the improvement of their respective governments, who do also transmit to this board the journals of their councils and assemblies, the accounts of the collectors of the customs, and of naval officers, &c. And how the general balance of trade stands from time to time between England and foreign nations. Reports are also made from time to time how Britain may be best supplied with naval stores from our said colonies;—what new productions may be raised, and old ones improved, in America. Enquiries also come before this board, for regaining of lost branches of trade, as well as to enlarge those we are possessed of, and to establish new ones;—how to employ the poor and idle to the best advantage. Hearings also between merchants, trading corporations, manufacturers, &c. at home, as well as of appeals from the plantations, are brought before this board; who, upon all such matters, and many others, needless to recite, brought regularly before them, are to make their reports and give their opinions to the King and his privy council. From all which it most evidently appears, that this board of trade and plantations is an excellent institution. Provided, however,

I. That the members of it be such as are of strict honour and integrity.

II. That they be gentlemen of a thorough knowledge of the general state, history, and interests of commerce in all its branches, as well as of our own foreign plantations, factories, &c.

III. That they may be (as much as is possible, and consistent with our national constitution) free and independent in framing their said opinions and reports; whereby merchants, manufacturers, planters, mariners, &c. may undoubtedly rely on impartial justice, without the interposition or influence of power in their deliberations: for, although it is to be hoped that such supposed undue influence has never hitherto been, in any degree, the case since the erection of that board; yet even the bare possibility of its happening hereafter should be guarded against by every supposable means; and, amongst other cautions for this end, it seems highly requisite, that the members constituting that board should never be removed without unanswerable grounds for it; whereby they will be enabled to acquire a sufficient share of experience in so important a province.

Lastly, A question has been often canvassed by speculative men, whether practical merchants, or even those who had formerly been such, were most proper to be members of such a board; it having been generally alleged, that such as have made their fortunes in any particular branch of commerce, retain a bias in favour of that branch to their life's end. To which

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1696 may be answered, that surely when out of trade, one or two such may, in many respects, be very proper and useful members of that board: and the same may be said of such as have been for any considerable time governors of some of our American plantations.

In this same year 1696, the French King erected a new exclusive company, called the Royal Senegal Company, comprehending that part of Africa next Senegal River, and the Cape de Verde Isles. "As well (says his patent) for the traffic of leather, as of gums, wax, gold, &c. "The old company, erected in the years 1679 and 1681, having resigned their rights to new purchasers. Their limits were to be from Cape Blanco to Serra Leone, including the fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, formerly belonging to England. But this company was not to interfere with the Guinea Company, erected in 1685. New privileges were also granted to this Senegal Company in the West Indies, where they might have storehouses for their negroes, and might refine their sugars; and, in brief, grants them all privileges there, as formerly enjoyed by the French West India Company before its abolition." Yet, such was the dependance to be had on the grand monarch's grants, that two years after he re-grants the said abolished West India Company's privileges to a new St. Domingo Company, in the year 1698.

The Edystone rock, lying off Port Plymouth, having been experienced to be a very dangerous one, as many ships had been cast away thereon, the corporation of the Trinity-house being applied to, they, in this year 1696, began a light-house thereon, and completed it in three years time; great numbers of masters and owners of English shipping agreeing, in consideration thereof, to pay one penny per ton outwards, and the like inwards, &c. and it has proved a very great benefit to shipping passing that way, till in the great and dreadful storm in 1703, it was blown down and destroyed. It was again directed to be rebuilt, by an act of Parliament of the fourth of Queen Anne, cap. xx. and the like duty on tonnage of ships granted for its support to the corporation of the Trinity-house, which law was since further enforced in the eighth of Queen Anne, cap. xvi. and the light-house was again perfected. Yet it has since, once more, been lately demolished by a storm, and is again restored by the like means to its former usefulness, to the great benefit of not only the British trade and navigation, but of the numerous shipping of other nations passing that way.

In this same seventh and eighth year of King William, an act of the English Parliament, cap. xxi. for the Increase and Encouragement of Seamen, established a register of thirty thousand seamen, to be in readiness at all times, as its preamble sets forth, for supplying the royal navy, for a premium or bounty of forty shillings yearly. None but such registered seamen (who might be either mariners, watermen, fishermen, lightermen, bargemen, keelmen, or other seafaring men, between the age of eighteen and fifty years) shall be capable of preferment to any commission or warrant offices in the royal navy. They shall moreover have a double share or dividend for all prizes, more than non-registered seamen of equal rank: with other privileges as in that act is set forth; and particularly and solely, when maimed or superannuated, an admission into the newly established hospital for seamen at Greenwich; as also, if killed in the service, an admission therein for their widows and children. Six-pence per month to be deducted from the pay of all seamen, as well serving in merchant ships as in the royal navy, for the support of Greenwich Hospital. (Further enforced, as to Greenwich Hospital duty, in an act of the tenth of Queen Anne, For better collecting and recovering the Duties, &c. And again, by cap. xxxi. of the eighteenth of King George the Second, in 1745.) The said registered seamen were also to certify their place of abode, &c.

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This law for registering of seamen was further enforced by an act of the eighth and ninth of King William, cap. xxii. And, in our humble opinion, was unhappily repealed by an act of the ninth of Queen Anne. And although sundry schemes or models have since then been laid before the public, for the reviving of such a register, yet so many objections have been started, that no law has as yet been framed for so important a matter, as the having always in readiness, a competent number of seamen to man the royal navy, without having recourse to the barbarous and unconstitutional practice of pressing. May heaven inspire some worthy patriot with spirit, genius, and zeal, equal to this seemingly or supposed arduous task. And also that then, as well sailors of merchant ships as of King's ships, should be capable of being admitted into Greenwich Hospital.

The very next act, cap. xxii. of the same year, for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade, was intended for further enforcing and improving the acts of navigation, and for preventing of frauds and other abuses in the plantation trade: enacting, "that all ships trading to or from our Asian, African, or American plantations or settlements, shall be English, Irish, or plantation built; and that their cargoes shall be either English, Irish, or plantation property, and shall be registered as such, &c." And whereas our North American colonies were of late become of much greater importance to England than formerly; it was therein also further enacted, "that no charter-proprietor of lands on the continent of America shall sell or otherwise dispose of their lands to any but natural-born subjects, without the King's licence in council for that purpose."—See, under the year 1664, an account of King Charles expelling the Dutch from New York.

This was undoubtedly a most necessary and reasonable proviso; since it might happen, in unfavourable conjunctures, that a great charter-proprietor, (such, for instance, as those of Carolina, since made a regal colony, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, &c.) might alienate the same to some foreign rival nation; there being, till now, no express law to the contrary. Moreover, in order to keep the proprietary governments in America the more under due subjection to the crown and kingdom of England, they being now become very considerable, it was hereby enacted, "that all governors nominated by such proprietors, shall be allowed and approved of by the crown, and shall take the like oaths as are taken by the governors of the regal colonies, before they shall enter on their respective governments." And this was likewise an extremely well-judged proviso. Another clause in this same statute has been thought by the Irish nation to bear somewhat hard on them, viz. "That whereas ships laden with sugars, tobacco, &c. of the English plantations, have sometimes been discharged in several ports of Ireland, contrary to law; under pretence that the said ships were driven thither by stress of weather, or some other calamity; it was now enacted, that on no pretence whatever any kind of goods from the English American plantations shall hereafter be put on shore either in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland," (the Union, in the year 1707, has rendered this clause void as to Scotland,) "without being first landed in England, and having also paid the duties there; under forfeiture of ship and cargo." The principal hardship hereof, (say the Irish,) consisted, in comprehending the un-enumerated, as well as the enumerated commodities: whereby also, much money goes from Ireland to foreign nations, which our own plantations might otherwise have had.—See enumerated commodities, under the year 1660.

In this same session of the English Parliament, an act passed, cap. xxviii. for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool, and for the encouraging the Importation of it from

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1696 Ireland. But as there have been, both before and after this period, so many laws made for effecting what relates to the former part of this act, though all hitherto insufficient for keeping our wool to ourselves, we think it superfluous to be particular thereon. With respect to the importation of Irish wool into England, the only ports hereby licensed for that end, were Whitehaven, Liverpool, Chester, Bristol, Bridgewater, Minehead, Barnstaple, and Biddeford.

It appears, by an English act of Parliament of the seventh and eighth of King William, cap. xxxiii. For the better Encouragement of the Greenland Trade, "That the new Greenland Company, which had been established in the fourth and fifth of this reign, in the year 1693, and then had subscribed forty thousand pounds as its original capital stock, had afterwards increased its capital subscription to eighty-two thousand pounds, the completion whereof was to be made at any time before the year 1703, because, by reason of the scarcity of seamen on account of the war with France, this company cannot at present employ all the said money in this trade." In the mean time it was hereby enacted, that this company, for the encouragement of its said trade, during its term of fourteen years, which was to end in the year 1707, should be free of all duty, custom, or imposition whatever, for any oil, blubber, or whale-fins, caught and imported by them during their said term." But the company was so unfortunate, partly through unskilful management, and partly from real losses, as to run out or spend their said capital of eighty-two thousand pounds, some years before the expiration of their said term; so that they broke up entirely. And by a statute of the first year of Queen Anne, in the year 1702, cap. xvi. For enlarging and encouraging the Greenland Trade, that trade was entirely laid open as before; and all the Queen's subjects were thereby to enjoy the same privileges as the company had done. Yet that company's misfortunes deterred others from prosecuting that fishery till the year 1725, when the South Sea Company revived it, though much to their loss, as will be seen.

Great sums of money being continually carried out of England for the purchase of hemp, flax, and linen; "which," says the preamble to an act of Parliament of the seventh and eighth of King William, cap. xxxix. entitled, An Act for encouraging the Linen Manufacture of Ireland, and bringing Flax and Hemp into, and the making of, Sail-cloth in this Kingdom, "might in a great measure be prevented by being supplied from Ireland, if such proper encouragement were given, as might invite foreign Protestants into that kingdom to settle."—It was hereby enacted, "that hemp, flax, and linen, and its thread and yarn, might be freely imported into England, by natives of England and Ireland, custom free, being of the growth and manufacture of Ireland. And whereas the manufacture of sail-cloth is already brought to good perfection in England,—it was now enacted, for its further encouragement, that all English made sail-cloth shall be henceforth exported free of all custom or duty whatever, whether it be exported in the piece or bould, or in sails ready made."

This law was wisely framed, for the encouragement particularly of French Protestant Refugees to settle in Ireland, many of whom were well skilled in the once noble linen manufacture of France, since sunk almost to nothing: and late experience has shewn, that this law laid the foundation of Ireland's present most flourishing, and almost immense manufacture of linens and cambricks.

The shipping and foreign commerce of Russia, excepting what was practised by the English and Dutch to and from Archangel, were, till our own times, so inconsiderable as hardly to

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1696 deserve a name. But the Czar Peter, so justly termed the Great, had now formed vast designs, both for commerce and conquest, and also for naval power. For, by the taking the strong fortress and port of Azoph, near the mouth of the river Don, he had opened for the Russian vessels a passage or entry into the Black Sea; upon which sea he had determined to keep a naval force sufficient to cope with that of the Turks, who, for some centuries past, had solely commanded therein, and excluded thence all other potentates. For this end, he procured shipwrights from Holland for the constructing of his great ships of war, and from Venice, for his galleys; having got no fewer than forty of the former, and fifty of the latter, beside bomb-ketches, &c. all built at Woronitz, on the river Don, and thence conveyed to Asoph; which mighty effort was effected, through his vast genius, in three years time; having oak-timber and other naval stores in plenty of his own, and ready at hand. He also fortified the port of Taganrock on the Black Sea; at which work it is said above three hundred thousand persons perished through hunger, and by distempers contracted from their lying on the marshy grounds contiguous to that place.

Had the Czar succeeded herein, by compelling the Ottoman Porte to allow him to be a maritime power on that sea, and, as a consequence thereof, to have a free passage by the Propontis and Dardanelles, into the Archipelago and Mediterranean Sea, what strange alterations might not his success have very probably produced in the balance of power in Europe; and how disadvantageous might it also have proved, in time, to the Turkey trade, as well as to other branches of the commerce of the other European nations in those seas? How precarious also would the very existence of the Turkish empire have thereby been rendered? But in the next century we shall see this towering prospect over-clouded, and all the vast expence thereof absolutely frustrated.

This great prince, however, did wonders for reforming and improving his country and people. He travelled for this end into most of the countries of Christendom, in order to learn their mercantile and maritime arts. Both in Holland and England he discovered so great a genius in his judicious enquiries, observations, and remarks on ship-building, naval affairs, manufactures, &c. as surprised every body; of which Russia at this day experiences the good effects. King William gave him a respectful reception, in the year 1697, and cultivated his friendship and alliance, in hopes of forming an useful balance of power against France.

In this same year, King William sent out two ships of war and some land forces, with which he overpowered the French, who had held our forts in Hudson's Bay for three years, and all the said forts were accordingly retaken. Yet, once more, in Queen Anne's war, all those forts were regained by the French, except Fort Albany; and so it remained till the peace of Utrecht.

The running of English and Irish wool into France, whereby the woollen manufacture of that kingdom has been so greatly increased, has employed the pens of a great number of our pamphleteers, ever since the restoration of King Charles the Second; and many plausible proposals have been made, both within doors and without, for an effectual cure; though hitherto without success. Amongst the more modern ones, one Mr. Samuel Webber, in his Short Account of the State of our own Woollen Manufactures, printed in the year 1739, ascribes the occasion of the greatest rise of the French woollen manufactures to have happened about this time by Ireland's legislature consenting to lay a tax of four shillings in the pound on all their woollen goods exported to foreign parts; as such exportation did greatly interfere with England's exportations of the like woollen goods: and that this was by Ireland agreed to, in

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1696 return for no less than nine millions sterling, expended by England in the reduction of Ireland at the revolution : and to prevent their glutting us in England with their wool, (he also says, woollen goods, though it is only wool, which was permitted to be imported from Ireland) they were limited to eight (he says only five) western ports, for its said importation, by the before recited act of the seventh and eighth of King William, cap. xxviii.—Such hardships, according to that author, constrained the Irish to run their combed wool into France, which the French mixed up with their own coarser wool, thereby enabling them, at a cheaper rate, to supply many foreign markets with woollen goods formerly supplied by England.

The computations of most of those who write on this subject are, we apprehend, too extravagant, and particularly those of this author, to gain an universal credit : for he ventures to affirm, “ that of eight hundred thousand packs of wool annually produced in Great Britain and Ireland, France gets from us yearly, one way or other, five hundred thousand packs, whereby that nation gains annually above eight million sterling.—That not one-third of our wool is manufactured at home : for, beside what goes to France, there is not a little run into Holland, Sweden, and elsewhere.—That whenever we happen to be at variance with France, so as to prevent a correspondence, the demand for our woollen goods at foreign markets has then proved sudden and great.—That we have hands enough in Great Britain to work up all our wool at home ; since in England alone, by an estimate of the parish rates, in the year 1735, the poor amounted to one million four hundred thousand persons, of which number three hundred thousand were reckoned helpless, through age, &c. and orphans ; but that the remaining one million one hundred thousand poor, were all, in some measure, fit for labour.

“ Lastly, That the only effectual means to keep our wool at home, would be, to establish a registry in every parish of Great Britain and Ireland, of stock in hand of wool, and of the daily increase or decrease of the said stock, by transferring the property from one to another, &c.”

Now, although all that is therein asserted is not absolutely to be relied on,—and that most of the writers on this very interesting subject seem to have in their computations more or less exaggerated, or over-shot the mark : some either out of zeal, or perhaps of private interest, and others merely from ignorance and want of abilities ; yet it must be allowed, that a remedy for so pernicious a practice, as the running of great quantities of our wool into foreign parts, well known to be a reality, is extremely wanted ; and that, whether by a registry, as above-mentioned, or by more strict guard-ships on our coasts, or by both jointly ; whoever shall be so happy as to point out an effectual remedy for so great an evil, will richly deserve a high reward from the public.

1697 The ill-judged abortive scheme of a land-bank in England, already described, with the deficient funds for the annual supplies ;—the bad state of the silver coin, more especially in the years 1695 and 1696, and the ill-humours contracted thereby, and by disaffection to the government, had brought the infant Bank of England into much difficulty and distress. So that their cash-notes were now at a discount of fifteen to twenty per cent. their credit being so low as to be necessitated to pay those notes only by ten per cent. once in a fortnight ; and, at length, to pay only three per cent. on those notes once in three months ; occasioned by the bank's having taken in, for the notes issued, the clipped and otherwise diminished silver money at the legal or par value by tale, and also guineas at thirty shillings price, and for which receipts they issued their notes payable on demand ; not having as yet received out from the

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1697 mint a sufficient quantity of the fine new silver coins, for answering the daily demands on them for their out-standing notes. These distresses obliged the bank to make two different calls of twenty per cent. each, on their members, in the year 1696; and to issue bank sealed bills at six per cent. interest, in exchange for bank cash notes; and to advertise, for the convenience of trade, whilst the silver was re coining, "that such who think it fit for their convenience to keep an account, in a book, with the bank, may transfer any sum under five pounds, from his own to another man's account." Which was adopting the method of the bank of Amsterdam: yet such was the distress of the times, that, on the sixth of May, 1697, the bank advertises in the Gazette, for the defaulters of the last "call of twenty per cent. which should have been paid by the tenth of November, 1696, and also those indebted to the bank upon mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other securities; to pay in the said twenty per cent. and the principal and interest of those securities, by the first of June next."

Even so late as the twenty-first of June, 1697, we see in a then well-known newspaper, called the Post-Man, of the twenty-second of June, 1697, the following paragraph, viz.

"Bank-notes were yesterday between thirteen and fourteen per cent. discount."

All which sufficiently shew the great difficulties this bank then had to struggle with; and yet, in a few months after, by the re-coinage being completed, and by the second, or engraftment subscription of the said tallies, orders, and bank-notes, to the amount of five millions one hundred and sixty thousand four hundred and fifty-nine pounds fourteen shillings and nine-pence farthing, the credit of the bank was quite restored, with the greatest applause to the contrivers thereof.

After the Parliament had settled the funds for the ensuing year, and had provided for the deficient funds for the former and present year, they took the distress of the bank into their deliberate consideration, and finally determined, "That the capital stock of the bank should be increased by new subscriptions of four-fifths in Exchequer tallies and orders, and one-fifth in their own bank-notes, with an interest of eight per cent.—And, for securing the payment of that interest, an additional duty was laid on salt; and the other duties were extended to a longer term, &c. in order to make up a general fund for past deficiencies, now amounting to no less a sum than five millions one hundred and sixty thousand four hundred and fifty-nine pounds fourteen shillings and nine-pence farthing, beside the current service of the year 1697. But, previous to their taking in the said new subscriptions, their old capital of one million two hundred thousand pounds, should first be made up to each member one hundred pounds per cent. and that what remained of effects or interest over and above, should be divided amongst their said old members.—That the bank, after this new subscription, might issue an additional number of notes, equal to the total of this new subscription; provided always, that those notes be answered on demand; and that, in default of their so doing, they should be answered from the Exchequer, out of the first money due to the bank.—That the bank shall continue a corporation, till one year's notice, after August the first, in the year 1710: and that none other bank be allowed during their said term.—That the bank shall not, at any one time whatever, owe more by bonds, notes, sealed bills, &c. than the total amount of all their said now to be increased capital.—And, lastly, That the said increased capital stock of the bank shall henceforth be deemed a personal estate."—All which points were determined by an act of the eighth and ninth years of King William, cap. xix. For making good the deficiencies of several funds therein mentioned, and

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1697^o and for enlarging the capital stock of the Bank of England, and raising the public credit; commonly called the Engrafting Act. By which act also it was ordained, "That, for the future, not above two thirds of the preceding year's directors should be capable of being re-elected in the next or succeeding year."

Dr. D'Avenant, in his Discourses on the public Revenues and Trade of England, part i. p. 265, in the year 1698, justly remarks, "That it would be for the general good of trade, if the Bank of England were restrained by law from allowing interest for running cash," as was the case at this time: "for, the case of having three or four per cent. without trouble or hazard, must be a continual bar to industry."

King William's ministry had flattered themselves, from year to year, with the hope of a speedy peace. Many of the funds, therefore, upon the credit of which money had, in different years, been granted by Parliament, had, by this time, been found, or suffered to be, very deficient; the Treasury gentlemen, though otherwise men of abilities, having, in various instances of appropriating the duties, judged very widely of the true amount of those duties: as particularly might be instanced with respect to glass-bottles, earthen-ware, tobacco-pipe clay, &c.—The deficiencies of which funds, for answering the principal and interest charged thereon, were soon observed by the monied men who were creditors of the public, and who also took advantage of the remoteness of the courses of payment of the tallies and orders charged on some other funds. This had, since the revolution, given rise to a new trade of dealing in government or national securities, very much to the damage of the public, as well as to such proprietors of the funds as were under the necessity of parting with them, at the discount of from forty to fifty per cent. Concerning which melancholy time, Dr. D'Avenant, in his Essay upon Loans, printed in the year 1710, justly remarks, "That the government appeared like a distressed debtor, who was daily squeezed to death by the exorbitant greediness of the lender. The citizens began to decline trade and to turn usurers. Foreign commerce, attended with the hazards of war, had infinite discouragement; and people, in general, drew home their effects, to embrace the advantage of lending their money to the government." To prevent the ill effects of this unhappy trade, a law was made in this same session of Parliament, cap. xxxii. To restrain the number and ill practice of brokers and stock-jobbers; which premises, "That sworn-brokers were anciently allowed in London, for the making of bargains between merchants and traders, for merchandize and bills of exchange:—But, of late, divers such have carried on most unjust practices, in selling and discounting of tallies, bank-stock, bank-bills, shares in joint-stocks, &c. confederating themselves together to raise or fall, from time to time, the value thereof, as may most suit their own private interest. Wherefore," &c. they were now restrained from acting without a licence from the lord mayor and court of aldermen.—To take also an oath of fidelity.—To be limited to one hundred in number, whose names shall be written on the Royal Exchange.—To incur a penalty of two hundred pounds if they deal for themselves in any merchandize, or in those tallies, stocks, &c.—To enter into an obligation for their faithful actings; and, on failure, to forfeit five hundred pounds, &c.

After this, we hope, but seemingly digressive account of the ill state of things, we shall conclude the before (in part already recited) engrafting act, by observing, "That the new subscribers into the bank were thereby to deliver up to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England their said tallies and orders, which were to be paid off in course," as they actually were by annual dividends, in a few years after, and bank-stock was thereby reduced

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1697 to its original capital. "The capital stock of the bank was also to be exempted from any tax. "No contract for sale of the bank-stock was to be valid, unless registered within seven days in the bank books, and actually transferred within fourteen days." (Happy had it been for hundreds of good families, if this salutary clause had been expressly continued in all future acts of Parliament for this and all other joint-stocks, whereby to have prevented what so mischievously happened twenty-three years after, viz. in the year 1720: but even, as if by design, it was never inserted in any future statute, till after the said year 1720.) "No act of the corporation, nor of its court of directors, nor sub-committees thereof, should subject the particular share of any member to forfeiture: which shares, however, were hereby to be subject to the payment of all the just debts contracted by the corporation." (This reasonable clause was afterwards extended to the two other great companies.) "By this act it was made felony to counterfeit the common-seal of the bank affixed to their sealed bills, or to alter or erase any sum in, or any indorsement on their sealed-notes, signed by order of the said governor and company, or to forge or counterfeit the said bills or notes—Members of this corporation shall not be liable to bankruptcy merely by reason of their bank-stock; which stock, moreover, shall not be liable to foreign attachments."

This is all that is essentially necessary to be recited from this long act of Parliament; so judiciously framed for restoring public credit. Two great points were thereby effected, viz. The Exchequer tallies and orders were rescued from the stock-jobbing harpies, by being engrafted into this company; as were also the bank-notes, now cancelled, which had been at twenty per cent. discount, by reason the government had been greatly deficient in their payments to the bank: and a good interest was secured for the proprietors of the increased capital.

This happy engraftment, together with the recoinage of the diminished silver money, redounded greatly to the credit of Mr. Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax. For, it is almost incredible, that in a few months after this provision for the national debt in arrear, the stock of the bank given to the proprietors of Exchequer tallies, which, as already just quoted, before this engraftment, had been at forty to fifty per cent. discount, should be currently sold at one hundred and twelve per cent.—"This second bank subscription," says Dr. D'Avenant, in his last-quoted treatise, "being founded upon Parliamentary security, for making good the deficient tallies, was formed by receiving in those tallies at par, which cost the subscribers but fifty-five to sixty-five per cent." (He means such as bought them at so large a discount) "By which the greatest estates were raised in the least time, and the most of them, that had been known in any age, or in any part of the world." I have indeed often heard it said, by persons who lived at this time, that one single subscriber alone, namely, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, gained by that rise of the price above sixty thousand pounds.

"During the recoinage of our silver," says Dr. D'Avenant, in the second part of his Discourses on the public Revenues and Trade of England, p. 161, "all great dealings were transacted by tallies, bank-bills, and goldsmiths notes. Paper credit did not only supply the place of running cash, but greatly multiplied the kingdom's stock. For tallies and bank-bills did, to many uses, serve as well, and to some better, than gold and silver: and this artificial wealth, which necessity had introduced, did make us less feel the want of that real treasure which the war and our losses at sea had drawn out of the nation." This able, but venal author, wrote in a very different strain towards the close of the next reign.

The above-named prudent measures in England, proved the great means of concluding in September, in the same year, a treaty of peace between England and France, much wanted

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1697 by both nations. In general, by article the seventh, most places possessed by either party before the war broke out, were now stipulated to remain to them. Some of the forts in Hudson's Bay were, however, thereby unhappily to be left to France; as also those of Nova Scotia, in consequence of the said seventh article of this treaty, which we had taken from France, in the year 1690: also that part of St. Christopher's isle, which we had taken from France in the same year 1690, was by virtue of this seventh article restored to France. King William's then untoward affairs not permitting him at that time to insist too strenuously on those matters, more especially as the principal preliminary of this treaty was Louis's recognizing King William in quality of King of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Dutch restored to France Pondicherry, in the East Indies; and at the same time a separate treaty of commerce and marine was concluded between them for twenty years.—All that is memorable therein being, that the Dutch subjects shall enjoy the same privileges, franchises, &c. in France, as Louis's own subjects did, and that they might freely carry to Marseilles, &c. the merchandize of the Levant, as well in their own ships as in French bottoms, without being liable to the twenty per cent on the Levant commerce; saving only in cases where the French themselves were liable to pay it. The Dutch also might hereby import pickled herrings, without being liable to re-packing. France also hereby remitted to the Dutch the fifty sols per ton on foreign ships, excepting only when Dutch ships carry French goods coastwise from one port of France to another.

To Spain, France hereby yielded what she had taken in Catalonia, as also the city and province of Luxemburg; with Charleroy, Ath, Courtray, and Mons: reserving, however, many burghs and villages within those dependencies, under slight pretences.

To the Princes of the empire, France restored Triers and Germersheim to the Electors of Triers and Palatine: to Sweden, the dutchy of Deuxponts: to the Bishop of Liege, Dinant: to the house of Wirtemberg, Mompelgard. But, on the other hand, the empire was obliged to confirm for ever to France her possession of Strasburg, with its territory. To the Emperor, however, France yielded up Friburg and the rest of the Brisgaw, and Philipsburg. To the Duke of Lorraine, France restored his capital, Nancy; but dismantled and defenceless: and Louis still retained Saar Louis, and also the road or way, of half a league in breadth through Lorraine to Alsace, open to the French troops and armies. If Louis had no latent design in thus yielding up so many important places which he had conquered, men would have said he acted moderately. But his real view in this seeming moderation was, to disarm and disunite the allies, that so he might the more easily seize on the Spanish monarchy upon the death of their old and feeble King Charles II. now soon expected; though it did not happen till three years later.

In this year 1697, a French squadron of ships, commanded by Pointis, took and sacked the famous town and forts of Carthage, in Spanish America; and, by his own account, got eight millions of crowns thereby; much more had been expected, but that the people of fashion and the religious of both sexes had before retired far into the country out of his reach, with one hundred and ten mules laden with treasure. Pointis, sensible that he could not hold Carthage, left it, after demolishing its forts.

At London, it was high time, in this same year to put an end to the many pretended privileged places, into which debtors constantly retired with the money and merchandize of their creditors; and, by combination in those recesses, set all law and justice at defiance; no officers daring, without the hazard of their lives, to arrest any of those lawless debtors within those places.

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1697 places. Wherefore, by a statute of the eighth and ninth of King William, cap. xxvi. the under-mentioned pretended privileged places were suppressed, viz. that in the Minories.—Those in and near Fleet-Street, as Salisbury-Court, White-Friars, Ram-Alley, and Mitre-Court.—In Holborn, Fullwood's-Rents; and Baldwin's-Gardens in Gray's-Inn-Lane.—In the Strand, the Savoy.—In Southwark, Montague's-Close, Deadman's-Place, the Clink, and the Mint. Yet the last-named place, the Mint, was suffered to spring up again in a more outrageous manner than ever, and was not finally suppressed till the reign of King George the First. It was a sad shame that such lawless people should have been so long tolerated or connived at.

Burlington Bay, on the coast of Yorkshire, being a safe bay, as well for King's ships as merchant ones; and the haven and pier of Burlington, alias Bridlington, being conveniently situated for supplying of necessaries, as also for a retreat in case of storms or enemies, it was judged a rational benefit, by a law of the eighth and ninth of King William, cap. xxviii. to lay a duty of one farthing per chaldron on all coals coming from Newcastle and its members southward, for repairing and building that pier, which had been thrown down in a storm in the year 1696.

In this same year, the silk weavers of London were extremely outrageous and tumultuous; on pretence of the great quantities of silks and calicoes, and other Indian manufactures, imported by the East India Company, and worn by all sorts of people. They even carried their violence so far as to attempt the seizing on the treasure at the East India-house; and had well nigh succeeded in it: but were in the end reduced to order. Yet much clamour was still raised against that company both in pamphlets and conversation. The company, in their defence, engaged the famous Dr. D'Avenant to write a laboured and ingenious essay on the East India trade. He was answered by Mr. Polexfen, an eminent merchant, who, in this year 1697, published his able performance, entitled, *England and East India inconsistent in their Manufactures*; which, with respect to the real matter of fact, as well as of its popularity, had greatly the advantage over the before-named venal though able author.

Notwithstanding certain restitutions which, as before recited, France had obtained by the treaty of Ryswick, yet her foreign trade seemed still to languish. Holland reaped much more benefit by her trade with France than England did or could. The latter had been accustomed, before the war, to send great sums of money to France, for wines, brandies, paper, stuffs, linen, hats, silks, and many other things, over and above the merchandize they carried thither from England, so that the balance was always greatly in favour of France. But the French commissary, now sent over to England for a treaty of commerce between the two nations, found insurmountable difficulties in his commission; not only on account of the high duties laid by England on French goods, which duties had been before appropriated to various uses; but likewise because the English, during the late long war, had learned to be without the merchandize of France, by supplying themselves mostly with the wines of Italy, Spain, and Portugal; and with the linens of Holland and Silesia: the French refugees settled in England, now also supplied them with paper, stuffs, silks, and hats, made at home. France, moreover, on the other hand, not relaxing as to any of her high imposts on English manufactures, &c. which in effect amounted to a prohibition of them, it was not therefore possible for France and England to conclude any tariff or treaty of commerce together, which could be advantageous to the latter; and therefore none was made.

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1697 Nevertheless, soon after the conclusion of this peace, the foreign commerce of England revived, and public credit was greatly mended. The Bank of England's bills or notes were now got up to par. The discount on the remaining tallies was become moderate, and the actions, or prices of the stocks of other English companies were become more promising.

1698 Yet the before-mentioned complaints against the English East India Company's proceedings, together with that company's great losses of ships and rich cargoes during the war with France, which had prevented it from making any dividends for several preceding years, had, by this time, occasioned a general dislike in the people against that company. This broke out more plainly in the spring of 1698; when the House of Commons again took the state of the company's trade into their serious consideration, even although it had, three years before, appeared to be so delicate an affair, that it had been, by the Parliament, referred to the King and council, and by the latter was sent back to the Parliament again, who, after all, did nothing material in the principal complaints relating to it. The company therefore thought it now prudent to make some very material proposals to Parliament, viz. "that they would advance seven hundred thousand pounds for the public service, at four per cent. interest, provided the exclusive trade to India might be legally settled on them."

But whilst the House of Commons seemingly listened to this proposal, a certain number of merchants, headed by Mr. Samuel Shepherd, and countenanced by Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to that house to advance two millions of money at eight per cent. interest, provided they might have the said sole exclusive trade to India settled on them; yet the subscribers not to be obliged to trade in one joint-stock, unless they should afterward desire to be incorporated; in which case a charter should be granted to them. This last-named proposal was best relished, and therefore a bill was accordingly brought into Parliament.—Against this, the company's counsel in both houses of Parliament pleaded their several exclusive charters, "which, amongst other great privileges, filed them Lords Proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena. That the company had actually acquired, at their own sole expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Persia and elsewhere, to the amount of about forty-four thousand pounds per annum, arising from customs and licences for selling of wines;—for fishings;—for farms of tobacco and beetle;—for quit rents, house rents, and garden rents to the natives;—passes for country ships;—tonnage, anchorage, salvage, &c. All which are constantly increasing: also a large extent of land in the respective places. That they had also erected forts and settlements, and had procured territories in the island of Sumatra, and on the coast of Malabar, without which the pepper trade must have been entirely lost to England. That they had also a strong fort in the kingdom of Bengal; and also many factories, buildings, and settlements in divers other parts; having, moreover, purchased of the Indian Princes, at high rates, many privileges and immunities. All which they were encouraged to do out of a firm belief that their said rights and inheritances would, on all occasions, be objects of the nation's care." This account of the various emoluments of that company, in India, is materially instructing; as it is not only nearly the same as the like emoluments of the present company in India; but is, moreover, explanatory of the nature of those emoluments. "That since this bill was brought in, the company agreed to submit their present stock to a valuation of fifty pounds per cent. viz. twenty per cent. for their dead stock," *i. e.* their forts, factories, lands, &c. and thirty per cent. for their quick stock; which they were content even to warrant at that

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1698 "rate. And, upon these terms, the company likewise offered to open subscriptions for two millions."

To all this, the counsel for the new subscribers replied, "that the old company," for such we must now begin to call them, "in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the proviso therein, viz. that the respective Kings of England, who granted them, reserved a discretionary power to make them void on three years warning. That the King, solely by his charter, could not grant the trade, exclusive of all others, as being directly contrary to positive laws. Neither had the present King, in fact, granted any such exclusive right.—That several recoveries had been made at law against the company, for prosecuting such pretended right. That the King's message to the House of Commons, in 1692, plainly signified, that the concurrence of Parliament was requisite for making a complete and useful settlement of this trade." Here they expatiated on the indirect methods of bribery, &c. carried on by the company's managers, in the years 1692-3-4-5. "That when they mentioned the resolution of the House of Commons, in 1691, they omitted their other resolution, viz. that it was lawful for all persons to trade to the East Indies, unless restrained by act of Parliament.—That the patents for some trades with joint-stocks, whilst the trades for which they were granted were in their infancy, have been permitted, for the settling of a trade, and until the first adventurers had reaped some reasonable compensation for their expence and risque: yet afterwards, when such trades have grown considerable, the wisdom of the nation has always, or generally, judged it fitting to open a way for the kingdom to receive a general benefit therefrom." Yet the very same people who now made use of this argument against the old company, were at this very time pushing for an exclusive trade to India, and did actually afterwards obtain it. "That it never was esteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the credit of the Great Seal, or from the honour of our Kings, to have their patents annulled by Parliament, when it appeared that such grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the subject. Neither did any Kings think themselves bound in honour or conscience, to refuse passing an act of Parliament for the annulling of such grants.—That, moreover, Kings having often been deceived in such grants, they have even been frequently annulled by the ordinary course of law."

It was, on the other hand, again further replied and urged, in behalf of the old company, "that the property of many families, widows, and orphans, was greatly affected by this bill; which, moreover, makes no provision for a determined stock: inasmuch, that it may hereafter happen, that the trade may be lost to the nation for want of a sufficient capital to carry it on. It appearing by thirty years experience, that it requires at least six hundred thousand pounds per annum to carry on this trade to its utmost. That even during the three years, to Michaelmas 1701, the new subscribers are, by this bill, permitted to trade as well as the company, which is contrary to the charters, and will create great confusion, and render the said three years trade allowed the old company of no benefit; because they are still bound to export to the value of one hundred thousand pounds annually in our own manufactures, although the new subscribers are under no such obligation."

"The old company are, moreover, obliged to pay taxes, and to keep up forts, factories, &c. whilst the new subscribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade, without either.—That since the last new subscription, in the year 1693, the company have lost, either by accidents or by the calamities of war, twelve great ships, which, with their cargoes, would have sold here for near one million five hundred thousand pounds. And yet, notwithstanding

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1698 “ ing such losses, they have paid in customs, since that period, two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds, beside eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes.—That, moreover, they supplied the King in Holland, on a pressing occasion, with six thousand barrels of gunpowder; and had likewise, at a time of great extremity, subscribed eighty thousand pounds for circulating exchequer bills, at the instances of the Treasury. And that, in short, many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending on the stock of the present company, who must be utterly ruined if this bill take effect.”

In the foregoing debates there are to be found a great many material articles relating to the history and conduct of the said old East India Company, and to the nature and legality of exclusive charters, unsupported by parliamentary authority; we could not therefore omit, in some degree, enlarging thereon; and shall only subjoin what was, on this occasion, further alleged against the old company, viz. “ that the new subscribers to that company’s stock, in the year 1693, were deluded into it by the charter then obtained by indirect means;—as by the hopes of an act of Parliament to confirm it;—and by the old proprietors having valued their stock at seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, whereby they shared three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds of the new subscribers money amongst themselves: and as they had warning sufficient, by the transactions before the King and council, nobody was answerable for their loss but themselves.”

These and similar reasons weighing, or seeming to weigh, with the Parliament; and some of the leaders of the old company being moreover said to have been suspected of disaffection to the state: or, perhaps, principally, because the new subscribers were the favourites of the ministry, an act of Parliament passed in this ninth and tenth of King William, cap. xlv. for raising a sum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities after the rate of eight per cent. per annum, and for settling the trade to the East Indies. The substance whereof, as far as relates to this subject, is, “ that the King might appoint commissioners for taking subscriptions from any persons or corporations, (the Bank of England excepted) for raising of the said two millions, from and after Michaelmas 1698, the entire interest being one hundred and sixty thousand pounds per annum, arising from the duty on salt, and on certain additional duties on stamped parchment and paper. The said new subscribers to be called, The general Society of Traders to the East Indies. Hereby they were impowered to trade either directly themselves, or to licence others in their stead; but so, as not to trade annually for more than the amount of their respective shares or stock. Yet the King might, by his charter, incorporate the subscribers into one body-politic,” (this was the intent from the first) “ with perpetual succession, &c. and the usual powers;—till when the subscribers were to elect out of their body twenty-four trustees. Corporations having shares herein might trade in proportion to their shares.” This seems plainly designed to favour what presently after fell out in behalf of the old company. “ Neither this general society, nor any company that may be established in pursuance of this act, shall borrow or give security for any sum on the credit of the funds by this act granted. Neither shall they borrow, owe, or give security for any other or greater sums than shall be employed in their trade, and which likewise shall be borrowed only on their common seal, and not repayable in less than six months. Neither shall they discount any bills of exchange, or other bills or notes, nor keep books or cash for any persons whatever, other than their own corporation.” These last clauses were inserted for the security of the privileges of the Bank of England. “ Five per cent. *ad valorem*, additional duty from Michaelmas 1698, is hereby
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1698 “laid on all India goods imported, to be paid to the general society, or to such company or companies as may be erected, for the maintaining of ambassadors, and other extraordinary expences; the overplus whereof to be disposed of for the benefit of all the members. Upon three years notice, after Michaelmas 1711, and repayment by Parliament of the said two millions, then all the duties, privileges, &c. shall cease.” (Extended by the sixth of Queen Anne, cap. xvii. to the twenty-fifth of March 1726, and three years notice.—Provided, however, that the present East India Company may also trade to India until Michaelmas 1701. The separate traders, called formerly Interlopers, already gone out, may safely return. All future sales of India goods shall be made openly by inch of candle, on pain of forfeiting half to the King and half to the informer.” This last clause was for obviating of complaints formerly made of clandestine sales, by the connivance and for the benefit of directors, &c. “The present company shall pay their just debts.—No society, to be erected in pursuance of this act, shall owe, at any one time, more than the value of their capital stock undivided: and, if by any dividends, their debts at any time shall exceed the amount of their capital stock, the respective members shall be liable for the same, so far as the shares they received upon such dividends shall extend; beside costs of suit.”

On occasion of this contention between the two companies, it was alleged by many at this time, against any exclusive trade, “that the closer and more open it is driven, it will bring more profit to the nation, and less disturb our own manufactures. That it is better for the kingdom, for instance, that three hundred pounds be employed at ten per cent. profit, than that one hundred pounds be employed at twenty pounds profit.—That wonderful things are said of the gains of trade in Sir Thomas Gresham’s time; when for every hundred pounds employed in trade, it was returned again, at the end of the year, with two or three hundred pounds more of profit, divided between the customs of the crown and the merchants: though at this time, perhaps twenty or thirty per cent. is all that is so divided; but then for every one hundred pounds then employed, there is probably one thousand pounds now employed in commerce: and consequently, for every one hundred pounds so gained in those times, there is at least one thousand pounds gained in our days.—Thus, when the African or Guinea trade was laid open, on paying ten pounds per cent. to the company, if, from that time, ten ships were employed in it for every one that had been employed by that company; if, in the open trade, these ten ships on one thousand pounds could divide thirty pounds per cent. or three hundred pounds, between themselves and the customs; and the company’s one ship before divided one hundred pounds between them and the customs; yet the ten ships are much more beneficial to the nation, because they employ ten times as many persons, and carry out ten times as many manufactures as the company’s one ship did.” This is a very important, and, consequently, a very useful remark for the consideration of legislators.

After so long, and such an expensive war, which was now but just ended; wherein, also, there had been very great losses, by captures of so many of our rich merchant ships, it gave foreign nations a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of England, to see two millions, sterling money, subscribed for in three days time: and had the books been kept open longer, there were persons ready to have subscribed as much more; for although, since that time, higher proofs have appeared of the great riches of the nation, because our wealth is very visibly and much increased since that time; yet till then there had never been so illustrious an instance*

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1698 stance of England's opulence.—This, however, was undoubtedly owing, in a great measure, to the legal establishment of our free constitution, by the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the throne; by which a firm confidence in the public faith was established on a solid basis. For, until this most happy and solid settlement of our constitution, whereby the precise limits of the royal prerogative, as well as of the subjects rights, were ascertained, and absolutely established by the ever-memorable law, named the Declaration of Rights, in the year 1689, the crown, in spite of the old Magna Charta, and the law in King James the First's reign, against monopolies, in 1624, &c. constantly pretended to the right of granting exclusive privileges and charters; though, nevertheless, frequently and strenuously opposed, and sometimes successfully, by upright judges and juries. Yet, till this glorious epocha of liberty the East India, Africa, and Hudson's Bay Companies, with joint-stocks, as well as the Regulated Companies, as they are usually called, trading without one joint or common stock, viz. the Merchant-Adventurers, Turkey, and Eastland Companies; though none of them were legally established by act of Parliament, (as the Russia Company was, by the eighth of Queen Elizabeth) all of them, nevertheless, presumed so far upon their royal charters, as to give great disturbance to, and often totally to obstruct the separate and independant traders, whom they thought fit to stigmatize with the opprobrious appellation of Interlopers. This, therefore was, properly, the first legally exclusive mercantile company of England with a joint-stock. Necessity, however, was the principal inducement for the government's encouraging the passing of this law, eight per cent. being, in those times of difficulty, reckoned but a moderate interest; tallies, &c. being still at a considerable discount, though they soon after got up to par.

This law, then, having impowered the King to incorporate all the subscribers into one exclusive community, named, The General Society trading to the East Indies; their charter was dated on the third of September 1698; and two days after, viz. on the fifth of that month, he incorporated them as one joint-stock exclusive company, and their successors, by the name of, The English Company trading to the East Indies, "with the customary privileges of "having a common seal,—of making by-laws,—of suing and being sued,—of purchasing an "undetermined quantity of lands, &c." And with this remarkable clause, which proved the means of afterward uniting the old and new East India Companies, viz. "That all corporations and persons who shall derive any right or title from any of the said subscribers, or "their successors, shall be esteemed members of this new company, and shall be received and "admitted as such gratis.—That this company might augment their capital stock.—That members, at their admission, should take an oath of fidelity to the stock-company, and should "not trade to India on their private account.—Five hundred pounds to entitle them to one "vote in general courts, and none to have more than one vote.—That this new company "might establish the same courts of judicature as the old company had power to do, by King "James the Second's charter.—Should maintain a minister and school-master at St. Helena "and in every fort and superior factory; as also a chaplain in every ship of five hundred tons "and upwards.—That one-tenth part of their whole annual exports to India shall be in English product and manufactures."—The rest is immaterial, or what is already mentioned in the above-named act of Parliament.

No sooner was this new company erected, than great and obvious difficulties and objections were started, against their proceeding to trade during the old company's remaining three years, who were in possession of the forts, and of the privileges granted in India by the Moguls, &c.

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1698 And even although the new company should wait till Michaelmas 1701, when they would then have the exclusive trade; the old one was, nevertheless, at liberty to dispose of their forts, settlements, factories, &c. at their own price; as not being restrained by the act of Parliament from selling them even to foreigners. (A most unaccountable mistake, if not so designed.)—Nor were they, by this act, absolutely dissolved at the said three years end, seeing their estate is thereby made liable to pay all their debts, which could not be effected within the limits of the said three years.—Moreover, the said old company had artfully subscribed three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds into the new stock, in the name of Mr. John Dubois, their treasurer, whereby they were possessed of above one-seventh part of the whole new capital of two millions. To confirm which possession, they obtained an act of the next session of Parliament, of the eleventh of King William, importing, “that, in consideration of the old company’s having directed Mr. Dubois to subscribe the same sum in trust for them, the said old company should continue a corporation; subject, nevertheless, to be determined upon redemption of the fund afore said:” which, being deemed a private act, is not printed in the statute book. It is entitled, An Act for continuing the old Company, called the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, a Corporation till the Redemption of the said two Millions.

In all this very material affair, there certainly was a strange jumble of inconsistencies, contradictions, and difficulties; not easily to be accounted for in the conduct of men of judgment, unless they were purposely so intended, for the service of the old company. For it occasioned a world of trouble afterwards to the new company, as will be seen, as far as is needful, in the next century. And, indeed, the ministry were severely handled in several virulent pamphlets of that time. As,

First, “That three years before one company could be dissolved, a new company should be established, with power to commence an immediate trade where they had no just right till three years after.

Secondly, “To suffer the old company to subscribe so considerable a part of the new capital, whereby they were enabled to trade separately from the new one; which was, in effect, the establishing of two rival companies at once, beside the separate traders, who still were continued to act by themselves.

Thirdly, “After the old company’s three years should be expired, of what use could their forts, factories, lands, buildings, &c. be to them?”

These, and other difficulties and absurdities might be enlarged on, were it necessary, after dwelling so long on this matter already. A coalition, therefore, of those two companies seemed to be the only effectual expedient. For such was, at this time, the force of party, in a matter which, one would think, should be of no party, that those two companies had divided almost the whole kingdom into the two opposite parties, of the old and new companies: the former generally favoured by that then called the tory party, and the new one by what was called the whig party. And in this condition we will leave them for a short time, for the sake of the chronological thread of our history.

It was about, or near this time, that King Lewis the Fourteenth of France made his greatest efforts for a sea dominion, or a superior naval strength: and it cannot be denied, that he took very wise measures for that end. For,

First, He erected academies for mathematical studies, and for making expert engineers, bombardiers, ship-builders, and navigators.

Secondly,

Secondly, He divided all his sea coasts into certain departments, over which he placed proper Intendants, who kept exact lists of all sea-faring people, obliging them, by turns, to serve in the royal navy for a certain fixed term of years. By such measures, he appeared quickly on the ocean, with a formidable navy, whereby, for a while, he bid defiance to both the ancient maritime powers. Yet, in the end, he was effectually convinced, that they had still an advantage over him on the watery element, after he had contracted an immense debt on that score: and that as all monarchies as well as individuals, have certain limits in point of power and expence, he must either quit his new project, of giving law on the ocean, or else abandon his grand projects of conquests at land by his vast land armies. The latter he could not think of giving up, and therefore he was forced to drop the former. So that towards the close of his reign, his navy was permitted to decline very much: yet his successor has since attempted both again, with as little or less reason, and even with much less success, all things duly considered.

In this same year, Lewis the Fourteenth erected a new exclusive company, for fifty years, named, The Royal Company of St. Domingo, not only for the great isle of Hispaniola, (the west end of which he had seized on and planted, though never as yet yielded to him by Spain, in any treaty) but for all the other West India islands to which he laid claim. This grant was confirmed in 1716.

In this same ninth and tenth of King William, the Lustring Company obtained an act of Parliament, cap. xliii. wherein the preamble sets forth, " That the said company have with great labour and charge brought that manufacture to perfection: but that, by reason of the fraudulent importation of foreign alamodes and lustrings, the company have not enjoyed the benefit intended them by the royal charter; but have wasted their time and stock in contending with many difficulties and obstructions which they have since met with.—And, it now appearing, that the said manufacture cannot be so well conducted and secured to England, by any other means, than by the establishing of an exclusive company for the same:—it was therefore now enacted,

First, " That the said company be a perpetual corporation, with the usual powers, &c. of a body-politic, as in their charter.

Secondly, " That they shall enjoy the sole use, exercise, and benefit of making, dressing, and lustrating of plain black alamodes, renforcez, and lustrings, in England and Wales, for fourteen years to come." All which, however, could not support even this monopoly, when the fashion changed; new fabrications driving out the former general wear of those otherwise pretty and glossy silks. So that the company had run out their stock, and was quite broke up, even before the expiration of their said exclusive term; which, therefore, was not renewed.

In this same year, the Dutch East India Company's charter of privileges was renewed by the States General for forty years to come; which thereby gave that company great encouragement and weight for carrying on their future commerce to India.

The separate traders of England to the coast of Guinea, and other parts of the west coast of Africa, called Interlopers by the Royal African Company, having a superior advantage over that company, by being at no part of the expence of forts, governors, factors, and other servants, on that coast, had, by this time, so far worn that company out of the negroe trade, that they were rendered unable any longer to support the said forts, &c. without the aid of the legislature. An act of Parliament, therefore, of this ninth and tenth of King William,

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1698 cap. xxvi. To settle the trade to Africa, was passed in their behalf; the preamble whereof sets forth, "That as those forts and castles, which are undoubtedly necessary for the protection of that trade, have hitherto been maintained at the sole expence of this company; it is most reasonable that all who trade to that coast, should contribute to the support of them.— Wherefore it was enacted,

"First, That, for the better enabling the company to support and maintain the said forts and factories, all the King's subjects, as well of England as America, trading to the coast of Africa, from or between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the said company, shall pay ten per cent. *ad valorem*, for all the goods and merchandize which they shall export to that coast, either from England or from America.

"Secondly, They shall pay alike ten per cent. outward, and also ten per cent. homeward, on all goods shipped from or to England or America, to and from any part of that coast, between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount, negroes excepted: red-wood only to pay five per cent.

"Thirdly, Gold and silver brought from any part of that coast shall pay no duty at all, but may be freely landed without entry.

"Fourthly, Separate traders," now no longer to be called interlopers, "to enjoy equal protection and assistance at those forts with the company's own ships and people; and they might even, at their own cost, settle factories, and do all other matters there which the company might do."

Thus, a trade, which had before been virtually open, was now legally made so; and, at that time, in every one's judgment, much to the benefit of the nation, more especially with relation to the commerce to our sugar colonies: for it was confessed by all, that the separate traders had considerably reduced the price of negroes to our sugar planters: and, consequently, had so far the better enabled them to undersell our rivals. Yet we shall hereafter see, that the provision made by this law, which was to endure for thirteen years, could not effectually support the Royal African Company, who had the management of this duty, which, in the end, was absolutely reduced to nothing.

In the mean time, the company proceeded to trade on their own bottom, by borrowing money by their sealed bonds; and made calls on their members to the amount of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, by way of additional stock, in hopes to find the Parliament sooner or later inclinable to grant them an exclusive trade: for which end, they petitioned Queen Anne, in the year 1707, though without effect.

London, at this time, abounded with many new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold: there were also several rational new projects introduced, chiefly by the French Protestant Refugees; the chief of these projectors was one Dupin, who was instrumental in advancing the manufactures of fine linen, thread, tapes, lace, &c. and of fine white writing paper. He pretended, that the court of France was so much alarmed at his first setting on foot the paper manufacture, that Barillon, the then French ambassador at London, obstructed it to his utmost, and enticed the chief of our workmen into France, from the paper-mills in England. But with respect to the linen manufacture, more especially in the south parts of England, it is probable it never will prove very successful; neither, perhaps, is it for England's benefit that it should succeed there, since it might not a little interfere with our ancient and noble woollen manufactures, and also with the silk and steel ones, by diverting our workmen therefrom; since, in the opinion of many, the sowing of much flax in England, and the ne-

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1698 glecting of the woollen manufacture, which would inevitably follow, might probably lower the price of lands.—As, observers say, it requires about twenty acres of land to breed wool for setting on work the same number of hands which one acre of flax would employ: and yet, in the end, the woollen manufacture will be found to employ by far the greatest number of hands, and yield the most profit to the public, as well as to the manufacturers.—That even in the linen manufactures of Holland, the Dutch have only the easiest and most profitable part thereof, viz. the weaving and whitening of it: for it is said, that most of the thread thereof is spun in Germany, Prussia, &c. where the people being poor, can spin cheaper than the people of England or Holland can do. But in countries where labour and lands are cheap, as in Scotland and Ireland, the linen manufacture has been experienced to be profitable to the community. The further planting of the new colonies in America, with similar projects at home, as insurance-offices, saltpetre-works, copper-mines, the penny-post project, and many more, were now much in vogue.—“So have I seen,” says the author of *An Essay on Projects*, printed in the preceding year, “shares of joint-stocks, and other undertakings, blown up, by the air of great words, and the name of some man of credit concerned, to perhaps one hundred pounds for one five hundredth part or share, and yet at last dwindle to nothing.”

Writers about this time complain heavily, “That the Royal Exchange of London was crowded with projects, wagers, fairy-companies of new manufactures and inventions, stock-jobbers, &c. So that very soon after this time, the transacting of this airy trade of jobbing, was justly removed from off the Royal Exchange into the place called Exchange Alley, and since into a building erected on purpose, and called the Stock Exchange, where it is now carried on.”

In the same year, the English House of Peers addressed King William, in order to his discouraging the woollen manufactures of Ireland, the increase of which had given umbrage to the people of England: and that his Majesty would, on the contrary, encourage the linen manufacture of the said kingdom of Ireland, pursuant to an act of Parliament, in the year 1696, already mentioned: which manufacture has since been brought to great perfection in that kingdom. The English House of Commons likewise addressed the King, to induce the people of Ireland to cultivate the joint interest of both kingdoms: and that, as Ireland is dependent on, and protected by England in the enjoyment of all they have, they would be content to apply themselves to the linen manufacture; whereby they would enrich themselves, and be beneficial to England at the same time: both which points have since been successfully effected.

In this year, the French first began a settlement at the mouth of the river Mississippi, in the Spanish province of Florida, since grown up to be a considerable French colony. Their principal intention herein, as has since plainly appeared, being to open a communication from thence to their colony of Canada, thereby to hem in the English colonies, so as to engross the whole Indian trade to themselves.

Before we leave this year, it may not be amiss to take notice of what Dr. D'Avenant has remarked concerning the increase of the people of England, in the second part of his *Discourses on the public Revenues and Trade of England*, published in this year, p. 196, octavo; viz. “That there are almost undeniable reasons to be drawn from political arithmetic, that, since the year 1600, we are increased in number of inhabitants about nine hundred thousand: which could not be, if the plantations were such a drain of the people as is injurious to the commonwealth.”

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We cannot forget two good statutes, for the benefit of inland commerce, made in the ninth and tenth years of King William, cap. xv. viz. For determining differences by arbitration.—Whereby “merchants, traders, and others, desiring to end any controversy by arbitration, for which there is no other remedy but by personal action or suit in equity, may agree their submission of their suit to the award of any person or persons, which should be made a rule of any court of record. By which agreement, so made and inserted in their submission, the parties shall be finally concluded by such arbitration.”

The other, cap. xvii. For the better payment of inland bills of exchange, enacts, “That all bills of exchange, drawn in England, for five pounds, or upward, to any other place in England, and payable at a certain number of days, weeks, or months after date, shall, from and after presentation and acceptance, which acceptance shall be by the under-writing the same under the party’s hand so accepting; and after the expiration of three days after the said bill shall become due, the party to whom the said bill is made payable, his servant, agent, or assign may, and shall cause the said bill to be protested by a notary-public, or any other substantial person of the city, town, or place, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, refusal or neglect being first made of due payment; which protest shall be first made and written under a fair written copy of the said bill, signifying;

“That I, A. B. on the ——— day of ———, at the usual place of abode of the said C. D. have demanded payment of the bill of which this is a copy; which the said C. D. did not pay: wherefore I the said A. B. do hereby protest the said bill. Dated at ——— this day of ———.

“Which protest shall, within fourteen days after, be sent, or otherwise due notice shall be given thereof, to the party from whom the bill was received, and who, upon producing such protest, shall repay the said bill, together with interest and charges. And, on default of such protest, (for which only six-pence shall be paid) or due notice, the person so failing, shall be liable to all costs, damages, and interest accruing thereby. Provided, that if any such bill be lost or miscarried within the time limited for payment, the drawer shall be obliged to give another bill; the person to whom it is sent giving security (if demanded) to the drawer to indemnify him, in case the lost bill shall be found again.”

Private and fallacious lotteries were at this time become so general, not only in London, but in most other great cities and towns of England, whereby the lower people and the servants and children of good families were defrauded: an act of Parliament was therefore passed in the tenth and eleventh of King William, cap. xvii. for suppressing such lotteries; “even although they might be set up under colour of patents or grants under the great seal.—Which said grants or patents are against the common good, welfare, and peace of the kingdom, and are void and against law,” says the preamble. “A penalty therefore of five hundred pounds was laid on the proprietors of any such lotteries, and of twenty pounds on every adventurer in them.” Notwithstanding all which, the like disposition to fraud on one hand, and to gaming on the other, prevailed again in the next reign, till a fresh law was made against those lotteries, &c.

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During the unsettled times of the East India trade, the old East India Company’s stock (by the management of stock jobbers) had, in about nine or ten years past, been sold on the exchange, at from three hundred per cent. down to thirty-seven per cent. And the contention between the two companies greatly prejudiced the trade; there being, at one time, sixty ships abroad, in India and returning, which very much overcharged that trade.

699 Captain Dampier, in the King's ship the Roebuck, having sailed upon new discoveries, after various adventures, found, that the easternmost part of New Guinea did not join to the continent, but was, in fact, an island; which he therefore stiled New Britain.

In this year, being the last of the great dearth of corn, wheat was sold in London at three pounds four shillings per quarter, or eight shillings per bushel.

Complaints being still loud, concerning the wool and woollen manufactures of Ireland exported into foreign parts; and that even those of our North American plantations began to be likewise exported to foreign markets formerly supplied by England; a law was thereupon made in the tenth and eleventh of King William, cap. x. to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts: and for the encouragement of the English woollen manufactures. Whereby,

I. "No wool, nor manufactures of wool, were to be exported from Ireland to any part of the world but to England, and this only to the following ports, viz. Biddeford, Barnstaple, Minehead, Bridgewater, Bristol, Milford-Haven, Chester, and Liverpool, from the Irish ports alone of Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kingsale, Cork, and Drogheda: under forfeiture of ships and cargoes, and also of five hundred pounds penalty.

II. "The like forfeitures are hereby inflicted on such as shall export in ships, or shall carry by horses, into any other place or colony out of the King's dominions, any wool or woollen manufactures of the English plantations in America."

☞ This is the first mention in our statute book, of woollen manufactures in our American plantations.

Gr. Gemelli, who returned in this year from his six years travels round the globe, treating of the once numerous Portuguese conquests in the East Indies observes, "that the remains of those conquests are so very inconsiderable as scarcely to defray their own expence. At Goa, they have that small island, with three or four other inconsiderable ones near it. On the north coast, the fortresses of Daman, Bazaim, and Chaul. In the kingdom of Guzarat they have Diu. Near China, the islands of Timor, Solor, and the colony of Macao, subject to China. In Africa, they have Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombaza; many in number, but of no great value."

By a statute of this same tenth and eleventh of King William, cap. vi. the admission into the freedom or fellowship of the English Russia Company, was made more easy, viz. "that after Lady-day, 1699, every subject desiring admission into that fellowship, shall pay no more than five pounds for the same."

II. "It was hereby also enacted, that the commissioners of the customs shall, in every session of Parliament, lay before both houses an account, under their hands, of all naval stores which shall have been imported by any person from Russia into England." Although in no part of this statute there be any ground assigned for enacting of this last-named clause, yet it is more than probable that the then legislature had in their thoughts the promoting of the importation of naval stores from our American plantations.

By another English statute, cap. xxv. several regulations were made concerning the Newfoundland trade and fishery. Such as, "its being made perfectly free for all subjects alike to trade thither, and to fish on its banks: that the first fishing ship arriving at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland shall be deemed Admiral there, for that season: the second ship so arriving, shall be Vice-Admiral; and the third shall be Rear-Admiral.—Which three Admirals shall have power to decide controversies concerning places or stations

" in

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1669 “ in harbours, stages, cookrooms, &c. there. Moreover, every bye-boat-keeper there shall carry with him two fresh men in every six, viz. one that hath made but one voyage, and “ one that never was at sea before.” This was obviously designed for the increase of our sailors. “ And every inhabitant shall employ two such fresh men for every boat kept by “ them. Also every master of a fishing ship shall carry with him one that never was at sea “ before, for every five men he shall carry. And, for the preservation of timber on the island “ of Newfoundland, no person shall rind any of the trees,—nor shall set on fire any of the “ woods, &c.”

Although the Post-office revenue of England be not accountable annually to the Parliament, as other branches are, it being properly part of the private revenue of the crown; yet, as has been elsewhere observed, that revenue being a kind of politico-mercantile pulse, whereby to judge of the increase or decrease of the nation's general commerce; we shall here therefore observe, that in a printed letter to a member of Parliament, concerning the debts of the nation, published in the year 1701, the net revenue of the Post-office, for the year 1699, is said to have been ninety thousand five hundred and four pounds ten shillings and six-pence.

There was exported, in this year, according to Dr. D'Avenant, into foreign	£.
parts, from all England,	6,788,166
And imported,	5,640,506
Balance, this year, in favour of England,	1,147,660

This was indeed a happy change from the years 1662 and 1668.

And whereas in the said Dr. D'Avenant's report to the Commissioners of Accounts, in the year 1712, part. ii. p. 71. there was exported from England, this year, as above, to all parts,

Thereof exported in our woollen manufactures to the value of	2,932,292
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This authentic view of the vast importance of our woollen manufacture exported, highly merits the constant remembrance of the public, being considerably above two fifth parts of our whole exports.

The judicious Mr. Wood also, in his Survey of Trade, p. 46, tells us, that in the year 1662 the total exports from England in that year was but	2,022,812
Ditto in 1699, as per D'Avenant	6,788,166

Vast increase of our exports since 1662	4,765,334
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N. B. Under the year 1668 we have already exhibited near the same sum of our exports for that year.

1. Several authors think, that the value of the wool shorn annually in England may amount to	2,000,000
2. The manufacturing whereof is computed to cost	6,000,000
3. And that, when manufactured, its total value is increased to	8,000,000

Of which, many since that time think we annually export near one half; more since the late increased demand from our own American plantations.

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1700 The French King at this time erects a new council of commerce; consisting of his principal ministers of state and finances, and of twelve of the principal merchants of his kingdom, viz. two of Paris, and ten from the cities of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marfeilles, Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, Lisle, Bayonne, and Dunkirk; each one member. This council to meet at least once in every week, for treating of all matters commercial, as well by land as by sea, at home and beyond sea. To receive proposals, schemes, petitions, &c. and to determine commercial controversies. Also to encourage works, manufactures, &c. The said twelve merchants to be annually elected by the magistrates of the said eleven cities.

From the very first erection of this famous new council, or board of commerce, we have good ground to date the great and almost surprizing increase of the commerce, woollen manufacture, mercantile shipping, and foreign colonies of France.

The wear of Indian wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoes, was become so universal in England at this time, and the complaints thereof so loud, that it was now thought high time to remedy so great an evil. The preamble to the statute observes, "that the continuance of the trade to the East Indies, in the same manner and proportions as it hath been for two years last past, must inevitably be to the great detriment of the kingdom, by exhausting the treasure thereof, melting down the coin, and taking away the labour of the people, by which very many of the manufacturers of this nation are become excessively burdensome and chargeable to their respective parishes, and others are thereby compelled to seek for employment in foreign parts." This grievance was greatly heightened by the importations of two East India Companies together of those Indian manufactures, which raised a great clamour in Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c. whereby also a double quantity of silver was exported to India.

A statute therefore passed in this eleventh and twelfth of King William, cap. x. for the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of this kingdom.—Enacting, "that, from Michaelmas 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs, mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India; and also all printed calicoes, and painted, dyed, or stained there, shall be locked up in warehouses appointed by the commissioners of the customs, till re-exported; so as none of the said goods should be worn or used, in either apparel or furniture, in England, on forfeiture thereof, and also of two hundred pounds penalty on the persons having or selling any of them."

This wholesome law greatly revived the drooping spirits of our own silk and stuff manufacturers, producing a remarkable increase in the demand of our said manufactures.

By another English statute, of this same year, cap. xi. for making the laws more effectual for the prevention of the importation of foreign bone-lace, needle-work, &c. they were again to be re-admitted three months after the prohibition of the English woollen manufactures in Flanders shall be taken off. The said prohibition of our woollen manufactures in Flanders was found very detrimental to us, being occasioned by our prohibition of their lace, &c. wherefore we were now obliged to repeal that law, in order for our woollen manufactures to be re-admitted into Flanders.

The States of the United Netherlands and the Protestant Princes of Germany now embrace the New Stile in all their deeds, acts, &c.

In the same year an English act of Parliament passed, cap. xx. for taking away the duties upon our own woollen manufactures, corn, grain, bread, biscuit, and meal, exported. So that

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1700 that from thenceforth no manner of duty was to be paid on our exported woollen goods, on our corn and grain of all kinds, as also of our meal, malt, pulse, and bread, exported.

In the month of November 1700, King Charles the Second of Spain departed this life.—The French King had managed that weak Prince's will absolutely in favour of his grandson the Duke of Anjou: and thereupon Louis seized upon the entire Spanish monarchy, without regarding the last Partition treaty. Hereby the greatest part of Europe was justly alarmed, and most especially the Emperor, England, and Holland. By Louis's seizing on Milan, and other imperial fiefs in Italy, the Emperor and empire were nearly concerned. By his seizing on the Spanish Netherlands, the Dutch were deprived of a barrier against France. And by his possessing of Spain itself, both England's and Holland's great commerce in and to the Mediterranean lay much at his mercy, as did also their West India commerce, by his dispatching ships of war to take possession of the Spanish dominions in America. Yet both England and Holland found themselves obliged so far to temporize as at first to recognize his grandson for King of Spain, being as yet in no condition to oppose his title, or openly to favour what was more for their interest, the claim of the House of Austria to the Spanish monarchy.

This grand incident occasioned much terror in England, and the prices of her national funds and public stocks were so deeply affected by it as to sink so low as fifty per cent. whereby great distress ensued to many; and, on the other hand, it afforded great advantages to the monied men. The credit of the Bank of England was also much shaken for a time by this event.

In this same year King William of Great Britain concluded a defensive treaty with King Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, for eighteen years: stipulating in substance,

First, Not to shelter the rebellious subjects of each other.

Secondly, To assist each other, when attacked, with six thousand auxiliary foot soldiers:

Thirdly, That, nevertheless, each party may lawfully carry on commerce with the country with which the other may be at war, and against whom the said auxiliary forces may nevertheless have been sent.

